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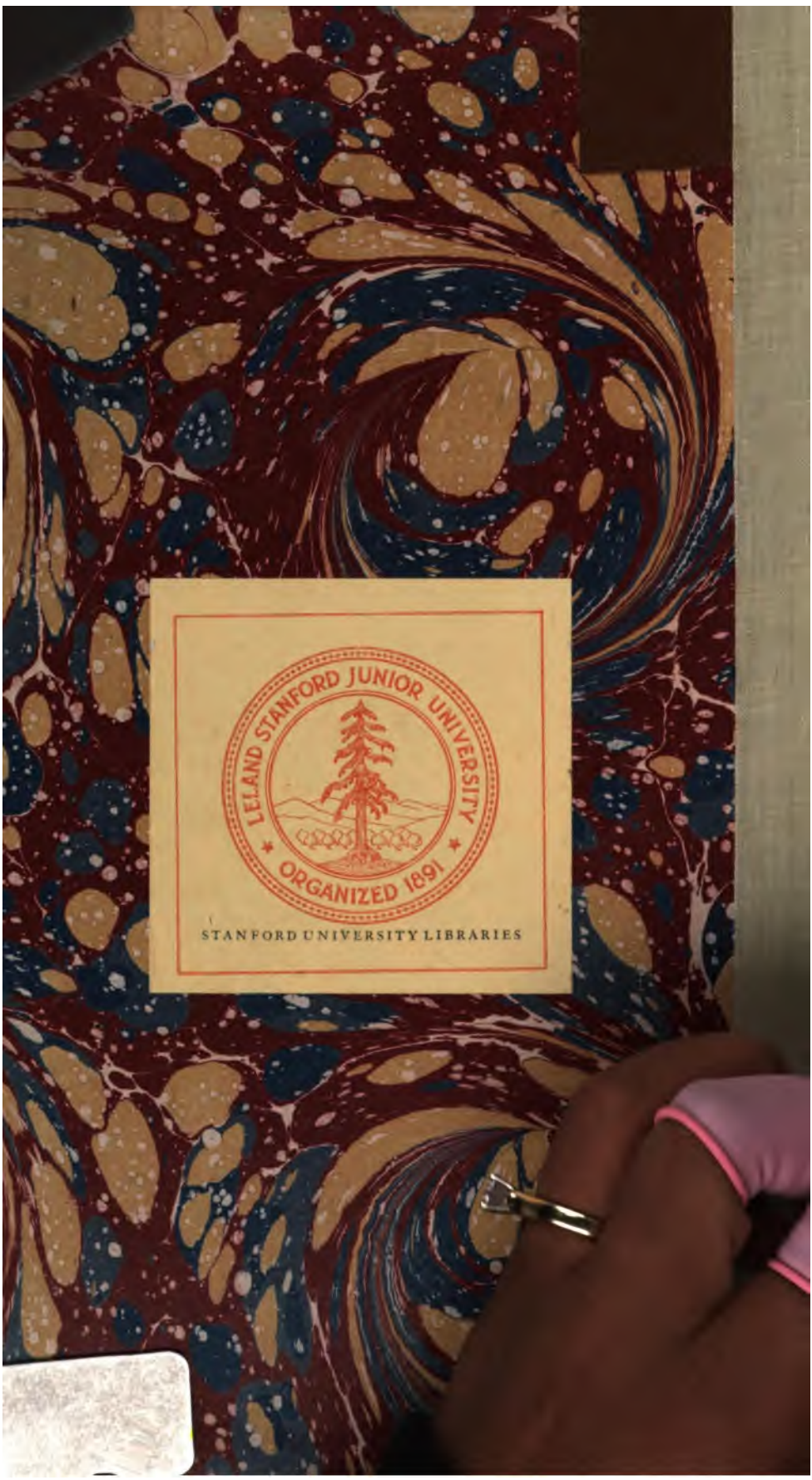
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MEMORIALS

OF THE

Most Reverend Father in God

THOMAS CRANMER,

SOMETIME LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

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WHEREIN

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AND

THE REFORMATION OF IT, DURING THE PRIMACY OF THE SAID ARCHBISHOP,

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A NEW EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

VOL. I.

OXFORD,
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.
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ADVERTISEMENT.

IN this Edition of the "Memorials of Archbishop "Cranmer" such of the Documents in the Appendix as were printed by Mr. Strype from papers in the Cotton Library have been carefully corrected from the original MSS. in the British Museum. This useful service was undertaken by Mr. Henry Ellis, who supplied an entire copy of No. VIII. distinguishing the corrections and additions which appear in the original Proclamation in the handwriting of King Henry the Eighth; together with a transcript of a considerable portion of "Car-"dinal Pole's Instructions for his Messenger to the "Queen," No. LXXV, the conclusion of which was omitted in the first Edition, but is now printed among the Addenda.

For the other Additions which the reader will find at the end of the second volume, the public is indebted to the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth. A list of all the Articles in that valuable Collection relating to Abp. Cranmer was in a most obliging manner supplied, for the use of the present publication, from the Catalogue of the Archiepiscopal MSS.

prepared for the Press by direction of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and, with His Grace's permission, it is here subjoined, under the title of Addenda No. I, for the information of future inquirers.

To the publication also of the very curious Document which forms No. II. of the Addenda, His Grace most liberally consented. Of the history of this MS. and its particular value, as an addition to Mr. Strype's Memorials, the Reader will be best informed from the account transmitted by the Rev. Mr. Todd, Keeper of the Archiepiscopal Manuscripts, who is not more distinguished by his extensive erudition, than by his readiness at all times to assist the researches of others.

"The MS. is marked in the Catalogue of the "Lambeth MSS. 1136. (vid. Addenda No. I.) and "entitled "Processus contra Cranmerum Cantuar. "Archiepiscopum. A. D. 1555." It is written on "thirty-six pages of parchment of a folio size, with "many contractions, and was presented to the Li- "brary by Mr. George Perry, F. S. A. July 23, "1766. It contains a copy of the official dis- "patch of *Dr. Brokes, Bishop of Gloucester, to "the Cardinal de Puteo at Rome, to whom the Bi-

* James Brokes, born in Hampshire May 1512, was Scholar and Fellow of C. C. C. Oxford, afterward Master of Balliol College, Chaplain or Almoner to Bp. Gardner, and Bishop of Glocester, 1554. He died Feb. $15\frac{59}{60}$. *Wood's Athenæ*, vol. i. p. 134.

" shop was Subdelegate in the proceedings against " Abp. Cranmer, (the care of which had been con- " signed to the Cardinal by the Pope,) and is au- " thenticated in the usual manner by notarial at- " testation. The Document fortunately supplies also " what has hitherto been a chasm in our ecclesiasti- " cal history. For Mr. Strype, after noticing that " witnesses were sworn to deliver their testimony " against the Archbishop, adds, 'I know not what " the depositions of these witnesses were, given in " against him the next day; for Fox relates nothing " of them, nor any other as I know of.' Memorials " of Abp. Cranmer, book iii. chap. xix. These depo- " sitions are found in this Processus."

To the same learned person great acknowledgments are also due for his further assistance in bringing this Document to light, not only by furnishing a transcript for the press, but by comparing with the Lambeth Manuscript the printed sheets of the " Processus," as well as the Fac-Simile engraving which is given as a specimen of the writing.

JANUARY 2, 1812.

TO THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN,

BY THE DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

Primate of all England, and Metropolitan;

AND

ONE OF THEIR MAJESTIES MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

TO pardon the preſumption of the obſcure perſon that dedicates this book to your Grace, for the ſake of the renowned man it treats of, *viz.* one of your illuſtrious predeceſſors, an Archbiſhop of Canterbury, that hath deſerved ſo eminently of that ſee, nay, and of the whole Britiſh Church; I may ſay, that deſerved beſt of any Archbiſhop before him, that wore that mitre: to whoſe ſolid learning, deliberation, and indefatigable pains, both the Kings and people of this realm owe their deliverance from the long and cruel bondage of Rome. For it is true what the Romaniſts ſay in obloquy of this Archbiſhop,

and we Proteſtants ſay it to his eternal fame, that he was the firſt of all the Archbiſhops of Canterbury that made a defection from the Papal chair; thereby vindicating this crown from a baſe dependence upon a foreign juriſdiction. But whereas Parſons ſaith, that "this was the firſt "change of religion in any Archbiſhop of Can- "terbury from the beginning unto his days;" this is not ſo true; for ſundry of Archbiſhop Cranmer's predeceſſors (to look no further than two or three hundred years backward) were of different judgments from the church of Rome in ſome points. His immediate predeceſſor, Warham, approved of the King's title of Supreme Head of the Church under Chriſt, in his own kingdom, againſt the doctrine of the Pope's univerſal authority. And, a century of years before him, Archbiſhop Chichely, though he were made the Pope's legate, refuſed to exerciſe his power legantine, further than he ſhould be authorized thereunto by the King. And Archbiſhop Iſlip, as long before him, diſliked of diſſolving thoſe marriages that were contracted by ſuch as had before vowed the ſingle life. For though he laid a puniſhment upon a Counteſs of Kent, who, being a widow, and then profeſſed, afterwards ſecretly married to a certain knight, named Abrincourt; yet he divorced them not, but permitted

In his Three Converſions.

them to live together. And the judgment of Archbiſhop Arundel, who lived in King Richard the Second's reign, was for the tranſlation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's uſe thereof. For he, preaching the funeral ſermon of Queen Anne, the beloved wife of that King, after ſhe deceaſed at Sheen, in the year 1392, commended her, as for her other virtuous accompliſhments, ſo particularly for her ſtudy of the holy Scriptures, and of the ſenſe of them; and for having them in the vulgar tongue; as I find by an ancient MS. fragment, writ near three hundred years ago, formerly belonging to the church of Worceſter, in theſe words following; E. Foxii MSS.

Alſo the Buſhop of Caunterbury, Thomas of Arundel, that now is, ſey a Sermon at Weſtminſter, thereas was many an hundred of people, at the buryeng of quene Anne, (of whoſe Sowle God have mercy.) And in his commendation of hey he ſeyd, That it was more joy of hey, than of any woman, that evey he knew. Foy notwithſtanding that ſhe was Alien boyn, [being the Daughter of the Emperor Charles IV.] ſhe had on Engliſh al the iiij goſpels, with the Doctors upon hem. And he ſeyd, that ſhe ſent them unto him. And he ſeyd, that they were good and true, and commended her, in that ſhe was

ſo great a Lady, and alſo an Alyan, and wolde ſtudy ſo holy, ſo vertuouſe bokes. And be blamed in his Sermon ſharply the negligence of the Prelates, and other men, &c.

So that it is not true what Parſons ſaith, if he mean, that no Archbiſhops of Canterbury, before Cranmer, varied from the church of Rome in any of her doctrines. But true it is, though not ſo much to their credits, that none of them, however ſenſible they were of the Roman errors and ſuperſtitions, did in good earneſt beſtir themſelves to ſet this church free of them, before our above-named Archbiſhop (being the ſixty-eighth from Auguſtine the monk) reſolutely and bravely undertook and effected it. Indeed they ſpent not their zeal, their treaſure, and their intereſt this way ſo much, as in contending about ſuperiority and their prerogatives, in exempting their clergy from the cognizance of the temporal magiſtrate, in applications to, and courting of, the Biſhops of Rome, in perſecuting thoſe they called hereticks, in eternizing their own names, by founding religious houſes, and building ſtately palaces, and ſhrines, and in exhibiting themſelves in great worldly pomp and appearance.

But bleſſed be God for Archbiſhop Cranmer; by means of whoſe reformation ſucceeded a ſe-

ries of better, though not ſo ſplendid, Archbiſhops. Who made conſcience of minding things more ſuitable to their high vocation, and the ſpiritual truſt committed to them: men that regarded little or nothing the vain ſhews of exterior grandeur and glory, nor ſought great things for themſelves; but, with their great predeceſſor St. Paul, (on whom lay the care of all the churches,) ſpent and wore out themſelves in the reſtoration of the kingdom of Chriſt, ſo happily begun by the ſaid Archbiſhop Cranmer in this iſland. Such were Parker, Grindal, Whitgift, the three firſt Proteſtant Archbiſhops next after him; what he planted they watered, and God gave a bleſſed increaſe to. Whoſe moſt excellent lives and conducts in the government of this church, as well as in their own more private and domeſtic converſation; their rare piety, prudence, patience, courage, and activity; I can ſcarcely temper my pen from making excurſions into. Of which I could fill even volumes (had I leiſure, favour, and countenance) from thoſe large collections which I have for divers years been ſtoring up with great delight, partly out of their own original letters, and partly from other MSS. in their times.

But, beſides theſe firſt Archbiſhops during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth, who by their

care and diligence eſtabliſhed and ſettled that reformation, of which Archbiſhop Cranmer laid the firſt ſtones, we are beholden unto the ſame Archbiſhop for all the reſt of the worthy and painful prelates of that metropolitical ſee, who have taken care of this excellently reformed church, even unto your Grace: whoſe deſerts towards this church and the reformation have raiſed you to ſit in Archbiſhop Cranmer's chair; though with as much reluctancy in you, as was in him. Of your Grace's endowments to qualify you for this moſt eminent ſtation, I will be wholly ſilent; knowing how abhorrent your generous nature is from reading or hearing your own commendations.

Nor, my Lord, is this my end in this my Dedication: but this it is, that you would ſo far encourage theſe my weak and imperfect labours, (done out of a good intent) as to caſt a favourable eye upon them, for the ſake of your glorious predeceſſor, the ſubject of this book; and to repute me among the number,

May it pleaſe your Grace,

Of your moſt humble,

and moſt obedient ſervants,

JOHN STRYPE.

THE

PREFACE.

I THINK it fit, by way of preface to theſe Memorials, to admoniſh the reader of a few things preparatory to the peruſal thereof: as, what it was put me at firſt upon making theſe collections concerning Archbiſhop Cranmer, and the ſtate of the church in his time: what induced me to make them public: and, what credit may be given to them; with ſome other occaſional matters.

I. As to the firſt, I have been for a long time not a little addicted to read whatſoever I could of the reformation of this famous church; that I might truly underſtand, for what reaſons it was at firſt attempted; in what methods it proceeded; by what men it was chiefly managed and carried on; and how it ſtood in truth as to its doctrine, diſcipline, and government, reputation, learning, piety, and ſuch like, in its firſt eſtabliſhment, and the earlier times of it. For which purpoſe I did not only read over what we have in print of theſe matters, but, for more ſatisfaction, I was carried on to look into MSS. whether regiſters, records, letters, inſtruments, and ſuch like: a great ſort of which by providence fell into my hands. And, beſides them, I have turned over many more in libraries and elſewhere;

from whence I made tranſcriptions, extracts, and collections, for my own uſe and ſatisfaction: which ſwelled to no little bulk. And, while I was doing this, I took always a more curious view into the lives, manners, and doings, learning, virtues, and abilities, of the chief leading men, whether archbiſhops and biſhops, or other churchmen; of whom we have but little account extant, though many of them very great and good men; little more remaining of ſome of them than their names.

The reverence I bore in my mind to Archbiſhop Cranmer, the father of the reformation here in England, and the firſt of that ancient metropolitan ſee that ſo bravely ſhook off the Pope and his appendages, inclined me eſpecially to gather up what notices I could of him. Afterwards, as my leiſure ſerved me, out of my indigeſted maſs of notes, I compiled into ſome order memorials of him, and of the affairs of the church during his primacy; in which he for the moſt part was concerned, and bore a great ſhare with King Henry, and the Lord Crumwel, his Vicegerent in ſpirituals. After ſome years, theſe memorials lying by me, I enlarged conſiderably, and digeſted them into annals, and had thoughts of making them public, being excited and encouraged thereunto by my friends, who were privy to theſe my doings.

II. And indeed many conſiderations induced me hereunto: as, in general, the great benefit of reading hiſtories of former times; which what that is, take in the words of John Fox; "For the things which be "firſt are to be preferred before thoſe which be later: "and then is the reading of hiſtories much neceſſary

In his Proteſtation to the whole Church of England.

" in the church, to know what went before, and what " followed after. And therefore, not without cauſe, " hiſtory in old authors is called, The witneſs of times, " the light of verity, the life of memory, the teacher " of life, and ſhewer of antiquity. Without the know- " ledge whereof, man's life is blind, and ſoon may fall " into any kind of error, as by manifeſt experience we " have to ſee in theſe deſolate later times of the " church, whenas the Biſhops of Rome, under colour " of antiquity, have turned truth into hereſy, and " brought in ſuch new-found devices of ſtrange doc- " trine and religion, as in the former ages of the " church were never heard of: and all through igno- " rance of times, and for lack of true hiſtory." And therefore the uſe of hiſtory being ſo conſiderable, hiſtorians in ſome kingdoms have been maintained by public encouragement. And ſo the writer of the Epiſtle to King Edward, before Eraſmus's Paraphraſe Engliſhed, propounded once to that King, " That there " ſhould be a public ſalary allotted to ſome able per- " ſons, to tranſlate good books, and to write chroni- " cles, for beſtowing ſo great a benefit on the com- " monwealth."

But particularly the hiſtory of the church, and matters relating to religion, have a more ſpecial benefit, as being converſant about ſpiritual things, which are weightier by far, and concern us more a great deal, than temporal. But, the more is the pity, in this ſort of hiſtory there is a greater defect than in the other; I ſpeak of our own nation; for though the hiſtory of the ſtate, in the laſt age, was excellently done by the pens of the Lord Herbert, and Mr. Cambden; yet the matters of the church they profeſſedly declined, or did

Pag. 418. Edit. 1672. but touch at; the former ſaying expreſsly, "His intention was not in an hiſtory to diſcuſs theological matters, as holding it ſufficient to have pointed at the places where they are controverted." And the latter in his hiſtory, as often as he came to matters of the church, tells us, that he left his readers to the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian: which hath made me wonder at, and apt to accuſe the ſlothfulneſs of that age, that, during all the time of King Henry, King Edward, and Queen Mary, wherein religion was ſo toſſed about, and took up ſo much of thoſe reigns, there is no one eccleſiaſtical hiſtory thereof written, except that of the diligent and learned Mr. Fox; and, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James, I think none at all. Till of late years, when, by length of time, and deſtruction of many original MSS. by the civil wars, divers remarkable tranſactions were buried and loſt, ſome few learned men employed themſelves in collecting and publiſhing what memorials of religion and the church they could retrieve; as namely, Dr. Fuller, Dr. Heylin, and eſpecially Dr. Burnet, now the right reverend Biſhop of Sarum: to whom the Engliſh church muſt be ever beholden for his great and happy pains contributed hereunto. But yet there be good gleanings after theſe writers; and many things of remark there are, relating to the church in thoſe three buſy reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary, whereof theſe hiſtorians are either wholly ſilent, or ſpeak imperfectly, or erroneouſly: ſome whereof in my ſearches I have met with; which I have diſpoſed in theſe Memorials.

But beſides the general benefit of hiſtory, eſpecially eccleſiaſtical, this particular hiſtory now recommended

unto the Engliſh nation may produce this good effect, to make us value and eſteem, as we ought, our reformed religion, when we ſee by what juſt and fair ways it went on, and how it prevailed, like chriſtianity at firſt, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition it met with; and what ſort of men they were, ſuch as Gardiner and Boner, who eſpecially ſet themſelves to ſtop it.

Moreover, reading the lives of exemplary men, and ſuch as were famous in their generation, hath a great virtue in it to influence the manners of men. Their wiſe ſayings, their diſcreet behaviour, their juſt management of matters committed to their truſt; their zeal, their charity, their awe of God, their contempt of the world, and ſuch like, are not only delightful to read or hear, but do inſenſibly inſtil into men's minds a ſecret approbation thereof, and draw them on to an imitation. This land hath produced many admirable men; the knowledge of whom, and the benefit of whoſe examples, is utterly loſt, for want of ſome writers to leave their memory unto the world. It was a thing complained of in the laſt age, "that as that age "abounded more in writers than any age before it, ſo "there were very few that ſet themſelves to pen the "lives of excellent men; as Samuel, the learned and "worthy ſon of John Fox, ſpake: but he ever thought Life of John Fox. "it, as he ſaid, moſt unjuſt, notwithſtanding, to de- "prive the world of the memory of matters done by "them, by whoſe labours and worthy deeds the com- "mon ſtate of the country was ſo much bettered." And if the uſe of hiſtory, as the ſame author ſaith, is to form the lives and manners of men, that being the chief end of hiſtory; then, I add, no part of hiſtory

doth more promote this than the hiſtory of the deeds of famous men.

It was another great inducement to me to let this work ſee the light, to be grateful to the memory of this holy Prelate, that hath ſo well deſerved of this church; and to whom, under God, ſhe oweth that excellent conſtitution, and reformed ſtate, in which ſhe is; which coſt him ſo dear, ſo many penſive thoughts, ſo many long hours ſtudy, ſo many conſultations and debates with learned men, ſo much correſpondence abroad, ſo many ſpeeches, arguments, and ſtrugglings in the parliament, in the convocation, before the King, the clergy, the people; ſo much danger, and trouble, and envy, and reproach, and at laſt his deareſt blood. Poſterity would be highly injurious to ſuch a perſon as this, if he ſhould not be recorded with all due reſpect and honour. It was a commendable practice of the ancient Perſians, to write in records the names and good deeds of ſuch as had deſerved well of the King and kingdom, to remain for ever. And theſe records Kings themſelves did ſometimes uſe to read. The King Ahaſuerus called one night for them to be read to him, to entertain his waking hours, (Eſther vi.) And Xerxes, in an Epiſtle of his to Pauſanias, extant in Thucydides, told him, that "his good deed was upon "record in his palace for ever." For theſe records were eſteemed ſo precious, that they were kept within the walls of the palace. And this cuſtom of writing up the remembrance of men of merit ſeemed alſo to be among the Jews. Thus it is ſaid of Judas Maccha-beus, that "the remembrance of him was for a bleſſing "for ever." To which does, I ſuppoſe, ספר זכרון that "book of remembrance," or record, allude, (in Mal. iii. 7.

Κείνται σου ἐπιγεγραμμένα ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ οἰκίᾳ ἐς ἀεὶ διαμνημονευόμενα.

Καὶ τὸ αἰῶνος τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτοῦ ἐν εὐλογίαις. 1 Mac. iii.

16.) "that was written for thoſe that feared God, and "thought on his name." And ſurely it is agreeable to God's will that this piece of gratitude ſhould be ſhewn to men of ſingular virtue deceaſed, to keep their names and good deeds upon record, for poſterity to know, and to thank God for.

And this office of love and duty ſeems highly convenient to be done towards Archbiſhop Cranmer, that ſomething might appear in the world for his vindication, under thoſe many baſe aſperſions, and lying inſinuations, that are and have been printed by Papiſts, to defame and blacken him to poſterity. One of them hath theſe words, (which ſhew that he cared not what he ſaid, ſo he might but throw his dirt upon the chief lights of the reformation,) "The very pillars of this "rank, [which he names to be] Luther, Bucer, Peter "Martyr, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, Rogers, "Farrar, Taylor, Tyndal, all married prieſts and friars, "[but ſome of them were never friars, and others ne-"ver married,] were men given to their ſenſualities, "both of women, and other like their commodities, "after the faſhion of other ordinary men. Neither is "there recounted any one eminent action in all "their lives, that I have read, either of chaſtening "their bodies, mortifying their appetites, contemning "the world and the pleaſures thereof, while they might "have and uſe the ſame; or finally, any more excel-"lent ſpirit in them above the reſt, or of any ſuperna-"tural concurrence of God with their actions in any "one thing." But did he converſe ſo much in Fox, as to undertake in one or two books to anſwer and confute him and his martyrs; and yet doth he meet with nothing there of none of theſe men in that Mar-

Parſons's Three Converſions, Part iii. p. 84.

tyrology but what was "ordinary to other men," and that ſhewed not ſome "more excellent ſpirit" to be in them? It is a ſign he read but little there, or read with a cankered mind. This enſuing book ſhall effectually confute theſe miſreports and ſlanders of Cranmer, one of theſe pillars, as he calls them; and ſhall abundantly make it appear, that he was no ſenſualiſt, nor addicted (notwithſtanding his high place) to the pleaſures and commodities of this world; and that his life ſhone bright by his many eminent actions of piety, mortification, contempt of the world; and that he was of a "more excellent ſpirit" than that of the ordinary rank of men; and that for ſome ages there ſcarce aroſe his fellow; and, finally, that he muſt needs have ſome "ſupernatural concurrence" and mighty aid of God's grace with him, in many of the affairs that paſſed through his hands.

III. The third thing remains, (which is indeed the main matter that makes an hiſtory of any account,) and that is, what credit may be given to what I have writ: for if it ſtand not upon the foot of truth, it is not hiſtory, but a romance, a legend, a mere tale. And here I remember what John Fox ſaid to Alan Cope, concerning an hiſtory-controuler, which is as true of an hiſtory-writer; "If you will be a controuler in "ſtory-matters, diligence is required, and great ſearching out of books and authors, not only of our time, "but of all ages, and eſpecially where matters of religion are touched, pertaining to the church; it is "not ſufficient to ſay what Fabian or what Hall ſaith, "but records muſt be ſought, and regiſters muſt be "turned over: letters alſo and ancient inſtruments

Acts and Mon. vol. i. p. 532. Edit. 1610.

"ought to be peruſed, and authors with the ſame "compared; finally, the writers among themſelves one "to be compared with another; and ſo with judgment "to be weighed, with diligence to be laboured, and "with ſimplicity, pure from all addiction and partiality, "to be uttered."

Now to meaſure myſelf with this: diligence and faithfulneſs, I truſt, hath not been wanting in me: I have been governed by a hearty deſire and love of truth; I have read over ſuch printed books as are of the beſt credit and vogue, and I have often compared them with good MSS. eſpecially when I have had occaſion to make uſe of them; which I have done but ſparingly and briefly, that I might not cumber the book with what hath been known and written afore. But the collections I have here made, and do publiſh to the world, are chiefly from manuſcript records, regiſters, letters, orders of council, original and authentic. For, beſides Archbiſhop Cranmer's regiſter, in a great folio, in which I have beſtowed ſome conſiderable time, I have had the peruſal of ſeveral rare papers (volumes I may ſay) of Sir John Cotton, preſerved in his invaluable library; and of Archbiſhop Parker, that great antiquarian, collected by him, and now remaining in the private library of Benet College in Cambridge; among which there is a writing, intituled, "A declaration concerning the progeny, with the manners "and trade of life, and bringing up, of the moſt reverend father in God, Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury; and by what order and means "he came to his preferments and dignities." Which I perceive was drawn up by Cranmer's Secretary, at

the deſire of Archbiſhop Parker, and for his uſe. I have been converſant in what remaineth of the papers of John Fox, communicated to me by the favour of my good friend William Willys, of Hackney, Eſquire. Among which there is a MS. life of Cranmer; Annals, writ by an Auguſtine Monk of Canterbury, from the year 1532 to 1538: many letters of Fox, and other learned men, to him, relating to the affairs or afflictions of the church in thoſe times; and abundance more, too long here to be inſerted. I have conſulted alſo many MSS. of great worth, originally belonging to the Lord Treaſurer Burleigh's ſecretary, imparted to me by Sir William Hickes, of Low-Leyton in Eſſex, Knight and Baronet: wherein are divers of Archbiſhop Cranmer's letters, written by his own pen. By the kindneſs of the reverend Mr. Nicolas Battely of Kent, and his great readineſs and zeal to forward my deſign, I have received a great many material *excerpta* out of the regiſters and records of the cathedral church of Canterbury, and out of other books and MSS. William Petyt of the Inner-Temple, Eſquire, and keeper of the Tower-records, did with great humanity communicate unto me his collection of excellent papers, contained in two large volumes: which though in theſe Memorials I have made but little uſe of, yet may be admirably ſubſervient to me, or whoſoever's lot elſe it may happen to fall to, to give the world ſome account of Queen Elizabeth's Archbiſhops, and the church affairs in their times. In this catalogue of friends and aſſiſtants, I muſt mention alſo the reverend Dr. Thomas Smith, and Mr. Henry Wharton; Mr. Laughton, keeper of the public library in Cambridge, and Mr. Harriſon,

fellow of Sidney College in that univerſity. Unto all theſe gentlemen now named, I do here (as I ought in gratitude) publickly acknowledge myſelf beholden.

I did alſo conſult the MS. library at Lambeth, by the favourable permiſſion of the laſt, and the preſent, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But though there be divers ſhelves of very choice MSS. yet I found little or nothing there ſerviceable to my purpoſe; unleſs it ſhould pleaſe God to lengthen my life and health, to write in this method concerning Archbiſhop Whitgift. Neither was I ſucceſsful in inquiries, which I procured friends to make, from ſuch as were relations of the Archbiſhop, in any matters or notices concerning him. There is one Mr. Cartwright of Nottinghamſhire, that is an heir of that ancient family of the Cranmers, a worthy gentleman, and now, or late, juſtice of the peace for that county; who, being made acquainted with my deſign, and moved to impart any letters or writings that might be of uſe thereunto, anſwered a friend, that he was plundered in the late civil wars of abundance of papers, and not a few to that effect; but that now he had not any thing left to contribute but his own good wiſhes to the undertaker.

But ſtill further, for the better ſatisfying the readers in the truth of what I write, I have, according to a good practice firſt begun by Mr. Sumner of Canterbury, caſt the moſt material records and original letters together by themſelves in an Appendix, that thoſe that pleaſe may read them there, rather than in the body of the ſtory, where it might too much interrupt the thread of the diſcourſe, and make the reading more tedious. Which Appendix will ſerve both as a proof of the hiſtory, and moreover as a repoſitory for many choice mo-

In his Antiq. of Canterbury.

numents of antiquity; which otherwiſe, being in looſe papers, and private ſtudies, might in time be utterly extinguiſhed, and irrecoverably loſt.

And I do here proteſt once for all, that I have not inſerted into this book any one ſingle hiſtorical paſſage out of mine own head, but ſuch as I have either found in ſome credible publiſhed hiſtory, or in ſome old book printed in thoſe times, or the prefaces and epiſtles to them; or, laſtly, in ſome good MS. or other.

I have digeſted theſe Memorials into Annals, and have laid matters under their reſpective years, and months, and days, as near as I could: ſometimes indeed I have been left to conjecture at the true time; which I have done with as much care and exactneſs as, by conſidering all circumſtances, I could. Yet herein I am not ſo confident, but that I may ſometimes perhaps make a miſtake: and if I do ſo, it will, I hope, be excuſed to me, conſidering that I was fain oftentimes to go by gueſs, (grounded however upon the beſt probability I could make,) the papers I uſed being not ſeldom without date, ſometimes of the year, ſometimes of the month, and ſometimes of both.

I thought it not amiſs (though I have not obſerved it done in any other hiſtory) to ſet down under every year what biſhops dioceſan and ſuffragan were conſecrated in the province of Canterbury, and by whom. And I am jealous ſome of the ſuffragans may be omitted by me; which defect muſt be attributed to the regiſters rather than to me. I have taken particular heed to the convocations, and to what was done in them. And, becauſe the affairs of the Engliſh church have ſuch a near relation unto the archbiſhops of the church, ſo as their hiſtories are but maimed and imper-

ſect without ſome reſpect had to thoſe affairs, I have diligently interwoven many eccleſiaſtical emergencies into this Hiſtory; and a great many more I have been forced to omit, though well worthy the public, leſt the volume might ſwell too much.

If any might perhaps deem this a needleſs work, the life of this Archbiſhop having been writ already in the Book of Martyrs, and the Britiſh Antiquities; I anſwer ſuch, that I have therefore been ſhort, and it may be ſilent, in ſome things more fully and largely treated of elſewhere: but here are numberleſs notices given concerning the Archbiſhop, ſome which are no where elſe, others very imperfectly, obſerved; beſides the narrations of the ſtate, and hiſtory of the church, (which are every where interpoſed,) in moſt of which the Archbiſhop bore a part.

The cathedral church of Canterbury, now called Chriſt Church, I have in ſome places ſtyled Trinity Church, becauſe I ſo find it named in thoſe particular records I make uſe of in thoſe places; and, it ſeems, in ſome of the firſt years of our Archbiſhop, it ordinarily went by that old name.

My ſtyle may ſeem rough and unpoliſhed, and the phraſes here and there uncouth; the reaſon of which is, becauſe, I confeſs, I have often taken the very expreſſions and words of the papers I have uſed; and ſo may fall ſometimes into obſolete terms, and a ſtyle not ſo acceptable to the preſent age, whoſe language is refined from what it was an hundred and fifty or forty years ago. But I have choſen to do this that I might keep the nearer truth, and leſt that, by varying of the language, I might perhaps ſometimes vary from the true meaning of my

writer. And, in truth, he that is a lover of antiquity loves the very language and phraſes of antiquity.

The reader will find ſome few things here which are already publiſhed in the late Specimen put forth by Anthony Harmer; he and I, it ſeems, lighting unwittingly upon the ſame records, to wit, King Edward's Council-Book, and the Regiſter of Chriſt Church, Cant. Nor could I ſtrike out of my book what I found publiſhed in the ſaid Specimen, having fully finiſhed it, and the copy being under the preſs ſome weeks before that book came forth, and the matters there related interwoven into the contexture of my hiſtory.

And now, after all this pains that I have taken in fulfilling this taſk, (which I aſſure the readers have not been ſmall, nor of a few years,) let me not for every little ſlip fall under their cenſure and reproach, but rather let them uſe me with gentleneſs and charity; conſidering how few, though much abler, will trouble themſelves to labour and drudge, and take journeys, and be at expences, in making ſuch collections for the public good. It calls to mind what happened upon the death of the laborious antiquary John Stow, who had been a collector of matters for the Engliſh hiſtory ſeven and forty years, and died 1605, and had all the collections of Reiner Wolf, (another hiſtorian, and a printer in King Edward the Sixth's days;) and, if he had lived but one year longer, intended to have publiſhed his long labours: but, after his death, there was not a man to be found to take the ſmall pains to review his papers, and fit them for the preſs. Many indeed were talked of to

do it, both perſons of quality among the laity and clergy, (for the world had great and earneſt expectation to ſee Stow in print,) but, when they were ſpoke to to take the good work in hand, ſome of them ſaid, that they thought the giving out of their names was rather done by ſecret enemies, on purpoſe to draw them into capital diſpleaſure, and to bring their names and lives into a general queſtion. Others ſaid, that they who did ſuch a work muſt flatter, which they could not; neither wilfully would they leave a ſcandal unto their poſterity. Another ſaid, he could not ſee how in any civil action a man ſhould ſpend his travel, time, and money worſe, than in that which acquires no regard or reward, except backbiting and detraction. And one among the reſt ſwore an oath, and ſaid, he thanked God that he was not yet mad, to waſte his time, ſpend two hundred pounds a year, (which it ſeems Stow had done,) trouble himſelf and all his friends, only to gain aſſurance of endleſs reproach, loſs of liberty, and bring all his days in queſtion. Yet at laſt one Edward Howes undertook it, and effected it: but it happened juſt ſo to him, having been intolerably abuſed and ſcandalized for his labour. So ſlothful and backward are moſt to take pains in works of this nature, and ſo apt to cenſure thoſe that do. I hope I ſhall meet (if not with thanks, at leaſt) with more candid men, and better uſage.

But whatever happens, I ſhall arm myſelf with patience to undergo it, ſince I intend nothing hereby but to be ſerviceable unto my country, and God's church, and to juſtify the excellent reformation of it in theſe kingdoms; and, finally, to do right unto the memory of

that truly great and good Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And thus, recommending the ſucceſs of this work unto God's bleſſing, I here make an end.

J. STRYPE.

Sept. 29. 1693.
Low-Leyton.

I deſire the reader to take notice, that, when I quote Fox's Acts and Monuments, it is the edition in the year 1610. And when the Life of King Henry VIII. by the Lord Herbert, it is the edition of 1672. And when the Hiſtory of the Reformation by Biſhop Burnet, it is that of the year 1681. Farewell.

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ment printed 1526. *And burnt. Reprinted about* 1530. *Burnt again. The Scripture prohibited in a meeting at the Star-chamber. The New Teſtament burnt the third time. The whole Bible printed* 1537. *Matthews, that is, Rogers's Bible. About* 1538. *the Bible printed again in Paris. The printers fall into the inquiſition. The Bible printed with French preſſes in London. The largeſt Bible publiſhed in the year* 1540. *Boner's admonition for reading the Bible. The Bible ſuppreſſed again, anno* $154\frac{2}{3}$. *King Henry's judgment for the uſe of the Bible.*

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The Archbiſhop keeps himſelf more retired. The Archbiſhop Anno 1540.
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The Archbiſhop viſits All-Souls College. Viſits it a ſecond Anno 1541.
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Biſhops conſecrated; William Knight, John Wakeman, John Chambre, Arthur Bulkeley, Robert King.

CHAP. XXIV.

The King's Book reviſed.

Anno 1542. *The King's book reviſed by the Archbiſhop. Divers diſcourſes of the Archbiſhop. The goodly Primer. The Archbiſhop inſtrumental to the reformation of Scotland. An act procured by the Archbiſhop. Paul Buſh conſecrated.*

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Preſentments at a Viſitation.

Anno 1543. *The King's book publiſhed by authority. A viſitation at Canterbury. Preſentments. Reflections upon the former preſentments. The prebendaries and preachers admoniſhed by the Archbiſhop.*

CHAP. XXVI.

A black Cloud over the Archbiſhop.

Anno 1543. *The prebendaries plot againſt the Archbiſhop. Wincheſter the chief manager. Wincheſter deſigns the death of divers of the court: and of the Archbiſhop and his friends. The papers relating to Archbiſhop Cranmer's accuſation. The contents thereof. The canons and preachers of Canterbury. Cranmer's chaplains complained of at the ſeſſions. They prepare the articles, and prefer them. They article againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf. London's practices. A great maſs of articles againſt the Archbiſhop procured. The chief inſtruments Gardiner, Serles, Shether. The Biſhop of Wincheſter's diſcourſe with a prebendary of Canterbury. Willoughby and London wait at the council-chamber. Willoughby brought to the Lord Privy Seal, and to Wincheſter. The contents of the articles againſt the Archbiſhop. More articles againſt his Commiſſary. More ſtill. The witneſſes. The prebendaries deliver the articles.*

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The King the Archbiſhop's Friend in this Danger.

The King himſelf diſcovers all to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop deſires a commiſſion. The Archbiſhop in commiſſion expoſtulates with his accuſers. Shether in priſon ſends to Wincheſter. Their reaſons which they pretended for what they did. Cockes and Huſſey commiſſioners, and his officers falſe. New commiſſioners ſent down. The Regiſter falſe. The delinquents' chambers and cheſts ſearched. The treachery of Thornton and Barber. The Archbiſhop's diſcourſe to them. The conſpirators are impriſoned. Their releaſe. Their confeſſions and letters. The ends of the conſpirators. Anno 1543.

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The Archbiſhop falls into more Troubles.

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The Archbiſhop reformeth the Canon Law.

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BOOK II.

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He crowns King Edward.

Anno 1546. *Conceives great hopes of King Edward. The Archbiſhop takes a commiſſion to execute his office. King Edward crowned by the Archbiſhop. The manner of the coronation. The Archbiſhop's ſpeech at the coronation.*

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Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.

Anno 1547. *The Archbiſhop to Wincheſter concerning the Homilies. The Archbiſhop, &c. compoſe homilies. Wincheſter in the Fleet. The Biſhop of Wincheſter's cenſure of the homily of Salvation: and of the Archbiſhop for it. Wincheſter's cenſure*

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A convocation in the firſt year of the King. Dr. Redman's judgment of prieſts' marriage. The Archbiſhop's influence on the parliament. The communion in both kinds eſtabliſhed. The Archbiſhop's queries concerning the maſs. The Archbiſhop aſſiſts at the funeral of the French King. The Marquis of Northampton's divorce committed to the Archbiſhop. Proceſſions forbid by his means. Examines the offices of the church. Anno 1547.

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The Archbiſhop's Catechiſm.

The Archbiſhop puts forth a Catechiſm. And a book againſt Unwritten Verities. His care of Canterbury. Anno 1547.

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The Archbiſhop's Care of the Univerſity.

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CHAP. VII.

Dr. Smith and others recant.

Anno 1547. *Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Croſs. His books. Gardiner offended with this recantation. Other univerſity-men recant. Smith affronts the Archbiſhop. His inconſtancy. The Archbiſhop's admonition to the Vicar of Stepney. The Archbiſhop licenſeth an eminent preacher. Who preacheth againſt the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church. Is bound to anſwer for his ſermon at the aſſizes. How far the reformation had proceeded. Ridley conſecrated biſhop.*

CHAP. VIII.

The Church's Goods embezzled. New Opinions broached.

Anno 1548. *Churches profaned. Church ornaments embezzled. The council's letter to the Archbiſhop thereupon. A form of prayer ſent to the Archbiſhop; with the council's letter. New opinions broached. Champneys revokes ſix articles; and abjures. Other hereſies vented. Aſheton's recantation. Other errors ſtill. Joan Bocher's hereſy. Latimer's cenſure of her. George van Paris.*

CHAP. IX.

The Archbiſhop viſits.

Anno 1548. *The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe. His articles for the clergy; and for the laity. An exchange made between the Archbiſhop and the Lord Windſor. Farrar Biſhop of St. David's conſecrated. Some account of this Biſhop. The Archbiſhop ſwayed by Farrar's enemies.*

CHAP. X.

The Archbiſhop anſwers the Rebels' Articles.

Anno 1549. *Rebellion in Devon. The Archbiſhop anſwers the rebels' articles. Some account thereof. Criſpin, Moreman, Car-*

dinal Pole. The Archbiſhop procures ſermons to be made againſt the rebellion. Peter Martyr's ſermon upon this occaſion. The French take occaſion at this rebellion. Bucer's diſcourſe againſt the ſedition. The Archbiſhop's prayer, compoſed for this occaſion.

CHAP. XI.

Biſhop Boner deprived.

The Archbiſhop deprives Boner. Diſcourſe between the Archbiſhop and him concerning his book; and concerning the ſacrament. Chargeth the Archbiſhop concerning the preachers he allowed. The Archbiſhop's anſwer to Boner's declaration. Papiſts inſiſt upon the invalidity of the laws made in the King's minority. An ordination of prieſts and deacons. The office of ordination reformed. The Archbiſhop viſits ſome vacant churches; St. David's, Gloceſter, Norwich, London. A new Dean of the Arches. Anno 1549.

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Duke of Somerſet's Troubles. The Common Prayer ratified.

The Archbiſhop writes to the Lords at Ely-houſe. Their anſwer. The Archbiſhop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed. Anno 1549.

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The Archbiſhop entertains learned Foreigners.

The Archbiſhop harbours learned ſtrangers. Bucer writes in the Archbiſhop's family. The Archbiſhop's gueſts. Martyr dedicates his lectures at Oxon to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer to come over. Bucer and Fagius profeſſors at Cambridge. Fagius dies. The Archbiſhop ſends money to Fagius's widow. Bucer laments his loſs. Anno 1549.

CHAP. XIV.

Peter Martyr diſputes in Oxford, being challenged thereunto.

Anno 1549. *Peter Martyr challenged publickly to a diſputation. His anſwer hereunto. Declines it at preſent; and why. They agree upon the conditions of a diſputation. They diſpute. Martyr ſends the ſum of the diſputation to the Archbiſhop. The diſputation publiſhed by Martyr: and by Treſham. Smith writes to the Archbiſhop from Scotland. Diſputations at Cambridge before the commiſſioners. Bucer diſputes. His judgment of the ſacrament.*

CHAP. XV.

Matters of the Church, and its State now.

Anno 1549. *Relicks of Popery remaining. The council gives orders to the juſtices: and writes to the biſhops. Neglect in London. Adulteries frequent. Books diſperſed by Proteſtants. Preaching againſt Lent. Gardiner's judgment of a rhyme againſt Lent. Latimer counſels the King about marriage. Foreign Proteſtants, their offer to King Edward.*

CHAP. XVI.

Ridley made Biſhop of London. The Communion-Book reviewed.

Anno 1550. *Ridley made Biſhop of London. Rocheſter vacant. Bucer writes to Dorſet not to ſpoil the church. The Common Prayer-Book reviewed. Bucer and Martyr employed in it.*

CHAP. XVII.

Hoper's Troubles.

Anno 1550. *Hoper nominated for Biſhop of Gloceſter. He and Ridley confer about the habits. The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter. The queſtions. Martyr writes*

to Hoper. Hoper's two objections: conſidered. Another objection of Hoper conſidered. Other things urged by him. Hoper confined to his houſe, and ſilenced. Committed to the Archbiſhop's cuſtody. Sent to the Fleet. Hoper conforms. Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity.

CHAP. XVIII.

Biſhop Hoper viſits his Dioceſe.

Hoper viſits his dioceſe. His articles of religion. His injunctions and interrogatories. Holds Worceſter in commendam: *and viſits that church and ſee. Goes over both his dioceſes again. The council's order concerning the two canons. Licence for the Biſhop of Gloceſter to attend upon the Ducheſs of Somerſet in the Tower. Other matters relating to this Biſhop.* Anno 1550.

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Troubles of Biſhop Gardiner.

Divers great Lords repair to Gardiner. The council's proceedings with him. Articles propounded to him to ſubſcribe. Wincheſter ſequeſtered for three months. The ſequeſtration expires. The commiſſioners ſit to examine him. A letter of ſome noblemen, whom he had belied. Gardiner offers his book againſt Cranmer to the commiſſioners. He is deprived. The council's order for his ſtrait confinement. Poynet made Biſhop of Winton. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XX.

Biſhop Hethe and Biſhop Day, their Deprivations.

Other popiſh Biſhops dealt with. Biſhop Hethe's troubles. Sent for before the council. Day, Biſhop of Chicheſter, his troubles. Biſhop Day will not pull down altars. Appears before the council. The Archbiſhop and Biſhop of Ely reaſon with him. The council give him time to confer. Before the council again. Before the council the third time. And the fourth time, when he was ſent to the Fleet. Com- Anno 1550.

miſſioners appointed for Worceſter and Chicheſter. They are deprived. Placed, the one with the Lord Chancellor, and the other with the Biſhop of London. Day writes to King's College for leaving off maſſes. His unnatural carriage towards his brother. Preaches againſt tranſubſtantiation. His change charged on him.

CHAP. XXI.

Papiſts grow bold. Looſe Profeſſors reſtrained.

Anno 1550. *The Papiſts write libels. Several Papiſts now taken up. Chedſey, Morgan, Sir Anthony Brown, White. Other profeſſors reſtrained.*

CHAP. XXII.

Foreigners allowed Churches. A Laſco.

Anno 1550. *The Archbiſhop's care of the ſouls of ſtrangers reſiding here. The Dutch congregation under John a Laſco. The occaſion of his coming into England. His buſineſs here. From Embden he wrote to the Archbiſhop: and to Cecyl. The ſad condition of the Proteſtants there. Latimer mentions A Laſco to the King. Conteſt among A Laſco's people. The care of A Laſco over his church, and its privileges. Favourably received by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich. Labours with the Secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church. The extent of his ſuperintendency. Melanchthon thought to ſhelter himſelf under him. His great abilities for government. Eraſmus's praiſe of him. Purchaſed Eraſmus's library. A Laſco a married man. His influence in the reformation under Queen Elizabeth. Blamed for meddling in our controverſies. A church of Italians conſtituted in London. Michael Angelo their miniſter. The ſervice the Archbiſhop did for this church: and for the miniſter. Divers of this church fall out with their miniſter, and go to maſs again. A conjecture at the cauſe thereof. Their miniſter ſends their names to the Secretary, and accuſes them. The morals of this man tainted. Writes a penitent letter to the Secretary. A French church alſo in London.*

CHAP. XXIII.

The Church at Glaſtenbury.

Another church of ſtrangers at Glaſtenbury. Their trade weaving. Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and ſuperintendent. How they came to fix here. Conditions of trade between them and Somerſet. Their trade obſtructed by the troubles of Somerſet. Apply themſelves again to the council, and to the Secretary Cecyl. The council become their patrons, and aſſiſt them. Orders from the Lords to ſet this manufacture forwards. Pollanus very ſerviceable to them. An apology for the largeneſs of the former relation. After the King's death they remove to Frankford. Prove friends to the Engliſh exiles there. A Spaniſh church. Caſſiodorus and Corranus their preachers. Many of King Philip's Spaniards become Proteſtants. Great numbers of Proteſtants in Spain and Italy. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Revenues of the Church. Bucer dies.

The Archbiſhop labours to preſerve the revenues of the church. The detaining the church revenues a ſcandal to the reformation. Calvin to the Archbiſhop upon this matter: and to the Duke of Somerſet. Bucer publickly diſputeth at Cambridge. Dieth. The Univerſity wrote up concerning his death. Bucer's library. His widow retires to Germany. The correſpondence between him and Martyr. A plot of the Papiſts at Oxon againſt Martyr, at an Act. Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book. Bucer's great dangers. Poynet conſecrated, and Hoper. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop publiſheth his Book againſt Gardiner.

Cranmer publiſheth his book of the Sacrament. His firſt book of that ſubject. Wrote againſt by Gardiner and Smith. Vindicated in another book by the Archbiſhop. The method Anno 1551.

of the Archbiſhop's reply. The judgments made of this book. How the Archbiſhop came off from the opinion of the corporal preſence. The Archbiſhop's great ſkill in controverſy. Peter Martyr enlightened by Cranmer. Fox's conjecture of the Archbiſhop. A ſecond book of Gardiner againſt the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop begins a third book. Martyr takes up the quarrel. Cranmer puts out his book of the Sacrament in Latin. Printed again at Embden. Cranmer's ſecond book intended to be put into Latin. Some notes of Cranmer concerning the ſacrament. Martyr ſucceeds Cranmer in this province. Writes againſt Gardiner, and Smith.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Duke of Somerſet's Death.

Anno 1551. *The Duke of Somerſet's death. Wincheſter ſuppoſed to be in the plot. Articles againſt the Duke. What he is blamed for. The new book of Common Prayer eſtabliſhed. Coverdale made Biſhop of Exon. Scory Biſhop elect of Rocheſter. The Archbiſhop appoints a guardian of the ſpiritualties of Lincoln; and of Wigorn; and of Chicheſter; and of Hereford; and of Bangor. Hoper viſits his dioceſe. Two diſputations concerning the ſacrament. Dr. Redman dies. The Archbiſhop and others appointed to reform eccleſiaſtical laws. The method they obſerved. Scory, Coverdale, conſecrated.*

CHAP. XXVII.

The Articles of Religion.

Anno 1552. *The Articles of Religion framed and publiſhed. The Archbiſhop's diligence in them. The Archbiſhop retires to Ford.*

CHAP. XXVIII.

Perſons nominated for Iriſh Biſhopricks.

Anno 1552. *Conſulted with for fit perſons to fill the Iriſh ſees. Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the arch-*

biſhoprick of Armagh. Mr. Whithead; Mr. Turner; Thomas Roſſe, or Roſe; Robert Wiſdome. The character the Archbiſhop gave of the two former. Turner deſigned for Armagh: but declines it. Goodacre made Archbiſhop of Armagh. Letters from the council to Ireland, recommending the Iriſh biſhops.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Archbiſhop charged with Covetouſneſs.

A rumour given out of the Archbiſhop's covetouſneſs and wealth: which Cecyl ſends him word of. The Archbiſhop's anſwer for himſelf and the other biſhops. This very ſlander raiſed upon him to King Henry. King Henry promiſed him lands. This promiſe performed by King Edward. His purchaſes. The archbiſhoprick fleeced by King Henry. Lands paſſed away to the crown by exchange. Lands made over to the Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop parted alſo with Knol and Otford to the King. What moved him to make theſe exchanges. His cares and fears for the King. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXX.

His Care for the Vacancies. Falls ſick.

His care for filling the vacancies of the church. Laboured under an ague this autumn. The great mortality of agues about this time. That which moſt concerned him in his ſickneſs. The Secretary ſends the Archbiſhop the copy of the Emperor's pacification. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXXI.

His kindneſs for Germany.

His kindneſs for Germany. His correſpondence with Germany; and with Herman Archbiſhop of Colen. The ſuitableneſs of both theſe Archbiſhops' diſpoſitions. Their diligence in reforming. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXXII.

Troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal.

Anno 1552. *The troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal. The cauſes of this Biſhop's puniſhment. A bill in parliament to attaint Tonſtal. The care of the dioceſe committed to the Dean.*

CHAP. XXXIII.

The new Common Prayer. The Archbiſhop in Kent.

Anno 1552. *The new Common Prayer began to be uſed. This book put into French for the King's French ſubjects. The age ſtill vicious. A new ſect in Kent. The Archbiſhop's buſineſs in Kent. A letter for inſtalling Biſhop Hoper. The Vicar of Beden. Sampſon and Knox. The council favour Knox. John Taylor conſecrated.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Catechiſm. The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the excluſion of the Lady Mary.

Anno 1553. *Great uſe made of the Archbiſhop at council. The Articles of Religion enjoined by the King's authority. The Catechiſm for ſchools. A Catechiſm ſet forth by the ſynod. The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the new ſettlement of the crown. Denieth before the council to ſubſcribe to the excluſion of the Lady Mary. Sets his hand. The Archbiſhop ungratefully dealt with. The council ſubſcribe and ſwear to the limited ſucceſſion.*

CHAP. XXXV.

The King dies.

Anno 1553. *The King dies. His character. The Archbiſhop delights in this Prince's proficiency. King Edward's writings. The King's memorial for religion. The Archbiſhop frequent at council. His preſence in the council in the year* 1550. *In the year* 1551. *In the year* 1552. *And* 1553. *John Harley conſecrated Biſhop.*

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Queen Mary ſoon recognized. The Archbiſhop ſlandered and impriſoned.

The Archbiſhop's and counſellors concern with the Lady Jane. Anno 1553. *They declare for Queen Mary: and write to Northumberland to lay down his arms. The Queen owned by the ambaſſadors. The Archbiſhop miſreported to have ſaid maſs at Canterbury. Which he makes a public declaration againſt. The declaration. Appears before the commiſſioners at Paul's: and before the council. The Archbiſhop of York committed to the Tower; and his goods ſeized: at Batterſea, at Cawood. Gardiner's paſſage of the two Archbiſhops.*

CHAP. II.

Proteſtant Biſhops and Clergy caſt into Priſons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour. The proteſtant biſhops deprived. Anno 1553. *The hard uſage of the inferior clergy. Profeſſors caſt into the Marſhalſea. Wincheſter's alms. Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin. The ſtate of the church now. The Queen leaves all matters to Wincheſter. The Queen crowned. The ſervice ſtill ſaid. The Queen's proclamation of her religion. Signs of a change of religion.*

CHAP. III.

The Archbiſhop adviſeth Profeſſors to fly.

The Archbiſhop adviſeth to flight. Cranmer will not fly. Anno 1553. *Whither the profeſſors fly: and who. Duke of Northumberland put to death. His ſpeech. Sir John Gates his ſpeech; and Palmer's. The Duke labours to get his life. Whether he was always a Papiſt.*

CHAP. IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

Anno 1558. *Peter Martyr departs. Malice towards him. A ſcandal of the Queen. A parliament. The parliament repeal Queen Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.*

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MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Cranmer's Birth, Education, and Riſe.

THE name of this moſt reverend prelate deſerves to ſtand upon eternal record; having been the firſt proteſtant Archbiſhop of this kingdom, and the greateſt inſtrument, under God, of the happy Reformation of this Church of England: in whoſe piety, learning, wiſdom, conduct, and blood, the foundation of it was laid. And therefore it will be no unworthy work to revive his memory now, though after an hundred and thirty years and upwards. I pretend not to write a complete narrative of his life and death, that being ſcarce poſſible at ſuch a diſtance of time, and in the want of full intelligence and information of the various matters that paſſed through his hands, and the events that befel him. All that I attempt by this preſent undertaking is, to retrieve and bring to light as many hiſtorical paſſages as I can, concerning this holy prelate; by a careful and long ſearch, not only into printed books of hiſtory, but the beſt archives, and many moſt precious and ineſtimable manuſcripts that have fallen into my hands.

A worthy work to revive his memory.

I ſhall paſs over, in a few words, his earlier days, becauſe I have ſo much to ſay of him in his riper years. Aſlacton, a town in the county of Nottingham, was the place of his birth; and the ſecond day of July, in the year 1489, was the day

His family.

BOOK I. of it. He was the ſon of Thomas Cranmer, Eſq. a gentleman of a right ancient family; whoſe anceſtor came in with
Anno 1489. the Conqueror: and for a long ſeries of time the ſtock continued in good wealth and quality; as it did in France; for there were extant of his name and family there, in the reign of Henry the Eighth. One whereof came then into England, in company with the French ambaſſador: to whom, for relation-ſake, our biſhop gave a noble entertainment.

Account of his younger years. Our youth was put to learn his grammar of a rude pariſh-clerk in that barbarous age: under whom he learned little, and endured much from the harſh and curſt diſpoſition of his ſchoolmaſter. Though his father were minded to have his ſon educated in learning, yet he would not he ſhould be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exerciſes: inſomuch that he uſed himſelf to ſhoot. And many times his father permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horſes: ſo that when he was biſhop, he feared not to ride the roughеſt horſes that came into his ſtables; which he would do very comely. As otherwiſe at all times there was not any in his houſe that would become an horſe better. And after his ſtudies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game being prepared for him. And ſometimes he would ſhoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his croſs-bow, though his ſight was not perfect; for he was poreblind.

Life of Cranmer in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

Sent to Cambridge, anno 1503. But to return to his younger days. He loſt his father early; but his mother, at the age of fourteen years, anno 1503, ſent him to ſtudy at Cambridge: where he was nurſled in the groſſeſt kind of ſophiſtry, logic, philoſophy moral and natural: not in the text of the old philoſophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles of Duns, and other ſubtile queſtioniſts. And in theſe he loſt his time, till he came to
Anno 1511. two and twenty years of age. After that, he gave himſelf to the reading of Faber, Eraſmus, good Latin authors, four
Anno 1516. or five years together, unto the time that Luther began to write. And then, conſidering what great controverſy was in matters of religion, not only in trifles, but in the chiefeſt articles of our ſalvation, he bent himſelf to try out the truth herein.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS.

CHAP. I.

And forasmuch as he perceived he could not judge indifferently in such weighty matters, without the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; therefore, before he was infected with any man's opinions or errors, he applied his whole study three years therein. After this, he gave his mind to good writers, both new and old: not rashly running over them; for he was a slow reader, but a diligent marker of whatsoever he read, seldom reading without pen in hand. And whatsoever made either for the one part, or the other, of things in controversy, he wrote it out, if it were short, or at least noted the author, and the place, that he might find it, and write it out at leisure: which was a great help to him in debating of matters ever after.

Sets himself to study the Scripture, anno 1519.

This kind of study he used till he was made doctor of divinity: which was about the thirty-fourth year of his age, and about the year 1523.

Is made doctor of divinity, anno 1523.

But before this, being master of arts, and fellow of Jesus College, he married a gentleman's daughter. And then leaving the college, he read the common lecture in Buckingham College; before that called Monks College, because Monks studied there: but now Magdalen College. But in a year after his wife travailing with child, both she and the child died. And being now single again, immediately the master and fellows of his old college chose him in fellow again: where he remained.

Marries.

During his residence here, divers of the ripest and solidest sort of scholars were sought out of this university of Cambridge, to be transplanted into Cardinal Wolsey's new college in Oxon, to be fellows there. Our Cranmer was nominated for one by Dr. Capon, to whom that matter was, as it seems, intrusted by the Cardinal. And though the salary was much more considerable there, and the way to preferment more ready, by the favour of the Cardinal, to such as were his own scholars; yet he refused to go, choosing rather to abide among his old fellow-collegians, and more closely to follow his studies and contemplations here: though he were not without danger for his incompliance with this invitation, giving them that were concerned great offence hereat. But of those that went from Cambridge at this time, who were all men picked out for their parts and learn-

Refuses to go to Wolsey's college, Oxon.

BOOK I.

ing, theſe were the chief: Clark; Friar, afterwards doctor of phyſic; Sumner; Harman, afterwards fellow of Eaton; Betts, afterwards chaplain to Queen Ann; Cox, afterwards ſchoolmaſter to King Edward; Frith, afterwards a martyr; Baily; Godman; Drum, afterwards one of the ſix preachers at Canterbury; Lawney, afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk. All theſe were caſt into priſon for ſuſpicion of hereſy; and divers through the hardſhip thereof died. So that well it was for Cranmer that he went not.

He is made one of the univerſity examiners.

Soon after he took his degree of doctor of divinity, and became the reader of the divinity-lecture in his own college. And out of the value the univerſity had of his learning, he was appointed one of the examiners of ſuch as commenced bachelors and doctors in divinity: according to whoſe approbations, the univerſity allowed them to proceed. In which place he did much good; for he uſed to examine theſe candidates out of the Scriptures; and by no means would let them paſs, if he found they were unſkilful in it, and unacquainted with the hiſtory of the Bible. So were the Friars eſpecially, whoſe ſtudy lay only in ſchool authors: whom therefore he ſometimes turned back as inſufficient, adviſing them to ſtudy the Scriptures for ſome years longer, before they came for their degrees; it being a ſhame for a profeſſor in divinity to be unſkilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of God and the grounds of divinity lay. Whereby he made himſelf from the beginning hated by the Friars: yet ſome of the more ingenuous ſort of them afterward rendered him great and public thanks for refuſing them; whereby, being put upon the ſtudy of God's word, they attained to more ſound knowledge in religion. One of theſe was Dr. Barat, a white Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich.

The King's great cauſe firſt propoſed to the univerſities.

Not long after this, King Henry being perſuaded that the marriage between him and Queen Katharine, daughter to King Ferdinand of Spain, was unlawful and naught, by Dr. Longland, Biſhop of Lincoln, his confeſſor, and other of his Clergy; he ſent to ſix of the beſt learned men of Cambridge, and as many of Oxford, to debate this queſtion, *Whether it were lawful for one brother to marry his brother's wife, being known of his brother?* Of the which Cambridge

doctors, Cranmer was appointed for one; such was his fame then in that university for learning. But because he was not then at Cambridge, another was chosen in his stead. These learned men agreed fully, with one consent, that it was lawful, with the Pope's dispensation, so to do. But if Cranmer had been there, he would have been of another mind, as we shall see in the sequel. CHAP. I.

This great matrimonial cause gave the first step to Dr. Cranmer's preferment: for when Fox and Gardiner, the one the King's almoner, and the other his secretary, lighting by chance in Dr. Cranmer's company, at one Mr. Cressie's house, situate in Waltham-Abbey parish in Essex, had on design fallen upon discourse of that matter, purposely to learn his judgment therein, knowing him an eminent noted reader of divinity in Cambridge; he gave his own sense of the cause, in words to this effect: "I have nothing at all studied," said he, "for the verity of this cause; nor am beaten there-"in, as you have been. Howbeit, I do think that you go "not the next way to work, to bring the matter unto a per-"fect conclusion and end, especially for the satisfaction of "the troubled conscience of the King's highness. For in "observing the common process, and fruitratory delays of "these your courts, the matter will linger long enough; "and peradventure in the end come to small effect. And "this is most certain," said he, "there is but one truth in it; "which no men ought, or better can discuss than the "divines: whose sentence may be soon known, and brought "so to pass with little industry and charges, that the King's "conscience may thereby be quieted and pacified. Which "we all ought to consider, and regard in this question or "doubt; and then his highness, in conscience quieted, may "determine himself that which shall seem good before God. "And let these tumultuary processes give place unto a cer-"tain truth."

The occasion of his rise.

His opinion of the King's cause. Life of Cranmer, in the MSS. C.C.C.C.

His opinion, thus unwillingly drawn from him, was so much liked of by them to whom he spake it, that they thought it worth their acquainting the King with it: which they did within two days after at Greenwich. Whereupon the King commanded he should be sent for to the court. Which was done, and he brought into the King's presence.

The King sends for him.

BOOK I. Who, having heard him diſcourſe upon the marriage, and well obſerving the gravity and modeſty, as well as learning of the man, reſolved to cheriſh and make much of him. This
Anno 1529. was about Auguſt 1529, the King having commanded him to digeſt in writing, what he could ſay upon the foreſaid argument; retained him, and committed him unto the family and care of the Earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond, named Sir Thomas Bolen, dwelling then at Durham houſe: eſteeming him a fit perſon for Cranmer to reſide with, who had himſelf been employed in embaſſies to Rome and Germany about the ſame matter; and ſo able to inſtruct our divine in particular paſſages relating thereunto: and likewiſe would be ſure to afford him all the ſecurity, and favour, and aid poſſible, from the proſpect, that if the King's former marriage could be proved unlawful, and thereby null and void, his own family would be in a fair probability to be highly advanced, by the King's matching with his daughter the Lady Ann Bolen.

Suitably placed with the Earl of Ormond,

Nor was Cranmer unſuitably placed here, in regard of the diſpoſition of his noble hoſt; being accounted one of the learnedeſt noblemen in the land, and endued with a mind inclined to philoſophy. Eraſmus, who had good intelligence in England, and knew this Earl himſelf, gives this account of him to Damianus à Goes: *Eſt enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philoſophico.* He was alſo much addicted to the ſtudy and love of the holy Scriptures, as the ſame Eraſmus in an Epiſtle to him mentioneth, and commendeth him for: *I do the more congratulate your happineſs, when I obſerve the ſacred Scriptures to be ſo dear to a man, as you are, of power, one of the laity, and a courtier; and that you have ſuch a deſire to that pearl of price.* He was alſo a patron of learning and learned men: and if there were nothing elſe to teſtify this, it would be enough to ſay, that he was well affected to the great Eraſmus, and a true valuer of his ſtudies. The world is beholden to this noble peer for ſome of the labours that proceeded from the pen of that moſt learned man. For upon his deſire Eraſmus wrote three tracts; one was, Enarrations upon the twenty-ſecond Pſalm, intituled, *Dominus regit me;* but more truly the twenty-third. Another was, an

Epiſt. 19. lib. 27.

Impenſius gratulor tuæ fælicitati, quod homini potenti, laico, et aulico, perſpiciam etiam ſacras literas eſſe cordi, teque nobilis illius margaritæ deſiderio teneri. Epiſt. 34. lib. 29.

Explication of the Apoſtles' Creed. And the third, Directions how to prepare for Death. And from theſe ſubjects, which this nobleman choſe to deſire Eraſmus his thoughts of, we may conclude alſo his pious and religious mind. All which his virtuous accompliſhments, as they rendered his houſe a ſuitable harbour for the learned and pious Cranmer, ſo they were not a little increaſed by his converſe and familiarity there. CHAP. I.

For while Cranmer abode here, a great friendſhip was contracted between him and that noble family; eſpecially the chief members of it, the Counteſs, and the Lady Ann, and the Earl himſelf; who often held ſerious conferences with him about the great matter. And in the Earl's abſence from home, letters paſſed between them; Cranmer writing to him of the affairs of the court, and of the welfare of his family, as well as of other more weighty things. In one letter, dated from Hampton-Court, in the month of June, (which by circumſtance muſt be in the year 1530,) he writ to him, "That the King's grace, my Lady his wife, my Lady "Ann his daughter, were in good health: and that the "King, and my Lady Ann, rode the day before to Windſor "from Hampton-Court, and that night they were looked "for again there; praying God to be their guide." Friendſhip and correſpondence between the Earl and Cranmer. Anno 1530.

And I cannot look upon this pious and learned man's placing here in this family, but as guided by a peculiar hand of divine providence. Whereby this houſe became better acquainted with the knowledge of the Goſpel; and had the ſeeds of true religion ſcattered in the hearts of thoſe noble perſons that were related to it; particularly of her, who was afterwards to be advanced to that high and public ſtation, to be conſort to the King. And that ſhe became a favourer, and, as much as ſhe durſt, a promoter of the purer religion, muſt, I think, in a great meaſure be owing thereunto. A providence in his being placed here.

When Cranmer had accompliſhed the King's requeſt, and finiſhed his book, he himſelf, the ſecretary, and the almoner, and other learned men, had in commiſſion to diſpute the cauſe in queſtion in both the univerſities. Which being firſt attempted at Cambridge, Dr. Cranmer, by his authority, learning, and perſuaſion, brought over divers Cranmer diſputes at Cambridge. MS. life of Cranmer.

BOOK I.

learned men in one day, of the contrary part and opinion, to be on his part. For being now, after ſome abſence, returned to Cambridge, divers of the univerſity, and ſome of thoſe doctors that before had given in their judgments to the King for the validity of the Pope's diſpenſation, repaired to him, to know his opinion: and, after long reaſoning, he changed the minds of five of the ſix. Then almoſt in every diſputation, both in private houſes, and in the common ſchools, this was one queſtion, *Whether the Pope might diſpenſe with the brother to marry the brother's wife, after carnal knowledge?* And it was of many openly defended, that he might not. The ſecretary, when he came home, acquainted the King with what they had done, and how Dr. Cranmer had changed the minds of five of the ſaid learned men of Cambridge, and of many others beſide. Afterward this univerſity, as well as the other, determined the King's cauſe againſt the Pope's diſpenſation.

Grows dear to the King and his court.

From an academic, our doctor being now become a courtier, he ſo prudently demeaned himſelf, that he was not only dear to the Earl of Wiltſhire's family, but grew much favoured by the nobility in general; as the Lord Herbert collects from the hiſtorians of thoſe times; and eſpecially by the King himſelf. He was very much about him, the King holding frequent communication with him, and ſeemed unwilling to have him abſent. Which may appear from hence; that when Cranmer was minded for ſome reaſon to reſort to the Earl of Wiltſhire, who was then from Hampton-Court, and as it ſeems at London, upon ſome occaſions of his own, he doubted whether the King would let him go. And ſo he writ to him, that he would come the next day to him, *if the King's Grace let him not.*

Life of Henr. VIII. p. 375.

CHAP. II.

Pole's Book about the King's Matrimony.

Anno 1530. Pole's book againſt the King's diſſolving his marriage.

ABOUT this time a book of Reginald Pole, afterwards Cardinal, earneſtly perſuading the King to continue his marriage with his Queen, fell into Dr. Cranmer's hands. I do not find mention of this book in any hiſtorian, that hath

come to my hands. No, not in his life publiſhed by Bacatellus, Biſhop of Raguſa, though he hath there given us a catalogue of his books. But in likelihood the reaſon was, becauſe this was ſome private diſcourſe, or letter, chiefly intended for the King's own uſe; as appears from ſome words of Cranmer concerning it, *viz.* "That it was writ with "that eloquence, that if it were ſet forth, and known to the "common people, [an evidence it was a more private writ-"ing,] it were not poſſible to perſuade them to the contrary." It was penned about the year 1530, as may be collected from another paſſage in the ſaid writing, wherein he mentioneth the King's living in wedlock with Queen Katharine twenty years, the expiration of which fell in about that time. What induced Pole to write on this ſubject is to me uncertain; for he avoided, as much as could be, to meddle in this affair, out of fear of the King's diſpleaſure, which was the reaſon of his departing abroad. Probably it was at the King's command; like as ſome years after he commanded him to write his judgment of the title of *Supreme Head*, which he had lately aſſumed. Which occaſioned Pole's four books of Eccleſiaſtical Unity. For ſome about the King had told him, it would have a great influence upon the people, eſpecially the nobility, if he could bring Pole over to allow and approve of his marriage: who was a perſon, though then but young, yet highly valued in the nation for his piety, and learning, and great deſcent.

Cranmer peruſes it.

The book was ſoon delivered, whether by the Earl of Wiltſhire, or the King himſelf, unto the examination and conſideration of Cranmer, now the great court divine: who, after he had greedily peruſed it, ſent the contents of it in a letter to his friend and patron the Earl, being then abſent from court. The book, though the argument of it chiefly depended upon divinity, proceeded more on political principles than divine. Take the following account of it, as Cranmer gave it in his ſaid letter.

His account of it.

Firſt, Pole treated of the danger of diverſity of titles to the crown; which might follow, if the preſent marriage with Queen Katharine were rejected, (in which there was an heir,) and another conſummated: as appeared by the titles and pretenſions of the two houſes of Lancaſter and

BOOK I. Anno 1530.

York. And that the King ought to provide againſt the miſeries that might be brought upon his realm by the people, if he ſhould reject his daughter, whom they took for his lawful heir, and ſhould perſuade them to take another. Then he urged the danger of incurring the Emperor's diſpleaſure, the Queen being his aunt, and the princeſs his couſin. Then he proceeded to conſider the reaſons that moved the King to his preſent reſolutions; namely, that God's law forbad marrying the brother's wife: and that the people, however averſe at firſt, (beſides that it belonged not to them to judge of ſuch matters,) would be content in the King's doings, when they ſhould know how the ancient doctors of the church and ſo many great univerſities were on the King's ſide. And, that however the Emperor might fall out with the King for this matter, yet God would never fail thoſe that ſtood on his part, and refuſed to tranſgreſs his commandments: and that England might depend on the French King's aid, by virtue of the league, which he had entered into with the King, and the old grudge, which he bore towards the Emperor. Afterwards Pole goes on to review theſe reaſons. And firſt, his judgment was, that Scripture might be brought to juſtify this marriage, and that there was as good ground of Scripture for that, as for the part which the King then took, namely, the unlawfulneſs of it. That if indeed he thought the King's part was juſt, and that his marriage were undoubtedly againſt God's pleaſure, then he could not deny, but that it ſhould be well done for the King to refuſe it, and take another wife. Yet he confeſſed, that, for his own part, he could not find in his heart to have any hand, or be any furtherer or abetter in it: acknowledging however, that he had no good reaſon for it, but only out of affection and duty to the King's perſon. Becauſe he would not diſannul the Princeſs his daughter's title, nor accuſe the moſt part of the King's life, as the books written on the King's part did: as though he had lived in a matrimony ſhameful, abominable, beſtial, and againſt nature. This ſeemed an high compliment of Pole's indeed, that he would rather chooſe to let the King live and die in an habitual breach of God's law, than be guilty of ſomething that might argue a want of civil affection and duty in him.

And as concerning the people, his judgment was, that neither by learning, nor preaching, would they ever be brought into an ill conceit of the King's former marriage, and to think ſo diſhonourably of their King, as to live ſo many years in matrimony ſo abominable. But as they had begun to hate prieſts, this would make them much more to do ſo: nay, and the very name of learning too. As for the authority of the univerſities, they were many times led by affection, which was well known: and he wiſhed they had never erred in their determinations. He ſhewed, that they were brought to the King's part with great difficulty. Moreover, againſt the univerſities' authority, he ſet the authority of the King's father and his council, the Queen's father and his council, and the Pope and his.

Then he proceeded to political conſiderations of the Pope, and Emperor, and the French King. That the Pope was a great adverſary of the King's purpoſe, he had ſhewed divers tokens already; and that not without cauſe. Becauſe if he ſhould conſent, he ſhould do againſt his predeceſſors, and reſtrain his own power, which he would rather gladly enlarge, and likewiſe raiſe ſeditions in many realms, as in Portugal: of whoſe King the Emperor married one ſiſter, and the Duke of Savoy the other. Then he went on extolling the Emperor's power, and leſſening that of the French King, as to his aiding of us: mentioning the miſchief the Emperor might do England, by forbidding only our trading into Flanders and Spain. That the French never uſed to keep their leagues with us, but for their own ends; and that we could never find in our hearts to truſt them: and that the two nations never loved one another. And that if the French ſhould but ſuſpect, that this new matrimony (of the King with the Lady Ann Bolen now purpoſed) ſhould not continue, we muſt not expect ſuccour of them, but upon intolerable conditions. And then laſtly, he comes to deliberate for the ſaving the King's honour. Which as it was impoſſible to do, if he proceeded one ſtep further, for he had already, he ſaid, gone to the very brink; ſo he began to propound certain means for the reſcue of it. Thus far is Cranmer's relation of the book.

But here he breaks off, the meſſenger that tarried for the

BOOK I. Anno 1530.

letter being in haſte: promiſing the next day to come to the Earl, to whom he wrote all this, and relate the reſt to him by word of mouth. Theſe means in ſhort were (as I collect from ſome other paſſages of this letter) to refer the matter wholly to the Pope, and to reject the thoughts of matching with the Lady Ann. The which was now much talked of; for the King and ſhe were very great, and about this very time they both rode together from Hampton-Court to Windſor: though ſhe were yet no more than the Lady Ann, without any other title.

Cranmer's cenſure thereof.

The cenſure which our divine gave of this book, and the writer, was this; (wherein his modeſty and candour, as well as judgment, appeared:) "that Pole had ſhewed himſelf both "witty and eloquent; and that, for his wiſdom, he might "have been of counſel to the King: and ſuch his rhetoric, "that if his book ſhould have been ſet forth, and known to "the common people, he believed it were not poſſible to per-"ſuade them to the contrary." Concerning that which he chiefly drove at, namely, that the King ſhould commit his great matter to the Pope's judgment, Cranmer gave his opinion, "that he ſeemed therein to lack much judgment: and that "though he preſſed it with ſuch goodly eloquence, both of "words and ſentence, that he were likely to perſuade many; "yet him," he ſaid, "he perſuaded in that point nothing at "all." No, Cranmer had too well ſtudied the point, to leave ſuch a caſe of conſcience to the Pope's deciſion. But in many other things in this diſcourſe of Pole, he profeſſed, he was much ſatisfied. I have placed this whole letter in the Appendix at the end of theſe Memorials, as I ſhall do many other letters and papers of value, partly for the ſatisfaction of more curious readers, that love to ſee originals, and partly for the preſervation of many choice monuments relating to this man and theſe times, and for the transferring them to poſterity.

Num. 1.

CHAP. III.

Cranmer's Embaſſies.

IN the year 1530, Dr. Cranmer was ſent by the King into France, Italy, and Germany, with the Earl of Wiltſhire, chief ambaſſador, Dr. Lee, elect Archbiſhop of York, Dr. Stokeſly, elect of London, divines; Trigonel, Karn, and Benet, doctors of the law; to diſpute theſe matrimonial matters of his Majeſty at Paris, Rome, and other places: carrying the book he had made upon that ſubject with him. From France they took their journey to the Pope; where Cranmer's book was delivered to him, and he ready to juſtify it, and to offer a diſpute againſt the marriage openly, upon theſe two points, which his book chiefly conſiſted of, *viz.*

Anno 1530.

He is employed in embaſſies.

To the Pope.

Offers him a diſpute in favour of the King's cauſe.

I. That no man, *jure divino*, could, or ought to marry his brother's wife.

II. That the Biſhop of Rome by no means ought to diſpenſe to the contrary.

But after ſundry promiſes and appointments made, there was no man found to oppoſe him, and publicly to diſpute theſe matters with him. Yet in more private argumentations with them that were about the Pope, he ſo forced them, that at laſt they openly granted, even in the Pope's chief court of the Rota, that the ſaid marriage was againſt God's law. But as for the Pope's power of diſpenſing with the laws of God, it was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with. But Dr. Cranmer boldly and honeſtly denied it utterly before them all.

The King's ambaſſadors from the Pope repaired to the Emperor Charles V. Cranmer only being left behind at Rome, to make good his challenge, and withal, more privately to get the judgments and ſubſcriptions of the learned men there in the King's caſe: which was one of his buſineſſes alſo in Germany after. What he did in this latter affair, he ſignified by a letter to Crook, another of the King's agents for that purpoſe in Italy: namely, "That his ſucceſs there

Hiſt. Refor. P. i. p. 89.

BOOK I. Anno 1530.

"at Rome was but little: and that they dared not to at-
"tempt to know any man's mind, becauſe of the Pope, who
"had ſaid, that friars ſhould not diſcuſs his power. And
"added, that he looked for little favour in that court, but
"to have the Pope and all his cardinals declare againſt
"them."

To the Emperor.

Here at Rome Cranmer abode for ſome months. But in all the journey he behaved himſelf ſo learnedly, ſoberly, and wittily, that the Earl of Wilts gave him ſuch commendations to the King by his letters, that the reſt coming home, he ſent him a commiſſion with inſtructions to be his ſole ambaſſador to the Emperor in his ſaid great cauſe. Which commiſſional letters of the King to him bare date January 24, 1531. wherein he was ſtiled *Conſiliarius Regius et ad Cæſarem Orator*. By this opportunity of travelling through Germany, following the Emperor's court, by his conferences he fully ſatisfied many learned Germans, which afore were of a contrary judgment; and divers in the Emperor's own court and council alſo. One of the chiefeſt of theſe, and who ſuffered ſeverely for it, was Cornelius Agrippa, Kt. doctor of both laws, judge of the prerogative court, and counſellor to the Emperor, and a man of deep learning: who confeſſed to the ſaid ambaſſador, that the marriage was naught, but that he durſt not ſay ſo openly, for fear both of the Pope and Emperor. Yet he was afterwards caſt into priſon, where he died, for expreſſing his mind, as was thought, ſomewhat more plainly in this affair.

Life of Cranmer inter Foxii MSS.

Anno 1531.

Hiſt. Luther. per Seckendorf.

Cornelius Agrippa gained by Cranmer to the King's cauſe.

Becomes acquainted with Oſiander.

While he was now abroad in Germany, he went to Norimberg, where Oſiander was paſtor. And being a man of fame and learning, our ambaſſador became acquainted with him; ſending for him ſometimes to diſcourſe with him: and ſometimes he would go to Oſiander's houſe, to viſit him and his ſtudy. This eminent divine of the German proteſtant church he alſo gained to favour the King's cauſe. For he wrote a book of inceſtuous marriages, wherein he determined the King's preſent matrimony to be unlawful. But this book was called in by a prohibition, printed at Augſburgh. And there was alſo a form of a direction, drawn up by the ſame Oſiander, how the King's proceſs ſhould be managed: which was ſent over hither. Cranmer's diſcourſe with Oſi-

ander, at theſe their meetings, concerning divers matters relating eſpecially to Chriſtian doctrine, and true religion, were ſo wiſe and good, that that great divine ſtood in admiration of him, as though he had been inſpired from above. In one of their conferences, Oſiander communicated to him certain papers, wherein he had been attempting to harmonize the Goſpels: but, by reaſon of the difficulty that often aroſe, had thrown them aſide. A thing this was which Cranmer declared to him his great approbation of; as he was always a man greatly ſtudious of the Scripture, and earneſtly deſirous that the right knowledge thereof might be increaſed. So he vehemently exhorted him to go forward in this ſtudy, and to finiſh it with all convenient ſpeed: for that it would not only, he ſaid, be of uſe to the church of Chriſt, but adorn it. Theſe admonitions gave new ſtrength to Oſiander to fall afreſh about this work, and at laſt to bring it to a concluſion. In the year 1537, he publiſhed it, and dedicated it to Cranmer, then archbiſhop, the great encourager of the author.

CHAP. III.

Anno 1531. *Multa graviter, multa ſapienter, ac plane divinitus de Chriſtiana doctrina, ac vera religione diſputares.* In Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangel.

In ſome of theſe viſits Cranmer ſaw Oſiander's niece, and obtained her for his wife; whom, when he returned from his embaſſy, he brought not over with him: but in the year 1534 he privately ſent for her; and kept her with him till the year 1539, in the ſevere time of the ſix articles; when he ſent her back in ſecret to her friends in Germany for a time. By theſe viſits, and this affinity, there grew a very cordial love between Cranmer and Oſiander: and a great correſpondence was maintained by letters between them long after. A parcel of theſe letters in manuſcript, the Right Reverend the Biſhop of Sarum mentioned in his Hiſtory of the Reformation; which he met with in the exquiſite library of Mr. Richard Smith, as he told a friend of mine. But notwithſtanding my enquiry after them, I had not the good fortune to ſee them, nor to find into whoſe hands they were come, after the ſelling of that library by auction. Which letters, if I could have procured a ſight of, might have ſerved ſomewhat perhaps in this my undertaking.

And marries his kinſwoman.

We are now ſlipped into the year 1532. And among other ſervices which he did abroad, (beſides his promoting the King's great matrimonial cauſe among the German princes and ſtates, as well as others,) he was employed for

Anno 1532. Treats with the Emperor about the contract of traffic.

BOOK I. Anno 1582.

the eſtabliſhing and ſecuring a traffic between the merchants of England, and the Emperor's Low Countries. Concerning which the former contract, it ſeems, began to ſhake, occaſioned by that lukewarmneſs of affection, that now grew between theſe two monarchs. About this affair our ambaſſador had divers conferences with Monſieur Grandeville, the Emperor's great miniſter at Regenſburgh. The effect of his laſt ſolicitation was, that Grandeville had told him that the diet concerning the ſaid contract was held in Flanders, where the Queen of Hungary was governeſs; and therefore that the Emperor would do nothing therein without her advice; and that he would make anſwer by her, rather than by him. And ſo Cranmer deſired the King, that it would pleaſe his grace no further to look for anſwer from him therein, but from the Queen, unto whom the whole anſwer was committed.

And about ſending ſupplies againſt the Turk.

Another buſineſs our ambaſſador was now agitating at this court for the King, was, about ſending ſupplies to the Emperor againſt the Turk; who had now made a formidable invaſion in Hungary, with an army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand men. The Emperor had lately, by virtue of a former league, and for the common cauſe of chriſtianity, demanded certain forces of the King for this purpoſe. Now what meaſures his ambaſſador was to take with the Emperor in this affair, William Paget, his Majeſty's ſervant, (the ſame that was afterward ſecretary of ſtate,) was diſpatched to him with inſtructions: wherein were contained what anſwer he ſhould make to the Emperor's demands. Which he reported accordingly to Grandeville. The which anſwer he delivered to him in writing, upon the deſire of Grandeville, for this reaſon, as he urged, that he might relate the ſame the more truly to the Emperor. He was now, in the month of September, drawing towards the Turk from Abagh, a place not far from Regenſburgh, where our Engliſh ambaſſador now reſided; not having yet returned any reply to him, prevented by that hurry of buſineſs that then lay upon the Emperor. So that upon Grandeville's intimation to repair unto the Emperor at Lintz, which was in his way to Vienna, and that there he ſhould have an anſwer in writing again, the ambaſſador followed thither, in company with

the ambaſſador of France. And ſo he, with the other ambaſſador, in eight or ten days ſpace, furniſhed themſelves with waggons, horſes, ſhips, tents, and other things neceſſary to the journey, for themſelves and their train. CHAP. III. Anno 1532.

But before his departure, he informed the King of the news in thoſe parts: as, that the Turk reſided ſtill in Hungary in the ſame place, environed on all parts: of which more at large he had written in his former letters. That King Ferdinando, the Emperor's brother, who was then at Regenſburgh, was to meet the Emperor at Paſſaw, fourteen miles from thence: and ſo both were to paſs forth to Lintz, which was the midway from Regenſburgh to Vienna. That the Emperor would tarry there to take counſel what to do, and there all the ambaſſadors ſhould know his pleaſure. Sends the King the news in thoſe parts;

He ſent the King alſo the copy of the Emperor's proclamation concerning a general council, and a reformation to be had in Germany, for the controverſies of the faith. Which he was conſtrained to do, his affairs with the Turk preſſing him ſo much. The ſum thereof was, "That his imperial "Majeſty declared peace throughout all Germany; enjoining that none ſhould be moleſted for the cauſe of religion, "until the council ſhould be called: or, in caſe there were "none, until ſome other means ſhould be found out by the "ſtates of the empire for healing the preſent diviſions. And "that he would uſe his utmoſt diligence that a council "ſhould be denounced within ſix months, and the year after "to be commenced. And that if this could not be obtained, "then theſe matters ſhould be referred to the imperial diets, "to be handled there. That in the mean time all judicial "proceedings relating to religion ſhould be ſuſpended; and "that no lawſuits ſhould hereafter be commenced againſt "the proteſtants: and that in caſe any were, he commanded "that they ſhould be void and null." This edict was publiſhed in the month of Auguſt this year. And the proclamation for a general council. Sleid. Comment.

Together with the aforeſaid proclamation, he transferred over to the King the tax of all the ſtates of the empire; that is, how many ſoldiers every man was limited to find for aid againſt the Turk. Whence our ambaſſador made a particular obſervation to his maſter, for his better direction, what number of forces it were equal for him to ſend; and to juſtify And the tax of the ſtates of the empire.

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

his refuſal to comply with the Emperor, in caſe he ſhould have demanded more than was his proportion: taking his meaſures from the ſaid tax. And the obſervation which he made was this; that his Grace might perceive, that the greateſt Prince in Germany (only the Duke of Burgundy, and Auſtria excepted) was not appointed above 120 horſemen, and 554 footmen. A tranſcript of this letter of Cranmer to the King I have put in the Appendix. Theſe paſſages will ſerve to ſhew Dr. Cranmer's diligence, wiſdom, and other abilities, in the quality he now ſtood in of an ambaſſador.

No. II.

He goes in an embaſſy to the Duke of Saxony, and other proteſtant princes.

Being now reſident in the Emperor's court, the King made uſe of him in another embaſſy, but to be more ſecretly made, to the Elector Frederick, Duke of Saxony, that the Emperor might not be privy to it. For in the month of July Dr. Cranmer departed incognito from Ratiſbon, (where the Emperor was, and had there appointed a diet, in order to the coming to ſome terms of peace with the proteſtants, until a council ſhould be called,) and came privately to the Duke, then abiding in a certain hoſpital, as it was called, and delivered letters to him, and to Philip Duke of Lunenburgh, and Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt. At this firſt congreſs, he aſſured the Elector of his maſter the King of England's friendſhip, as the letters he delivered imported. The next day he returned to the Elector's court, Pontanus and Spalatinus, two of the Elector's counſellors, being preſent. Here at this meeting he required divers things concerning peace with the Emperor, the ſtate of religion, aid againſt the Turk, and the goods of the church, which the princes were ſaid to invade. He ſpake magnificent things of the King his maſter: as what mighty aids he had offered the Emperor againſt the Turk; and as he told them the French King would do. And ſo taking letters to the King from Frederick, dated July 15, he was diſmiſſed. But four days after, he came again privately with one ſervant only, and had conference with Spalatinus all alone; telling him, that he had forgot, as he pretended, one part of his meſſage: and that was, that not only his maſter, but the French King, was ready to give aſſiſtance to the Elector and his confederates in the caſe of religion. And he deſired to know in what ſtate the buſineſs of the election of Ferdinand ſtood; whom, being the Em-

Hiſt. Lutheraniſm. per Seckendorf.

peror's brother, he had made King of the Romans by a pretended election: which election gave offence, and Frederick, Duke of Saxony, had manifeſted imperfect and defective. What anſwer was given to Cranmer was not known: only it was thought that this was ſomewhat unſeaſonably acted, becauſe, ſaith my author, there was peace at this time between the Emperor and the Engliſh, which the King's ambaſſador by thoſe offers did deſire to diſturb. This, it ſeems, was the judgment of the proteſtants concerning this overture to them by the King's ambaſſador, as though it were not ſincere: but I do not find but that, whatſoever peace was now between the Emperor and the Engliſh, the former league with him was ſhaking by reaſon of the Emperor's diſobliging the King, in ſiding ſo earneſtly with Queen Katharine, in the controverſy between the King and her.

CHAP. III. Anno 1532.

Seckendorf, ubi ſupra.

CHAP. IV.

Cranmer made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

AND this great truſt the King, his gracious maſter, committed to him, as a mark of the honour he had for him, and a ſign of further preferment he was minded to advance him to. And about this very time happened a fair opportunity to the King to manifeſt his favour to him; Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, departing this mortal life, whereby that ſee became vacant. The preferment indeed ſeemed too great for Cranmer at one ſtride to ſtep into, without ſome other intervening dignities to have been firſt conferred on him. But the King, thinking him the fitteſt man of all the Engliſh clergy to be promoted to this high office, reſolved to give it to him, though now abſent abroad upon his buſineſs. Hereupon the King commanded him to haſten home, though he concealed the reaſon from him, which was to take the archbiſhopric he had deſigned for him. Which when he came home, in obedience to his Majeſty, though much againſt his inclination, and after many refuſals, pro-

Made Archbiſhop of Canterbury.

BOOK I. ceeding from his great modeſty and humility, and certain ſcruples, at length he did accept.

Anno 1532. His dignities before he was Archbiſhop.

It doth not appear to me what eccleſiaſtical places he had before: only that he was the King's Chaplain, and Archdeacon of Taunton. The Pope alſo, in honour to his maſter, had conſtituted him Penitentiary General of England. He had alſo a benefice, while he lived in the Earl of Wiltſhire's family, which was beſtowed upon him by the King: a mention whereof I find in one of his letters to the ſaid Earl.

Archbiſhop Warham foretels a Thomas to ſucceed him.

It was in the month of Auguſt 1532, that William Warham, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, died: a wiſe and grave man, a great patron of the moſt learned Eraſmus, and once Lord Chancellor of England: who ſeemed to foreſee and foretel, or at leaſt to conjecture, that Thomas Cranmer ſhould ſucceed him, as judging him, in his own mind, the fitteſt perſon for the King's and church's ſervice, in that juncture, to enter upon that ſee. For this truth, methinks, we may pick out of thoſe malicious words of Harpsfield in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *viz.* That Archbiſhop Warham ſhould ſay, "That a Thomas ſhould ſucceed him; who, by a looſe "and remiſs indulgence of a licentious ſort of life granted "to the people, and by unſound doctrines, would more diſ-"grace the church of Canterbury, and all the reſt of the "church of England, than Thomas the Martyr did amplify "it by his martyrdom. And that he admoniſhed his nephew "and nameſake, William Warham, Archdeacon of Canter-"bury, that if any Thomas ſhould ſucceed in the ſee while "he lived, he ſhould not by any means enter into his ſer-"vice."

It is not unuſual, (nay it is ſeldom otherwiſe,) for popiſh hiſtorians to ſtuff their hiſtories with ſtrange prophecies and falſehoods, mixed with ſome truth. And I ſuppoſe the matter might be no more than this: This grave and ſober Archbiſhop was ſenſible of the groſs encroachments of the Biſhops of Rome upon the authority of the Kings of this realm in their own dominions: and his judgment ſtood for the reſtoring of this imperial crown to its ancient right and ſovereignty, and for the abridging the papal power. And knowing how learned a man Dr. Thomas Cranmer was, and perceiving what an able inſtrument he was like to prove in

vindicating the King's right to the ſupremacy in his own kingdoms, the Archbiſhop upon theſe accounts might think him the fitteſt to ſucceed in the archiepiſcopal chair, and might have ſome reaſon to believe that the King intended him thereunto. CHAP. IV. Anno 1532.

And that Archbiſhop Warham was of this judgment, it may appear, if we trace ſome footſteps of him. In the year 1530, when all the clergy were under a *præmunire*, and a petition was drawing up in the convocation for that cauſe, the King in the ſaid petition was addreſſed to by the title of *Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of England.* At this title, when the Archbiſhop found ſome of the clergy to boggle, who were yet afraid openly to declare their diſallowance of it, he took the opportunity of their ſilence to paſs the title, by ſaying, that *ſilence was to be taken for their conſent.* Archbiſhop Warham for the King's ſupremacy.

In the laſt ſynod, wherein this Archbiſhop was a member, and the main director, many things were debated about aboliſhing the papacy. This ſynod was prorogued from April 26, to October 5. In the mean time he died. But had he lived, and been well, unto the next ſeſſions, ſome further ſteps had been made in evacuating the Biſhop of Rome's uſurpations; as may be gueſſed by what was done under his influence the laſt ſeſſions, when the ſupremacy of that foreign prelate was rejected. Ant. Brit.

Something more of this Archbiſhop's endeavours of reſtoring the King to his ſupremacy, appears by what Archbiſhop Cranmer ſaid to Brooks, Biſhop of Gloceſter, before a great aſſembly, not long before his burning. Brooks had charged him for firſt ſetting up the King's ſupremacy. To which Cranmer replied, "That it was Warham gave the "ſupremacy to Henry VIII, and that he had ſaid, he ought "to have it before the Biſhop of Rome, and that God's word "would bear it. And that upon this the univerſities of "Cambridge and Oxford were ſent to, to know what the "word of God would allow touching the ſupremacy. Where "it was reaſoned and argued upon at length: and at laſt "both agreed, and ſet to their ſeals, and ſent it to the King, "that he ought to be ſupreme head, and not the Pope." All which was in Archbiſhop Warham's time, and while he Cranmer's teſtimony of Warham.

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

was alive, three quarters of a year before ever Cranmer had the archbiſhopric of Canterbury, as he alſo added in that audience.

So that, theſe things conſidered, we may conclude, that Warham did think that none would be ſo fit to come after him as Cranmer, a learned and diligent man, to carry on this cauſe, which he, before him, had begun: and ſo might ſpeak of him as the propereſt perſon to be advanced to this ſee.

A reflection upon a paſſage relating to Cranmer in Harpſfield's hiſtory. Antiq. of Cant.

To this I will add the ſenſe of an ingenious and learned friend of mine concerning this paſſage in Harpsfield's hiſtory; which the author alſo of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes* hath made uſe of to the good Archbiſhop's diſcredit: and which Somner alſo had unluckily ſelected, though without deſign, to hurt his good name, and is all he writes of him. But may it not be conſidered, ſaith he, that the pretended martyr Thomas Becket, though he died in vindication of the privileges of the church, yet he was the firſt betrayer of the rights of his ſee? He made the greateſt breach upon the authority of the primacy of Canterbury, by reſigning the archbiſhopric into the Pope's hands, and receiving it again from him, as the Pope's donation. But it is the honour of the bleſſed martyr, Thomas Cranmer, that he was the firſt who began to claim the primacy, and retrieve the rights of his ſee from being ſlaviſhly ſubjected to the Roman power. Indeed, little credit is to be given to the author who firſt publiſhed this ſtory; conſidering what a violent man he was, and how much prejudiced againſt Cranmer, and intereſted in the popiſh cauſe; and coming into the archdeaconry of Canterbury by the deprivation of the Archbiſhop's brother.

Cranmer tries to evade the archbiſhopric.

Cranmer *Noluit epiſcopari*, had no mind to be Archbiſhop. He loved his ſtudies, and affected retirement, and well knew the dangers and temptations of a public ſtation. But eſpecially he could not induce his mind to take his office from the Pope, and to ſwear fidelity to him as well as to the King: whereby he ſhould enſnare himſelf in two contrary oaths. Wherefore, when the King ſent for him home from his embaſſy in Germany, with a deſign to lay that honourable burden upon him, he, gueſſing the reaſon, firſt endeavoured to delay his coming, by ſignifying to the King ſome matters of importance that would require his tarrying there

CHAP. IV.

ſomewhat longer for the King's ſervice: hoping in that while the King might have beſtowed the place upon ſome other. In fine, our hiſtorians ſay, he ſtayed abroad one half year longer. But I find him in England in the month of November, which was not much more than a quarter of a year after Warham's death. Then the King was married to the Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and Cranmer was preſent. So that the King muſt have ſent for him home in June, two or three months before the Archbiſhop's death: probably while he was in a declining dying condition. But after, when that which Cranmer ſeemed to ſuſpect of certain emergencies in thoſe parts, wherein the Engliſh ſtate might be concerned, fell not out; the King again commanded his return home. Now more perfectly knowing, by ſome of his friends, the King's intentions to make him Archbiſhop, he made means, by divers of his friends, to ſhift it off, deſiring rather ſome ſmaller living. Anno 1532

Declares the reaſon thereof to the King.

At length the King brake his mind to him, that it was his full purpoſe to beſtow that dignity upon him for his ſervice, and for the good opinion he conceived of him. But his long diſabling himſelf nothing diſſuaded the King, till at laſt he humbly craved the King's pardon, for that he ſhould declare to him, and that was, "That if he ſhould accept it, "he muſt receive it at the Pope's hand, which he neither "would nor could do: for that his Highneſs was the only "ſupreme governor of the Church of England, as well in "cauſes eccleſiaſtical as temporal; and that the full right of "donation of all manner of benefices and biſhoprics, as well "as any other temporal dignities and promotions, apper-"tained to him, and not to any other foreign authority. "And therefore if he might ſerve God, him, and his country, "in that vocation, he would accept it of his Majeſty, and of "no ſtranger, who had no authority within this realm." Whereat the King made a pauſe; and then aſked him how he was able to prove it. At which time he alledged ſeveral texts out of Scripture, and the Fathers, proving the ſupreme authority of Kings in their own realms and dominions: and withal ſhewing the intolerable uſurpations of the Biſhops of Rome. Of this the King talked ſeveral times with him; and perceiving that he could not be brought to acknowledge the

BOOK I. Anno 1532.

Pope's authority, the King called one Dr. Oliver, an eminent lawyer, and other civilians, and deviſed with them how he might beſtow the archbiſhopric upon him, ſalving his conſcience. They ſaid, he might do it by way of proteſtation: and ſo one to be ſent to Rome to take the oath, and do every thing in his name. Cranmer ſaid to this, it ſhould be *ſuper animam ſuam*; and ſeemed to be ſatisfied in what the lawyers told him. And accordingly, when he was conſecrated, made his proteſtation, "That he did not admit the Pope's "authority any further than it agreed with the expreſs "word of God: and that it might be lawful for him at all "times to ſpeak againſt him, and to impugn his errors, "when there ſhould be occaſion." And ſo he did.

The Archbiſhop's brother is made Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Somner, Hiſt. of Cant. p. 322. ex lib. Eccleſ. Cant.

Whether Warham, the Archdeacon, had conceived any prejudice againſt our new Archbiſhop, by ſome warning given him by the former Archbiſhop, as was hinted above; or whether he was willing to give place upon Cranmer's entreaty, that he might provide for his brother: ſo it was, that Edmund Cranmer, brother to the Archbiſhop, ſucceeded Warham in the archdeaconry of Canterbury, and the provoſtſhip of Wingham: who parted with both theſe dignities by ceſſion: and, by the privity and conſent of the Archbiſhop, he had a ſtipend or penſion of ſixty pounds per annum allowed him, during his life, out of the archdeaconry; and twenty pounds per annum out of Wingham, by his ſucceſſor aforeſaid: who continued archdeacon until Queen Mary's days, and was then deprived; and his prebend, and his parſonage of Ickham, all taken from him in the year 1554, for being a married clerk. The firſt was given to Nicholas Harpsfield; the ſecond to Robert Collins, bachelor of law, and commiſſary of Canterbury; and the third to Robert Marſh.

The King linked Cranmer with him in all his proceedings about Q. Katharine.

The King had before linked him into his great buſineſs about Queen Katharine and the Lady Ann. So now, when he had nominated him for Archbiſhop, he made him a party and an actor in every ſtep almoſt which he took in that affair. For to fetch the matter a little backward; not long before the archiepiſcopal ſee was devolved upon Cranmer, the King had created the Lady Ann Marchioneſs of Pembroke, and taken her along with him in great ſtate into France; when, by their mutual conſent, there was an interview ap-

pointed between the two Kings. At Calais King Henry permitted Francis the French King to take a view of this lady, who then made both Kings a curious and rich maſk, where both honoured her by dancing: this was in the month of October. In the month before I find a parcel of very rich jewels were ſent from Greenwich to Hampton-Court by Mr. Norrys; probably he who was Groom of the Stole, and executed upon Queen Ann's buſineſs afterwards. Which jewels, as ſome of them might be for the King's own wearing, now he was going into France; ſo in all probability others were either lent or given to the Marchioneſs to adorn and make her fine, when ſhe ſhould appear and give her entertainment to the French King. For the ſake of ſuch as be curious, I have ſet down, in the Appendix, a particular of theſe moſt ſplendid and royal jewels, from an original ſigned with the King's own hand in token of his receipt of them.

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1532.

Sept. 21.

Appendix, No. III.

Immediately after the King's and the Marchioneſs's return from France, he married her. At which wedding, though very private, the Archbiſhop was one that aſſiſted, according to the Lord Herbert; but, according to the author of the Britannic Antiquities, did the ſacred office. When ſhe was crowned Queen, which was Whitſuntide following, the Archbiſhop performed the ceremonies. When, after that, the King had a daughter by her, he would have the Archbiſhop aſſiſt at the chriſtening, and be her godfather. And before this, when Queen Katharine was to be divorced from the King, and the Pope's diſpenſation of that marriage declared null, our Archbiſhop pronounced the ſentence, and made the declaration ſolemnly and publicly at Dunſtable Priory. Thus the King dipped and engaged Cranmer with himſelf in all his proceeding in this cauſe. Now as all theſe doings had danger in them, ſo eſpecially this laſt highly provoked the Pope for doing this without his leave and authority, as being a preſumptuous encroachment upon his prerogative. Inſomuch that a public act was made at Rome, that unleſs the King undid all that he had done, and reſtored all things *in integrum*, leaving them to his deciſion, he would excommunicate him. And this ſentence was affixed and ſet up publicly at Dunkirk. Which put the King upon an appeal

Rex D. Annam Bullenam, Thomæ Cranmero ſacra miniſtrante, uxorem duxit.

BOOK I.

from the Pope to the next general council, lawfully called. The Archbiſhop alſo, foreſeeing the Pope's threatening hovering likewiſe over his head, by the King's advice, made his appeal by the Engliſh ambaſſador there. I have ſeen the King's original letter to Dr. Bonner, ordering him to ſignify to the Pope, in order and form of law, his appeal, ſending him alſo the inſtrument of his appeal, with the proxy deviſed for that purpoſe. This bare date Auguſt 18th from his caſtle at Windſor. I have repoſited it in the Appendix. Which order of the King Bonner did accordingly diſcharge at an audience he got of the Pope at Marſeilles, November 7. And that letter which the Lord Herbert ſaith he ſaw of Bonner to the King, wherein he ſignified as much, muſt be his anſwer to this of the King to him.

Anno 1532. The King and the Archbiſhop appeal from the Pope to a general council.

The King writes to Dr. Bonner in that behalf. No. IV.

Anno 1533. The Archbiſhop is conſecrated.

Dr. Cranmer having now yielded to the King to accept the archbiſhopric, it was in the beginning of the next year, *viz.* 1533, March 30, and in the 24th of King Henry, that he received his conſecration: but that uſhered in with abundance of bulls, ſome dated in February, and ſome in March, from Pope Clement, to the number of eleven: as may be ſeen at length in the beginning of this Archbiſhop's regiſter.

The Pope's bulls.

The firſt was to King Henry, upon his nomination of Cranmer to him to be Archbiſhop. The Pope alloweth and promoteth him accordingly. The ſecond was a bull to Cranmer himſelf, ſignifying the ſame. The third bull abſolved him from any ſentences of excommunication, ſuſpenſion, interdiction, &c. It was written from the Pope to him, under the title of Archdeacon of Taunton in the Church of Wells, and Maſter in Theology; and ran thus:

Nos ne forſan aliquibus ſententiis, cenſuris et pœnis Eccleſiaſticis, ligatus ſis, &c. Volentes te a quibuſvis excommunicationis, ſuſpenſionis, et interdicti, aliiſque Eccleſiaſticis ſententiis, cenſuris, et pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa latis, &c. Authoritate prædicta, tenore præſentium, abſolvimus, et abſolutum fore nuntiamus, non obſtantibus conſtitutionibus, et ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, &c. One might think that this bull was drawn up peculiarly for Cranmer's caſe; who, by reaſon he might have been ſuſpected as infected with Lutheraniſm, or had meddled too much in the King's

matrimonial cauſe; and ſo entangled in the church's cenſures, might have need of ſuch aſſoiling. But I ſuppoſe it was but a cuſtomary bull. A fourth bull was to the ſuffragans of Canterbury; that is, to all the biſhops in the province; ſignifying Cranmer's advancement to be their metropolitan. Another to the city and dioceſe of Canterbury. Another to the chapter of the ſaid church. Another to the vaſſals of the church: that is, to all ſuch as held lands of it. Another to the people of the city. Another, wherewith the pall was ſent to the Archbiſhop of York, and the Biſhop of London. Another, of the deſtination of the pall: which, the bull ſaith, was taken *de corpore B. Petri*, to be preſented to him by the Archbiſhop of York and the Biſhop of London, or one of them, after he had received the gift of conſecration. In this bull of the deſtination is an order, not to uſe the pall but on thoſe proper days which were expreſsly mentioned in the privileges of the church: on purpoſe to beget a greater eſteem and veneration of this, and whatſoever baubles elſe came from Rome, and brought ſuch treaſure thither. CHAP. IV. Anno 1533.

The Archbiſhop, according to cuſtom, received theſe bulls, which the Pope ſent him to inveſt him with the archbiſhopric. But he ſurrendered them up to the King; becauſe he would not own the Pope as the giver of this eccleſiaſtical dignity, but the King only, as he declared at his trial before Queen Mary's commiſſioners at Oxford in the year 1555. The Archbiſhop ſurrenders them to the King.

As to the act of conſecration, firſt, they aſſembled in the chapter-houſe of the King's College of St. Stephen, near the King's palace of Weſtminſter. Preſent as witneſſes Watkins, the King's prothonotary; Dr. John Tregonwel; Thomas Bedyl, clerk of the King's council; Richard Guent, doctor of decrees, of the court of Canterbury principal official; and John Cocks, the Archbiſhop's auditor of the audience, and vicar-general in ſpirituals. The firſt thing that was done by the Archbiſhop elect, was for the ſatisfaction of his conſcience: who was now before his conſecration to take an oath of fidelity to the Pope, which will follow by and by. This he ſaw confiſted by no means with his allegiance to his ſovereign: and therefore, how common and cuſtomary ſoever it were for biſhops to take it, yet Cranmer in the firſt place, in the ſaid chapter-houſe, before the ſaid witneſſes, made a pro- The method of the conſecration.

BOOK I. Anno 1583.

teſtation, wherein he declared, that he intended not by the oath that he was to take, and was cuſtomary for biſhops to take to the Pope, to bind himſelf to do any thing contrary to the laws of God, the King's prerogative, or to the commonwealth and ſtatutes of the kingdom: nor to tie himſelf up from ſpeaking his mind freely in matters relating to the reformation of religion, the government of the Church of England, and prerogative of the crown. And that according to this interpretation and meaning only he would take the oath, and no otherwiſe. This proteſtation, becauſe I think it is not recorded in our hiſtorians, except Maſon, (and in him imperfect,) I have put it into the Appendix *verbatim*, as I tranſcribed it out of the Archbiſhop's regiſter. And having made this proteſtation, he bad the prothonotary to make one or more public inſtruments thereof, and deſired the forementioned perſons to be witneſſes thereunto. After this proteſtation made, he, in the preſence of theſe witneſſes, being arrayed in ſacerdotal garments, went up to the ſtep of the high altar, to receive conſecration; where was ſitting in a chair, honourably adorned, John Longland, the Biſhop of Lincoln, having on his pontificals, aſſiſted by John Voicy, Biſhop of Exon, and Henry Standiſh, Biſhop of St. Aſaph; holding in his hand a ſchedule with the oath, which he was now going to take to the Pope: and having withal his proteſtation, he, before the aforeſaid witneſſes, aſſerted and proteſted, that he would read the ſchedule, and perform the oath therein contained under the ſaid proteſtation, which he ſaid he made the ſame day in the chapter-houſe before thoſe witneſſes, and no otherwiſe, nor in any other manner. And then preſently after, kneeling on his knees, read the ſchedule, containing the oath to the Pope: which I have repoſited in the Appendix.

De Miniſter. p. 154. No. V.

No. VI.

Then the biſhops proceeded to the conſecrating of the Archbiſhop. And then again, after the ſolemn conſecration was finiſhed, being about to receive his pall, when he was to take another oath to the Pope, he proteſted again, in the preſence of the ſame witneſſes, that he took the following oath under the ſame proteſtation as he made before in the chapter-houſe, nor would perform it any other ways; and then took the oath. And after he had taken it, deſired the

prothonotary the third time to make a public inſtrument or inſtruments thereof. Which he did. CHAP. IV.

Anno 1533.

To theſe oaths I will add one more, which the Archbiſhop took with a better ſtomach to the King, for his temporalties. This was for the moſt part the accuſtomable oath of biſhops to the King, when they ſued for their temporalties; but hardly reconcileable with the oath they had taken to the Pope: becauſe in this oath was mentioned a renouncing of all privileges and grants of the Pope, by virtue of his bulls, that might be prejudicial to the King, and an acknowledgment, that they held their biſhoprics only of the King, which the Archbiſhop worded more fully, *viz.* That he held his archbiſhopric of the King immediately and only, and of none other. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this oath. No. VII.

The Archbiſhop's oath for the temporalties.

One of the firſt ſervices the Archbiſhop did for the King was the pronouncing the ſentence of divorce from his former Queen Katharine, which was done May 23; but drew an implacable hatred upon him from the Pope and Emperor abroad, as well as the papiſts at home. And Queen Mary would not forget it when ſhe came to the crown, taking then her full revenge upon him: though in the ſame commiſſion, wherein this ſentence was pronounced, ſat the Biſhops of Winton, London, Bath, Lincoln, and many other great clerks. And though he pronounced the ſentence, he was but the mouth of the reſt, and they were all in as deep as he.

The Archbiſhop pronounceth the divorce.

There is a ſhort account of Archbiſhop Cranmer's judgment of the unlawfulneſs of this marriage, digeſted under twelve articles, with his own name writ by himſelf on the top of the paper; which Biſhop Burnet tranſcribed from a Cotton manuſcript, and inſerted into his hiſtory. It bears this title: *Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonſtratur, Divortium inter Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem Invictiſſimum, et Sereniſſimam Catharinam neceſſario eſſe faciendum.* The twelfth and concluding article is this: "We think that the "pretended matrimony of Henry King of England, and "Katharine the Queen, hath been, and is none at all; being "prohibited both by the law of God and nature."

The Archbiſhop's judgment of the marriage.

Vol. i. Collect. p. 95.

BOOK I.

Anno 1533.

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop viſits his Dioceſe.

The Archbiſhop forbids preaching.

AFTER his ſentence againſt Queen Katharine, and confirmation of Queen Ann's marriage, one thing he did, which looked as if he was not like to prove any great friend to a reformation: for he forbad all preaching throughout his dioceſe, and warned the reſt of the biſhops throughout England to do the ſame, as I have it from an old journal made by a monk of St. Auguſtine's, Canterbury. But this was only for a time, till orders for preachers and the beads could be finiſhed: it being thought convenient that preaching at this juncture ſhould be reſtrained, becauſe now the matter of ſermons chiefly conſiſted in toſſing about the King's marriage with the Lady Ann, and condemning ſo publicly and boldly his doings againſt Queen Katharine; the prieſts being ſet on work by her friends and faction.

Foxii MSS.

Viſits his dioceſe.

In October or November the Archbiſhop went down to Canterbury, in order to a viſitation.

Auguſt. Monk's journal.

The third day of December the Archbiſhop received the pontifical ſeat in the monaſtery of the holy Trinity. And ſoon after, *viz.* the ninth of the ſame month, began to go on viſitation throughout all his dioceſe, that he might have finiſhed that work before the ſeſſions of the parliament.

The deluſion of a nun in Kent.

This ſame year a remarkable deluſion was diſcovered in the Archbiſhop's dioceſe, and even under his noſe, the ſcene being chiefly laid in Canterbury, by ſome belonging to the cathedral church. For a certain nun, called Elizabeth Barton, by marvellous hypocriſy mocked all Kent, and almoſt all England: for which cauſe ſhe was put in priſon in London; where ſhe confeſſed many horrible things againſt the King and the Queen. This forenamed Elizabeth had many adherents, but eſpecially Dr. Bocking, monk of Chriſt's Church in Canterbury, who was her chief author in her diſſimulation. All of them at the laſt were accuſed of treaſon, hereſy, and conſpiracy; and ſo ſtood in penance before the open croſs of St. Paul's in London; and in Canterbury, in the church-yard of the monaſtery of the holy

Trinity, at the ſermon time, they ſtood over the high ſeat: where of the preacher they were grievouſly rebuked for their horrible fact. And in April the next year, ſhe, with Bocking and Dering, another monk of Canterbury, were led out of priſon through all the ſtreets of London unto Tyburn, where ſhe and theſe monks, and alſo two brothers of the Minors, ſuffered with the reſt upon the gallows for treaſon and hereſy.

In the month of November the Archbiſhop ſent a letter to Bonner, the King's ambaſſador at Marſeilles, together with his appeal from the Pope, to be there ſignified, as was hinted before. The reaſon whereof was this: upon the King's divorce from Queen Katharine, the Pope had by a public inſtrument declared the divorce to be null and void, and threatened him with excommunication, unleſs he would revoke all that he had done. Gardiner Biſhop of Winton about this time, and upon this occaſion, was ſent ambaſſador to the French King; and Bonner ſoon after followed him to Marſeilles, where Gardiner, at the interview between the French King and the Pope, now was: for the King and the council apprehended ſome miſchief to be hatching againſt the kingdom by the Pope; who was now inciting the Emperor and other princes to make war upon us. And indeed he had vaunted, as the Lord Herbert declares, that he would ſet all Chriſtendom againſt the King. And the Emperor in diſcourſe had averred, that by the means of Scotland he would avenge his aunt's quarrel. The Archbiſhop in this juncture had ſecret intimation of a deſign to excommunicate him, and interdict his church. Whereupon, as the King by Bonner, November 7, had made his appeal from the Pope to the next general council lawfully called; ſo, by the King and council's advice, the Archbiſhop ſoon after did the ſame; ſending his appeal with his proxy, under his ſeal, to Bonner, deſiring him, together with Gardiner, to conſult together, and to intimate his appeal in the beſt manner they could think expedient for him. And this letter he wrote by the King's own commandment. It was not the hand of the Archbiſhop, nor of his ſecretary: ſo I ſuppoſe it was drawn up by ſome of his own lawyers; and is as followeth:

The Archbiſhop appeals from the Pope.

" In my right hearty manner I commend me to you. So

BOOK I.

Anno 1533. The Archbiſhop's letter to Bonner. Cleopat. E. 6.

" it is, as you know right well, I ſtand in dread, leſt our " holy father the Pope do intend to make ſome manner of " prejudicial proceſs againſt me and my church. And there- " fore, having probable conjectures thereof, I have appealed " from his Holineſs to the general council, accordingly as " his Highneſs and his council have adviſed me to do. Which " my appeal and procuracy under my ſeal, I do ſend unto " you herewith; deſiring you right heartily to have me " commended to my Lord of Wincheſter, and with his ad- " vice and counſel to intimate the ſaid provocation after the " beſt manner that his Lordſhip and you ſhall think moſt " expedient for me. I am the bolder thus to write unto " you, becauſe the King's highneſs commandeth me this to " do, as you ſhall, I truſt, further perceive by his grace's " letter: nothing doubting in your goodneſs, but at this " mine own deſire you will be contented to take this pains, " though his highneſs ſhall percaſe forget to write unto you " therein. Which your pains and kindneſs, if it ſhall lie in " me in time to come to recompenſe, I wol not forget it with " God's grace. Who preſerve you, as myſelf. From Lam- " beth, the 27th day of November.

Thomas Cantuar."

Diſputes in the parliament againſt the Pope's ſupremacy.

Life of Cranmer, inter Foxii MSS.

Cranmer being now placed at the head of the Church of England, next under God and the King, and the chief care of it devolved upon him, his great ſtudy was conſcientiouſly to diſcharge this high vocation. And one of the firſt things wherein he ſhewed his good ſervice to the church, was done in the parliament in the latter end of this year 1533. When the ſupremacy came under debate, and the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome was propounded, then the old collections of the new Archbiſhop did him good ſervice; for the chief, and in a manner the whole burden of this weighty cauſe was laid upon his ſhoulders. Inſomuch that he was forced to anſwer to all that ever the whole rabble of the papiſts could ſay for the defence of the Pope's ſupremacy: and he anſwered ſo plainly, directly, and truly to all their arguments, and proved ſo evidently and ſtoutly, both by the word of God, and conſent of the primitive Church, that this uſurped power of the Pope is a mere tyranny, and directly

againſt the law of God; and that the power of Emperors and Kings is the higheſt power here upon earth; unto which, Biſhops, Prieſts, Popes, and Cardinals ought to ſubmit themſelves, and are as much bound to obey, as their temporal ſubjects, or laymen, (as the prieſts call them;) that the iſſue was the aboliſhing of that foreign papal power, and the expulſion of it out of this realm, by the full conſent of parliament. CHAP. V. Anno 1533.

A licence, dated Feb. 13. this year, was granted by the Archbiſhop to Mary the relict of Sir Henry Guilford, Kt. to have the euchariſt, matrimony, and baptiſm, miniſtered in any chapel or oratory within her manors where ſhe ſhould reſide, during her life. And ſuch a licence, dated alſo Feb. 13. the next year, was granted by him to Margaret Marchioneſs of Dorſet. Whether indulged to them by the Archbiſhop, the rather to free them from danger for not frequenting their pariſh-churches, and for the avoiding the ſuperſtitious and idolatrous worſhip there performed; and that there might be ſome private places for purer worſhipping God, and adminiſtration of the ſacraments; or only for the convenience of thoſe ladies, the reader hath liberty to judge. Licences for chapels. Cran. Reg.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbiſhop preſſeth the Tranſlation of the Bible.

THIS rub of the papal power being now taken out of the way, and the King's ſupremacy ſettled in the next ſeſſions of parliament, in November 1534. a way was opened for a reformation of errors and abuſes in religion. So that, as the Archbiſhop judged it a thing impoſſible to make any amendment of religion under the Pope's dominion; ſo he thought it now (the ſame being diſpatched out of the realm) a meet time to reſtore the true doctrine of Chriſt, according to the word of God, and the old primitive church, within his juriſdiction and cure; and, with the ſaid Pope, to aboliſh alſo all falſe doctrine, errors, and hereſies, by him brought into the church; for the accompliſhing of which he let paſs no opportunities. The Archbiſhop labours the reformation of the Church.

BOOK I.

Anno 1534. What he did this convocation.

A convocation now afforded him one. Our Archbiſhop, from his firſt entrance upon his dignity, had it much in his mind to get the holy Scriptures put into the vulgar language, and a liberty for all to read them. The convocation now was ſo well diſpoſed, by the influence of the Archbiſhop and his friends, that they did petition the King, that the Bible might be tranſlated by ſome learned men of his Highneſs's nomination. And as this good motion was briefly made in the houſe by the Archbiſhop, ſo they agreed upon him to carry their petition. But they clogged it with another, which the Archbiſhop did not ſo well approve of: for about the month of December they paſſed this order of convocation: "The Biſhops, Abbots, Priors of this upper houſe of "convocation, of the province of Canterbury, met together "in the chapter-houſe of St. Paul, unanimouſly did conſent, "that the moſt Reverend Father the Archbiſhop ſhould "make inſtance in their names to the King, that his Majeſty "would vouchſafe, for the increaſe of the faith of his ſub-"jects, to decree and command, that all his ſubjects, in "whoſe poſſeſſion any books of ſuſpect doctrine were, eſpe-"cially in the vulgar language, imprinted beyond or on "this ſide the ſea, ſhould be warned, within three months, "to bring them in before perſons to be appointed by the "King, under a certain pain to be limited by the King.

"And that moreover his Majeſty would vouchſafe to de-"cree, that the Scriptures ſhould be tranſlated into the vul-"gar tongue, by ſome honeſt and learned men, to be no-"minated by the King, and to be delivered unto the people "according to their learning." This was reſolved in the convocation, December 19.

Accordingly the King iſſued out ſoon after his proclamation. What this proclamation was I do not know, unleſs it were one I meet with about this time, againſt bringing in or printing ſeditious books of Anabaptiſts and Sacramentaries, who were ſaid to be lately come into the realm; and againſt ſome of his own ſubjects, who publicly diſputed in taverns and other open places, upon thoſe points of religion, which the King was offended withal. For the correction and regulating of which, the King in the ſaid proclamation commanded ſundry articles to be obſerved; which for the length

of them I have put into the Appendix. (No. VIII.) Unleſs perhaps this proclamation may belong to the year 1538. CHAP. VI. Anno 1534.

About the month of June this year, was a book drawn up for biſhops and prieſts, wherein was an order for preaching; and in the ſame were forms deviſed for the beads, as well for preachers as curates: in which forms the King's title of *Supreme Head* was ſpecified. In this book was commandment given by the King, that every preacher ſhould, before Eaſter, once in ſolemn audience, declare the uſurped juriſdiction, within this realm, of the Biſhop of Rome, and the King's juſt cauſe to decline from the ſame: and alſo to open and declare ſuch things as might avow and juſtify the King's refuſal of marriage with the Princeſs Dowager, and his contract anew with Queen Ann. And alſo in the ſame book an order was given for the ſuppreſſion of the general ſentence or curſe. This book the Archbiſhop, who we may well ſuppoſe had a great hand in it, ſent, by the King's commandment, to all the biſhops, and to the Archbiſhop of York, though out of his province: that Archbiſhop lying under ſome jealouſy, as it ſeems, with the King.

A book for preaching, and the beads.

Diſperſed by the Archbiſhop to all the biſhops.

Therefore, after the receipt of the book, the ſaid Archbiſhop of York the next Sunday, which was the ſecond Sunday after Trinity, went from Cawood to York, and there in his own perſon declared, as well the King's cauſe touching the matrimony, as his refuſal of the Pope's juriſdiction, ſo fully, that nothing that needed to be opened was left unſpoken, as that Archbiſhop wrote himſelf to the King in his own vindication. And, that the auditory might be the greater, he ſent to York forthwith, upon the receipt of the book, to publiſh there, that he would be there the next Sunday following, and cauſed the churches to make an end of their ſervice in ſuch time, as every man might have opportunity to be at the ſermon: and eſpecially required the Mayor and his brethren, and one Mr. Magnus, and Sir George Lawſon, his Majeſty's chaplains, to be there: and a very great confluence there was. Then the Archbiſhop preached from that text, *Uxorem duxi*, &c. Whence he took occaſion to utter and declare both his foreſaid matters, and the injury done to the King's highneſs by Pope Clement.

The Archbiſhop of York preaches at York.

As the convocation this year had declared the Pope to

BOOK I.

have no juriſdiction in this kingdom, ſo this would not ſerve the King till all the learned and ſpiritual men in England had ſubſcribed to it with their hands. The Archbiſhop's church of Canterbury began. For the Prior and Convent thereof, moved and influenced not a little by their dioceſan, ſolemnly ſubſcribed an inſtrument for aboliſhing the Pope's ſupremacy, and for acknowledgment of the King Supreme Head of the Church of England, under this poſition.

Anno 1534. The Clergy and Univerſities ſubſcribe againſt the Pope.

Cleopat. E. 6. p. 208.

Quod Romanus Epiſcopus non habet majorem aliquam juriſdictionem a Deo ſibi collatam in hoc regno Angliæ, quam quivis externus Epiſcopus. That is,

That the Biſhop of Rome hath not ſome greater juriſdiction conferred upon him by God in this realm of England, than any other foreign Biſhop.

This was conſented to by the Prior's own hand ſubſcribed, and ſixty-nine of the convent beſides: the original whereof is in a volume of the Cotton library. In another place of the ſame volume is extant the ſubſcription of the Biſhops, Deans, and ſeveral Abbots; and, after that, of the Univerſity of Oxford, and all the particular colleges: and, after that, the names of all the ſubſcribing Priors of England.

Page 458.

Cranmer and others adminiſter the oath of ſucceſſion to the Clergy.

The Archbiſhop was one employed about the act of ſucceſſion, that was made the laſt ſeſſions of parliament: which was to inveſt the ſucceſſion to the crown upon the heirs of Queen Ann; and that Queen Katharine ſhould be no more called Queen, but Princeſs Dowager. In the preamble to the act, there were certain touches againſt the Pope's ſupremacy, and againſt his power of diſpenſing in the King's former marriage with his brother's wife, carnally known by him. To this act all perſons were to ſwear, to accept and maintain the ſame, upon pain of treaſon. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Audley, Secretary Crumwel, the Abbot of Weſtminſter, and others, were the King's commiſſioners appointed to tender this oath. The nobility and gentry took it, none denying, to which they ſet their hands in a long liſt.

On the 13th of April, the commiſſioners ſat at Lambeth to receive the oaths of the Clergy, and chiefly thoſe of London, that had not yet ſworn; who all took it, not one ex-

cepted. And a certain doctor, Vicar of Croydon, that it ſeems made ſome boggle before, went up with the reſt: of whom Sir Thomas More, who then ſtood by, made an obſervation, how, as he paſt, he went to my Lord's buttery-hatch, and called for drink, and drank *valde familiariter*; whether, ſaith he ſarcaſtically, it were for gladneſs, or dryneſs, or *quod ille notus erat Pontifici*. The oath alſo now was taken by Dr. Wylſon, a great court-divine in thoſe days, who for Queen Katharine's buſineſs was a priſoner at this time, though a great while he was unſatisfied, and conſulted much with Sir Thomas More about the lawfulneſs of taking it.

The ſame day were conveyed hither from the Tower, Biſhop Fiſher, and Sir Thomas More, the only layman at this meeting, to tender this oath to them: who both, being ſeparately called, refuſed it. After the Clergy were ſworn and diſpatched, immediately Sir Thomas by himſelf was ſent for the ſecond time. Now he had much talk with the Lords, who would fain have brought him to comply. They urged him to declare the cauſes why he would not ſwear: but he excuſed his ſo doing. Then they charged him with obſtinacy: he ſaid, it was not obſtinacy, but becauſe he might not declare his mind without peril of incurring the King's further diſpleaſure. He told the commiſſioners, that for his part he condemned not the conſciences of any; but that he was diſſatisfied in his own conſcience for certain reaſons. The Archbiſhop, taking hold of this, ſpake to him thus; "That it appeared well, that Sir Thomas did not take "it for a very ſure thing and a certain, that he might not "lawfully ſwear, but rather as a thing uncertain and doubt-"ful. But you know, ſaid my Lord, for a certainty, and for "a thing without doubt, that you be bound to obey your "ſovereign Lord the King. And therefore are you bound "to leave off the doubt of your unſure conſcience, in re-"fuſing the oath, and take the ſure way in obeying of your "Prince, who commands you to ſwear." This argument, as Sir Thomas confeſſed in one of his letters to his daughter Roper, ſeemed ſo ſubtil, and with ſuch authority coming out of ſo noble a prelate's mouth, that he could anſwer again nothing thereto: but only that he thought with himſelf,

And to Sir Thomas More, who refuſed it.

Sir Thomas More's letters.

Cranmer's argument with him.

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

that he might not ſo do, becauſe that in his conſcience this was one of the cauſes in which he was bounden, that he ſhould not obey his Prince; ſith that whatſoever other folks thought in the matter, (whoſe conſcience or learning, as he ſaid, he would not condemn, or take upon him to judge,) yet in his conſcience the truth ſeemed on the other ſide, wherein he had informed his conſcience neither ſuddenly nor ſlightly, but by long leiſure and diligent ſearch for the matter.

More offers to ſwear to the ſucceſſion itſelf.

In fine, the fartheſt Sir Thomas could be brought, and which he offered voluntarily that morning, was to ſwear to the ſucceſſion, (which was the main deſign of the act,) though not to the preamble. At parting, the Lord Chancellor bad the ſecretary, before More, take notice, that More denied not, but was content to ſwear the ſucceſſion. More aſſented, and ſaid, in that point he would be contented, ſo that he might ſee the oath ſo framed, as might ſtand with his conſcience.

Biſhop Fiſher offers the ſame.

Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, offered the ſame before this aſſembly that More had done; and, in a letter of his afterwards writ to the ſecretary, aſſigned the reaſon why he could, with a good conſcience, ſwear to the ſucceſſion, *viz.* becauſe he doubted not but that the Prince of a realm, with the aſſent of the nobles and commons, might appoint his ſucceſſors according as he pleaſed. In the Appendix this letter will be found, which Biſhop Fiſher writ upon occaſion of the ſecretary's advice, who laboured to gain him, that he ſhould write to the King, to declare his mind to him in ſwearing to the ſucceſſion; and to petition him to let that ſuffice, becauſe his conſcience could not conſent to the reſt of the act. The ſecretary alſo had ſent unto Fiſher, lying in the Tower, Lee, Biſhop elect of Lichfield and Coventry; to whom he declared again, that he would take the oath to the ſucceſſion; and moreover, that he would ſwear never to meddle more in diſputation of the matrimony, and promiſed all allegiance to the King. But he told Lee, his conſcience could not be convinced that the marriage was againſt the law of God, becauſe of a prohibition in the Levitical law. See Lee's letter, in the Appendix, to Secretary Crumwel.

No. IX.

No. X.

The Archbiſhop, ſoon after that meeting of the commiſſion-

ers at Lambeth, retired to Croydon: and being a man not kind to his own party and perſuaſion only, and fierce and bloody-minded to them that differed from him, but compaſſionate towards all, friend and foe; his tender ſpirit ſuggeſted to him, to make this ſerve for an occaſion to intercede for More and Fiſher to Crumwel; ſhewing him in a letter, dated April the 17th, how adviſable in his judgment it would be to be ſatisfied with that oath they had offered to ſwear, in caſe they would ſwear to maintain the ſaid ſucceſſion againſt all power and potentates: urging to him that there would be theſe advantages gained thereby. Firſt, that it would be a means to ſatisfy the conſciences of the Princeſs Dowager and the Lady Mary; who it ſeems made it a matter of conſcience and ſin to abandon their titles. Alſo, that it might tend to ſtop the Emperor's mouth, and the mouths of other their friends, when Fiſher and More, who had ſtickled ſo much for them, ſhould now own that ſucceſſion, which would be in effect a diſowning of them. Secondly, that it might be a means to reſolve and quiet alſo many others in the realm that were in doubt, when ſuch great men ſhould affirm, by oath and ſubſcription, that the ſucceſſion mentioned in the ſaid act was good, and according to God's laws. And he thought, that, after two ſuch had ſworn, there would be ſcarce one in the kingdom would reclaim againſt it. And thirdly, that though a great many in the realm could not be brought to alter from their opinions of the validity of the King's former marriage, and of the Biſhop of Rome's authority, that it would be a great point gained, if all with one accord would own and acknowledge the ſucceſſion.

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1534.

The Archbiſhop writes to Crumwel in their behalf.

Weaver, the author of the Funeral Monuments, tranſcribed this letter out of the Cotton library, and inſerted it into his ſaid book: and the thing he takes notice of therein is, the *wiſdom and policy of the prudent Archbiſhop*. I ſhall take notice of another thing, and which I ſuppoſe was the great cauſe that employed his pen at this time, namely, his tender heart, and abhorrence from blood-ſhedding: propounding theſe politic conſiderations to the ſecretary, which were the propereſt arguments to be uſed with a ſtateſman, and for him to uſe and urge before the King; that ſo he

The Archbiſhop's endeavour to ſave the lives of More and Fiſher.

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

might be an inſtrument of ſaving the lives of theſe men, however they differed from him, and it may be were none of his very good friends. This letter of the Archbiſhop's, as I myſelf took it from the original, I thought worthy depoſiting among Cranmer's monuments in the Appendix. But this offer of theirs, notwithſtanding the Archbiſhop's arguments and endeavours, would not be accepted. The King would not be ſatisfied with this ſwearing by halves.

No. XI.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbiſhop viſits the Dioceſe of Norwich.

A *præmunire* brought againſt Biſhop Nix.

THE Popiſh Biſhops were now at a low ebb; and, being under the frowns of their Prince, other men took the opportunities, upon their ſlips, to get them puniſhed. A ſtorm now fell upon Richard Nix, Biſhop of Norwich, a vicious and diſſolute man, as Godwin writes. Againſt him was a *præmunire* this year (25 of Henry VIII.) brought. That, *de tout temps*, there had been a cuſtom in the town of Thetford in the county of Norfolk, that no inhabitant of the ſame town ſhould be drawn in plea in any court chriſtian for any ſpiritual cauſes, but before the Dean in the ſaid town. And there was a preſentment in the King's court before the Mayor of the town, by twelve jurors, that there was ſuch a cuſtom. And beſide, that whoſoever ſhould draw any man out of the ſaid town, in any ſpiritual court, ſhould forfeit ſix ſhillings and eight pence. The Biſhop nevertheleſs cited the Mayor to appear before him, *pro ſalute animæ*; and upon his appearance libelled for that cauſe, and enjoined him, upon pain of excommunication, not to admit the ſaid preſentment. And whenas the Biſhop could not deny his fact, judgment was given, that he ſhould be out of the King's protection, his goods and chattels forfeited, and his body impriſoned during the King's pleaſure. For which he had the King's pardon. Which was afterwards confirmed in parliament.

Cotton Librar. Cleop. F. 1.

The Archbiſhop viſits this Biſhop's ſee.

This Biſhop's dioceſe was now in ſuch diſorder, that the Archbiſhop inſtituted a viſitation of that ſee; wherein Wil-

liam May, LL.D. was the Archbiſhop's commiſſary. The 28th of July, the Biſhop was called and ſummoned to appear, but appeared not: and ſo was pronounced *contumax*. But at another meeting he ſent Dr. Cap, his proctor, by whom he made a proteſtation againſt their doings and juriſdiction; and that it was not decent for that reverend father to appear before him, the Archbiſhop's official. However at another meeting, the Biſhop not appearing at the time and place appointed, Dr. May declared him obſtinate, and to incur the penalty of obſtinacy. After this the Biſhop, by his proctor, was willing to ſubmit to obey law, and to ſtand to the command of the Church, and to do penance for his ſaid contumacy, to be enjoined by the Archbiſhop, or his commiſſary. At another court the Biſhop appeared in perſon, and then ſhewed himſelf willing to take the ſaid commiſſary for viſitor, or any other in the name of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This Biſhop was now fourſcore years old, and blind, as appears by a writing of his ſent by his proctor, dated September 1534. He died two years after, and came in to be Biſhop in the year 1500.

CHAP. VII. Anno 1534. Cranmer's Reg.

This Biſhop ſeems to have made himſelf very odious in his dioceſe by his fierceneſs and rigors againſt ſuch as were willing to be better informed in religion; whom he would ſtyle men *favouring of the frying-pan*. He ſeized ſuch books as were brought from beyond ſea, of which ſort there were now many, which tended to lay open the corruptions of the Church; and eſpecially the New Teſtament, which he could not endure ſhould be read. And when ſome of theſe commonly gave out, that it was the King's pleaſure that ſuch books ſhould be read, he ſent up ſtudiouſly, by the Abbot of Hyde, to have this ſhewed to the King; and begged his letters under his ſeal, to be directed to him, or any body elſe whom the King pleaſed in his dioceſe, to declare it was not his pleaſure ſuch books ſhould be among his ſubjects, and to puniſh ſuch as reported it was. He ſent alſo a letter to Warham, then Archbiſhop of Canterbury, making his complaint and information to him, deſiring him to ſend for the ſaid Abbot, who ſhould tell him what his thoughts were for the ſuppreſſion of theſe men; and entreating the Archbiſhop to inform the King againſt theſe erroneous men, as

The Biſhop of Norwich a perſecutor.

BOOK I. Anno 1584.

he called them. Some part of his dioceſe was bounded with the ſea, and Ipſwich and Yarmouth, and other places of conſiderable traffic, were under his juriſdiction. And ſo there happened many merchants and mariners, who, by converſe from abroad, had received knowledge of the truth, and brought in divers good books. This mightily angered the zealous Biſhop, and he uſed all the ſeverity he could to ſtop the progreſs of evangelical truth, and wiſhed for more authority from the King to puniſh it; for his opinion was, that if they continued any time, he thought they would undo them all, as he wrote to the Archbiſhop. This letter is in the Appendix. No. XII.

Biſhops conſecrated.

Goodrick, Lee, and Salcot conſecrated Biſhops.

April the 19th, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, inveſted in his pontificals, conſecrated Thomas Goodrick, doctor of decrees, Biſhop of Ely, in his chapel at Croydon; together with Rowland Lee, doctor of law, Biſhop of Lichfield and Coventry; and John Salcot, alias Capon, doctor of law, Biſhop of Bangor: being aſſiſted by John Biſhop of Lincoln, and Chriſtopher Biſhop of Sidon.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbiſhop preacheth at Canterbury.

The Archbiſhop preaches up the King's ſupremacy at Canterbury.

IN order to the bettering the ſtate of religion in the nation, the Archbiſhop's endeavours, both with the King and the Clergy, were not wanting from time to time. And ſomething ſoon after fell out, which afforded him a fair opportunity: which was this. The King, reſolving to vindicate his own right of ſupremacy againſt the encroachments of Popes in his dominions, eſpecially now the parliament had reſtored it to him, being at Wincheſter, ſent for his Biſhops thither about Michaelmas, ordering them to go down to their reſpective dioceſes, and there in their own perſons to preach up the regal authority, and to explain to the people the reaſon of excluding the Pope from all juriſdiction in theſe realms. Our Archbiſhop, according to this command,

CHAP. VIII.

Anno 1534.

ſpeeds down into his dioceſe to promote this ſervice for the King, and the church too. He went not into the nearer parts of Kent, about Otford and Knol, where his moſt frequent reſidence uſed to be; becauſe his influence had a good effect for the inſtruction of the people thereabouts in this, as well as in other points of ſound religion: but he repaired into the eaſt parts of his dioceſe, where he preached up and down upon the two articles, of the Pope's uſurpations, and the King's ſupremacy. But the people of Canterbury being leſs perſuaded of theſe points than all his dioceſe beſides, there, in his cathedral Church, he preached two ſermons; wherein he inſiſted upon three things.

I. That the Biſhop of Rome was not God's vicar upon earth, as he was taken. Here he declared by what crafts the Biſhop of Rome had obtained his uſurped authority.

II. That the holineſs that ſee ſo much boaſted of, and by which name Popes affected to be ſtyled, was but a holineſs in name; and that there was no ſuch holineſs at Rome. And here he launched out into the vices and profligate kind of living there.

III. He inveighed againſt the Biſhop of Rome's laws: which were miſcalled *divinæ leges*, and *ſacri canones*. He ſaid, that thoſe of his laws which were good, the King had commanded to be obſerved: and ſo they were to be kept, out of obedience to him. And here he deſcended to ſpeak of the ceremonies of the Church: that they ought not to be rejected, nor yet to be obſerved with an opinion, that of themſelves they make men holy, or remit their ſins; ſeeing our ſins are remitted by the death of our Saviour Chriſt: but that they were obſerved for a common commodity, and for good order and quietneſs, as the common laws of the kingdom were. And for this cauſe, ceremonies were inſtituted in the Church, and for a remembrance of many good things; as the King's laws diſpoſe men unto juſtice and unto peace. And therefore he made it a general rule, that ceremonies were to be obſerved as the laws of the land were.

A Prior preaches againſt him.

Theſe ſermons of the Archbiſhop, it ſeems, as they were new doctrines to them, ſo they were received by them at firſt with much gladneſs. But the friars did not at all like

BOOK I. Anno 1534.

theſe diſcourſes: they thought ſuch doctrines laid open the truth too much, and might prove prejudicial unto their gains. And therefore, by a combination among themſelves, they thought it convenient that the Archbiſhop's ſermons ſhould be by ſome of their party confuted, and in the ſame place where he preached them. So ſoon after came up the Prior of the black Friars in Canterbury, levelling his diſcourſe againſt the three things that the Archbiſhop had preached. He aſſerted, the Church of Chriſt never erred: that he would not ſlander the Biſhops of Rome; and that the laws of the Church were equal with the laws of God.

This angry Prior alſo told the Archbiſhop to his face, in a good audience, concerning what he had preached of the Biſhop of Rome's vices, that he knew no vices by none of the Biſhops of Rome. And whereas the Archbiſhop had ſaid in his ſermon to the people, that he had prayed many years that we might be ſeparated from that ſee, and that he might ſee the power of Rome deſtroyed, becauſe it wrought ſo many things contrary to the honour of God, and the wealth of the realm: and becauſe he ſaw no hopes of amendment; and that he thanked God he had now ſeen it in this realm; for this the Prior cried out againſt him, that he preached uncharitably.

Whom he convents before him.

The Archbiſhop, not ſuffering his authority to be thus affronted, nor the King's ſervice to be thus hindered, convented the Prior before him before Chriſtmas. At his firſt examination, he denied that he preached againſt the Archbiſhop, and confeſſed that his Grace had not preached any thing amiſs: but ſometime afterward, being got free from the mild Archbiſhop, and being ſecretly upheld by ſome perſons in the combination, he then ſaid, he had preached amiſs in many things, and that he purpoſely preached againſt him. This created the Archbiſhop abundance of trouble in thoſe parts. The buſineſs came to the King's ears, who ſeemed to require the Archbiſhop to cenſure him in his own court.

The Archbiſhop writes to the King with the buſineſs.

But upon conſultation of this, the Archbiſhop wrote his whole mind in a letter to the King, dated from his houſe at Ford, [illegible] declaring what he had preached, and what the other had preached in contradiction to him. And withal entreated

his Majeſty, that he, the Archbiſhop, might not have the judging of him, leſt he might ſeem partial; but that he would commit the hearing unto the Lord Privy Seal, who was Crumwel: or elſe to aſſign unto him other perſons, whom his Majeſty pleaſed; that the cauſe might be jointly heard together. He appealed to the King and his council, "If the Prior did not defend the Biſhop of Rome, though "he had ſaid nothing elſe, than that the Church never "erred. For then they were no errors, as he inferred, that "were taught of the Pope's power; and that he was Chriſt's "vicar in earth, and by God's law head of all the world, "ſpiritual and temporal; and that all people muſt believe "that *de neceſſitate ſalutis;* and that whoſoever did any "thing againſt the ſee of Rome, is an heretic. But if theſe "be no errors, then your Grace's laws, ſaid he, be erroneous, "that pronounce the Biſhop of Rome to be of no more "power than other Biſhops, and them to be traitors, that "defend the contrary." In fine, in the ſtomach of an Archbiſhop, and finding it neceſſary to put a ſtop to the ill deſigns of theſe friars, he concluded, "That if that man, "who had ſo highly offended the King, and openly preach-"ed againſt him, being his ordinary, and metropolitan of "the province, and that in ſuch matters as concerned the "authority, miſliving, and laws of the Biſhop of Rome; and "that alſo within his own Church: if he were not looked "upon, he left it to the King's prudence to expend, what "example it might prove unto others, with like colour to "maintain the Biſhop of Rome's authority; and of what "eſtimation he the Archbiſhop ſhould be reputed hereafter, "and what credence would be given unto his preaching for "time to come." And he left his Majeſty to hear the teſtimony of Dr. Leighton, one of the King's viſitors, who was preſent at the ſermon the Archbiſhop then made. This letter, the contents whereof I have now ſet down, I have placed in the Appendix, as well worthy the preſerving among the reſt of the monuments of this Archbiſhop, as I tranſcribed it out of the Cotton library. I do not find what iſſue this buſineſs had: but I ſuſpect the black Friars of Canterbury had a black mark ſet upon them by the King

CHAP. VIII.
Anno 1535.

No. XIII.

BOOK I. for this oppoſition of his Archbiſhop, in the diſcharge of his commands.

Anno 1535. A provincial viſitation.

But to ſpeak a little of a provincial viſitation, *jure metropolitico*, which the Archbiſhop had begun the laſt year, *viz.* 1534, being his firſt viſitation. It was ſomewhat extraordinary; for ſuch a viſitation had not been in an hundred years before. For this he got the King's licence to countenance his doings, knowing what oppoſitions he ſhould meet with. In the month of May we find him at his houſe at Otford about this buſineſs; the main end whereof was to promote the King's ſupremacy, and, as opportunity ſerved, to correct the ſuperſtitions of this Church, and to inſpect even Biſhops and Cathedrals themſelves.

Wincheſter herein oppoſeth him.

In April 1535, Cranmer had ſent his monition to Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he would viſit his dioceſe. The Biſhop, who never loved the Archbiſhop, and being a great upholder of the old popiſh ſuperſtitions, was the more jealous of this viſitation, oppoſing himſelf as much as he could againſt it; and would have picked an hole in Cranmer's coat, for ſtyling himſelf, in the inſtrument of the proceſs, *Totius Angliæ Primas;* as though this had been an high reflection upon the King, and detracted much from his ſupremacy. Of this therefore he went and made a complaint to the King himſelf: and, taking it in ſome indignation that the Archbiſhop ſhould viſit his dioceſe, he pretended to the King, that the Clergy of his dioceſe would be driven to great ſtraits, and mightily oppreſſed, if it ſhould be now viſited again, having been viſited but five years ago by his predeceſſor Warham; eſpecially being alſo to pay a new duty, enjoined by the parliament, namely, their tenths; hoping hereby to evade the Archbiſhop's inſpection into the corruptions of the dioceſe of Wincheſter.

The Archbiſhop's vindication of his title of Primate.

All this Crumwel, his friend, certified him of, by his chaplain, one Champion. Wincheſter indeed, whatſoever he pretended, tendered not ſo much the King's cauſe, as his own, that he might not be viſited. For otherwiſe he would have complained to the King of this matter before Cranmer's ſignification to him of a viſitation, ſince he always bare the title of Primate of all England, as being the common ſtyle of

the Archbiſhop. And if this ſtyle of primacy was a diminution to the King, it would have been ſo to the Pope, when Wincheſter held him, as he did once, for Supreme Head of the Church: but then he never made any complaint againſt thoſe Archbiſhops that ſtyled themſelves Primates. The Pope's ſupreme authority was not leſs thought of becauſe he had ſuch primates under him, but rather more. And the King might therefore have ſuch as were primates under him, without any derogation to his authority. Nor did Cranmer value at all names and titles; and if he thought it any thing interfering with the King's honour, he would himſelf have been the firſt to ſue for the taking it wholly away. This he ſignified in a letter to ſecretary Crumwel; which, becauſe it hath many excellent things declarative of the good temper and ſpirit of Cranmer, I have preſented it to the reader's eye in the Appendix, being an original in the Cotton library. CHAP. VIII. Anno 1535. No. XIV.

The Biſhop of London refuſeth his viſitation.

And as Wincheſter had picked a quarrel with him for one part of his archiepiſcopal ſtyle; ſo Stokeſly Biſhop of London, a man of the ſame inveterate temper againſt Cranmer, refuſed his viſitation, becauſe he ſtyled himſelf in his monitions, *Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus*. For under that title he convented that Biſhop, with the Abbots, Priors, and Archdeacon of London, to appear before him at a viſitation, which he intended to hold at the chapter-houſe in St. Paul's Church, London. But the Biſhop of London, and the chapter, warned him of aſſuming that title, as making againſt the King's prerogative. And at the viſitation itſelf in St. Paul's, they made a proteſtation; which was openly read: the import whereof was, that they would not accept him as ſuch a legate, and neither admit nor ſubmit to his viſitation under that name; and required the Archbiſhop's regiſter to enter their proteſtation: and, upon his refuſal thereof, delivered a certificate of what they had done. Stokeſly alſo contended with him for ſuſpending all the juriſdiction of the Biſhop, Dean, and Archdeacon, during his viſitation. To which the Archbiſhop anſwered, it was no more than his predeceſſors had uſually done in thoſe caſes. In fine, they appealed, in their own juſtification, unto the King, and deſired his licence to defend themſelves againſt him by the

BOOK I. Anno 1535.

laws, and as the parliament had provided. Thus they ſhewed before their ſecret malice and violent oppoſition againſt the good Archbiſhop, and how afraid they were of his viſitation; glad to catch any thing to enervate his authority. The ſum of which appeal, drawn up by Stokeſly, being ſomewhat too long to be ſubjoined here, may be read in the Appendix.

No. XV.

And proteſts againſt him.

Finally, upon the Archbiſhop's viſiting of his dioceſe, he entered three proteſtations againſt it (as may appear in Stokeſly's regiſter) for preſerving his privileges.

Cranmer ſends him a part of the New Teſtament to tranſlate. And his anſwer.

This man ever carried himſelf perverſely to the Archbiſhop. It was not long after this time, that the Archbiſhop, whoſe mind ran very much upon bringing in the free uſe of the holy Scripture in Engliſh among the people, put on vigorouſly a tranſlation of it. And, that it might not come to be prohibited, as it had been, upon pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulneſs of the tranſlators, he proceeded in

Bodl. MSS.

this method. Firſt, he began with the tranſlation of the New Teſtament; taking an old Engliſh tranſlation thereof, which he divided into nine or ten parts; cauſing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be ſent to the beſt learned Biſhops, and others; to the intent they ſhould make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to ſend back their parts, ſo corrected, unto him at Lambeth, by a day limited for that purpoſe: and the ſame courſe, no queſtion, he took with the Old Teſtament. It chanced that the Acts of the Apoſtles were ſent to Biſhop Stokeſly to overſee and correct. When the day came, every man had ſent to Lambeth their parts corrected, only Stokeſly's portion was wanting. My Lord of Canterbury wrote to the Biſhop a letter for his part, requiring him to deliver them unto the bringer his ſecretary. He received the Archbiſhop's letter at Fulham: unto which he made this anſwer; "I marvel what my "Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuſeth the people, "in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures: which doth "nothing elſe but infect them with hereſy. I have beſtow-"ed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And "therefore my Lord ſhall have this book again, for I will "never be guilty of bringing the ſimple people into error."

My Lord of Canterbury's ſervant took the book, and brought the ſame to Lambeth unto my Lord, declaring my Lord of London's anſwer. When the Archbiſhop had perceived that the Biſhop had done nothing therein, "I marvel," ſaid he, "that my Lord of London is ſo froward that he "will not do as other men do." One Mr. Thomas Lawney ſtood by; and, hearing my Lord ſpeak ſo much of the Biſhop's untowardneſs, ſaid, I can tell your Grace why my Lord of London will not beſtow any labour or pains this way. Your Grace knoweth well, that his portion is a piece of New Teſtament. But he, being perſuaded that Chriſt had bequeathed him nothing in his Teſtament, thought it mere madneſs to beſtow any labour or pain, where no gain was to be gotten. And beſides this, it is the Acts of the Apoſtles; which were ſimple poor fellows, and therefore my Lord of London diſdained to have to do with any of them. Whereat my Lord of Canterbury, and others that ſtood by, could not forbear from laughter.

CHAP. VIII. Anno 1538.

Lawney's jeſt upon Stokeſly.

This Lawney was a witty man, and chaplain to the old Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the ſcholars placed by the Cardinal in his new college at Oxon: where he was chaplain of the houſe, and priſoner there with Frith, another of the ſcholars. In the time of the ſix articles he was a miniſter in Kent, placed there, I ſuppoſe, by the Archbiſhop. When that ſevere act was paſſed, more by the authority of a parliament than by the authority of the word of God, it chanced that my Lord of Norfolk, meeting with this his chaplain, ſaid, O, my Lawney, (knowing him of old much to favour prieſts' matrimony,) whether may prieſts now have wives or no? If it pleaſe your Grace, replied he, I cannot well tell whether prieſts may have wives or no: but well I wot, and am ſure of it, for all your act, that wives will have prieſts. Hearken, maſters, ſaid the Duke, how this knave ſcorneth our act, and maketh it not worth a fly. Well, I ſee by it that thou wilt never forget thy old tricks. And ſo the Duke, and ſuch gentlemen as were with him, went away merrily, laughing at Lawney's ſudden and apt anſwer. The reader will excuſe this digreſſion.

Who this Lawney was.

BOOK I.

Anno 1535.

CHAP. IX.

Monaſteries viſited.

Monaſteries viſited. The Archbiſhop for their diſſolution.

THIS year the monaſteries were viſited by Crumwel, chief viſitor: who appointed Leighton, Legh, Petre, London, his deputies, with injunctions given them to be obſerved in their viſitation. Indeed the King now had thoughts of diſſolving them, as well as viſiting them: whoſe ends herein were, partly becauſe he ſaw the monks and friars ſo untoward towards him, and ſo bent to the Pope; and partly to enrich himſelf with the ſpoils. Archbiſhop Cranmer is ſaid alſo to have counſelled and preſſed the King to it: but for other ends, *viz.* That out of the revenues of theſe monaſteries the King might found more biſhoprics; and that, dioceſes being reduced into leſs compaſs, the dioceſans might the better diſcharge their office, according to the Scripture and primitive rules: and becauſe the Archbiſhop ſaw how inconſiſtent theſe foundations were with the reformation of religion; purgatory, maſſes, pilgrimages, worſhip of ſaints and images, being effectual to their conſtitution, as the Biſhop of Sarum hath obſerved. And the Archbiſhop hoped that from theſe ruins there would be new foundations in every cathedral erected, to be nurſeries of learning, for the uſe of the whole dioceſe. But however ſhort our Archbiſhop fell of his ends, deſired and hoped for by theſe diſſolutions, the King obtained his. For the vaſt riches that the religious houſes brought in to the King may be gueſſed by what was found in one, namely, St. Swithin's, Wincheſter: an account of the treaſures whereof I having once obſerved from a manuſcript in the Benet library, thought not amiſs here to lay before the reader; which he may find in the Appendix[a].

Hiſt. Ref. P. i. p. 189, 190.

36

No. XVI.

[a] Note, that the diſſolution of St. Swithin's in Wincheſter, (though laid here under the year 1535,) happened not that year, but about five years after, *viz.* 1540. But the occaſion of the diſcourſe there, which was of the vaſt wealth obtained to the King by the fall of religious houſes, made the author produce it in this place, as an inſtance thereof. *From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*

CHAP. IX.

When theſe viſitors returned home from their viſitation, they came well ſtocked with informations of the looſe, wicked, and abominable lives and irregularities of the chief members of theſe houſes of religion, having by diligent inquiſition throughout all England collected them. Theſe enormities were read publicly in the parliament-houſe, being brought in by the viſitors. When they were firſt read, nothing was done with theſe unclean abbots and priors: "But within a while," ſaith Latimer in a ſermon before King Edward, "how bad ſoever the reports of them were, "ſome of them were made biſhops, and others put "into good dignities in the church: that ſo the King might "ſave their penſions, which were otherwiſe to be paid "them."

Anno 1535. The viſitors' informations.

Second ſermon.

Now I will, at the concluſion of my collections for this year, ſet down the names of the biſhops this year conſecrated, both dioceſan and ſuffragan: there having been an act of parliament made in the ſix and twentieth of the King (that is, the laſt year) for furniſhing the dioceſes with ſix and twenty ſuffragans, for the better aid and comfort of the dioceſans: the fees whereof are all ſet down in the ſaid act. But I doubt whether there were ever ſo many made. At leaſt the mention of the acts of the conſecration of ſome of the ſuffragans in the province of Canterbury are omitted in the regiſter.

Biſhops dioceſan and ſuffragan conſecrated.

Before this act of parliament enjoining the number of ſuffragans, ſuffragans were not unuſual in the realm. Whom the biſhops dioceſan, either for their own eaſe, or becauſe of their neceſſary abſence from their dioceſes in embaſſies abroad, or attendance upon the court, or civil affairs, procured to be conſecrated to reſide in their ſteads. Thus to give ſome inſtances of them, as I have met with them. About the year 1531, I find one Underwood, ſuffragan in Norwich, that degraded Bilney before his martyrdom. Certain, bearing the title of Biſhops of Sidon, aſſiſted the Archbiſhops of Canterbury. One of theſe was named Thomas Wellys, Prior of St. Gregory's by Canterbury: he, being Archbiſhop Warham's chaplain, was ſent by him to Cardinal Wolſey, to expoſtulate with him in his Lord's name for encroaching upon his prerogative court. There

Suffragan biſhops uſual in the realm.

BOOK I.

Anno 1535.

was afterwards one Chriſtopher that bore that title, and aſſiſted Archbiſhop Cranmer about theſe times in ordinations; and another Thomas, entitled alſo of Sidon, ſucceeded. Long before theſe, I find one William Bottleſham Epiſcopus Navatenſis, anno 1382, at the convocation houſe in London, ſummoned againſt the Wicklivites, that then ſhewed themſelves at Oxford. Robert King, Abbot of Oſeney, while abbot, was conſecrated titular biſhop, and called Epiſcopus Roannenſis, a ſee in the province of the archbiſhopric of Athens. This is he that reſigned Oſeney and Tame under the name of Biſhop of Reonen: of which ſee the Biſhop of Sarum was at a ſtand. He was tranſlated from this imaginary biſhopric to be Biſhop of Oxford, in the year 1541. One John Hatton had the title of Epiſcopus Negropont: he was ſuffragan under the Archbiſhop of York. John Thornden, who was ſeveral times commiſſary of Oxon, while Archbiſhop Warham was Chancellor of that Univerſity, was ſtyled Epiſcopus Syrinenſis. And hereafter, in the progreſs of this book, we ſhall meet with a Biſhop of Hippolitanum, who aſſiſted Archbiſhop Cranmer at his ordinations. Theſe were but titulary biſhops; and the uſe of them was, to ſupply the dioceſans' abſence, to conſecrate churches and church-yards, and to reconcile them, to aſſiſt at ordinations, and confer orders, to confirm children, and the like.

Ex Regiſt. Archbiſhop Courtney.

37

Hiſt. Ref. Coll. p. 148.

Godwin's Catal.

Ath. Oxonien.

Biſhops without title.

Sometimes theſe ſuffragans had no titles at all to any place, but were biſhops at large. Such an one, named Richard Martin, is met with in an old regiſter at Canterbury, who was guardian of the Gray Friars there. By his laſt will, made 1498, he gave a library to the church and convent. He was Parſon of Ickham, and Vicar of Lyd in Kent; and writ himſelf in the ſaid will, Biſhop of the Univerſal Church: by which the antiquarian ſuppoſed nothing elſe was meant, but that he was a biſhop in name, endued with orders, but not with juriſdiction epiſcopal, having no particular charge to intend, but generally officiating as biſhop in any part of the Chriſtian church. This I have writ, that the reader may not be put to a ſtand, when he ſhall, in theſe commentaries, meet with ſome of theſe titular biſhops.

Sumner's Antiq. of Cant.

But proceed we now to the biſhops that were this year conſecrated. CHAP. IX. Anno 1535.

Dioceſan Biſhops[b].

April the 11th, Nicholas Shaxton was conſecrated Biſhop of Sarum, in the King's chapel of St. Stephen, by our Archbiſhop, John Biſhop of Lincoln, and Chriſtopher Sidonienſ. aſſiſting. Nic. Shaxton.

September the 15th, was the act of confirmation and election of Edward Fox, elect of Hereford, and of William Barlow, Prior of the priory of canons regular of Biſham, of the order of St. Auguſtin Sarum, for the biſhopric of St. Aſaph. The conſecration of theſe two laſt are not inſerted in the regiſter. Edward Fox. William Barlow.

March the 18th, the act of confirmation and election of George Brown, D. D. Provincial of the order of Friars Auguſtin in the city of London, for the archbiſhopric of Dublin. Conſecrated March the 19th by the Archbiſhop at Lambeth, Nicholas Biſhop of Sarum, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting. George Brown.

Of this laſt mentioned biſhop I ſhall take ſome further notice, having been the firſt proteſtant biſhop in Ireland, as Cranmer was in England; a great furtherer of the reformation in that land, being a ſtirring man, and of good parts and confidence. He was firſt taken notice of by Crumwel, Lord Privy Seal, and by his ſole means preferred to this dignity in the Church of Ireland; upon the obſervation A memorial of the good ſervices of Archbiſhop Brown in Ireland. Life and Death of George Brown, printed in Dublin.

[b] Among the dioceſan biſhops conſecrated under the year 1535, place Hugh Latymer, conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter, and John Hildeſly, or Hilſey, a friar of the order of preachers, firſt of Briſtow, and afterwards of Oxford, conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter next after John Fiſher, executed for treaſon. Theſe two I had omitted in their places, not meeting with them in Cranmer's regiſter. The former I ſuppoſe was conſecrated with Shaxton in April, as the latter might be with Fox and Barlow in September, his temporalties having been reſtored to him in the beginning of October. This Hilſey was a great aſſiſtant to Archbiſhop Cranmer, and a learned man. He wrote a book of prayers, with epiſtles and goſpels, (in Engliſh, I ſuppoſe,) which he dedicated to the Lord Crumwel; by whoſe command it was publiſhed. *From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*

BOOK I. Anno 1535. 38

that was taken of him, when he was Provincial of the Auguſtin order in England, adviſing all people to make their application only to Chriſt, and not to ſaints: whereby he was recommended unto King Henry, who much favoured him. When the King's ſupremacy was to be brought in and recognized in Ireland, which was the ſame year wherein he was made Archbiſhop; he was appointed one of the King's commiſſioners for the procuring the nobility, gentry, and clergy, to reject the Pope, and to own the King for Supreme Head of the Church. In which commiſſion he acted with that diligence, that it was to the hazard of his life; ſuch oppoſition was made to it in that realm. At which time, in an aſſembly of the clergy, George Dowdal, Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, made a ſpeech to them, and laid a curſe upon thoſe, whoſoever they were, that ſhould own the King's ſupremacy. Within five years after this, this Archbiſhop Brown cauſed all ſuperſtitious relics and images to be removed out of the two cathedrals in Dublin, and out of the reſt of the churches in his dioceſe; and ordered the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, to be ſet up in frames above the altar in Chriſt's Church, Dublin. In King Edward VI. his reign, he received the Engliſh Common Prayer-Book into that realm, upon the King's proclamation for that purpoſe, after much oppoſition by Dowdal: and it was read in Chriſt's Church, Dublin, on Eaſter-day, 1551. He preached alſo a ſermon in Chriſt's Church for having the Scripture in the mother tongue, and againſt image worſhip: and for this his forwardneſs and conformity in religion, and the perverſeneſs of the other Archbiſhop of Ardmagh, who had violently reſiſted all good proceedings, the title of primacy was taken from him, and conferred upon the Archbiſhop of Dublin: and Dowdal was baniſhed, or, as others ſay, voluntarily left his biſhopric. And then Goodacre, ſent from England with Bale for the ſee of Offory, ſucceeded. In Queen Mary's days, Dowdal was reſtored; and, being a great man in this reign, expulſed Archbiſhop Brown from his ſee for being a married man: who two or three years after was ſucceeded by Hugh Corwin, (a complier in all reigns,) and Brown ſoon after died.

CHAP. IX.

Suffragan Biſhops.

The firſt of theſe ſtanding in the regiſter of the Archbiſhop, was the ſuffragan of the ſee of Ipſwich. The Biſhop of Norwich, according to the direction of the late act, (wherein the biſhop was to nominate two for ſuffragan to the King, and the King was to name one of them to the Archbiſhop, to receive conſecration,) humbly ſignified to the King, that he was deſtitute of the aid of a ſuffragan; and ſo prayed him to appoint either George, Abbot of the monaſtery of St. Mary's of Leyſton, or Thomas Mannyng, Prior of the monaſtery of St. Mary's of Butley, to be his ſuffragan; without mentioning for what place. And on the 7th of March, in the 27th of his reign, he ſent to the Archbiſhop to make the latter ſuffragan of Gipwich: who was accordingly conſecrated by the Archbiſhop, and inveſted *in inſigniis Epiſcopalibus*; Nicholas Biſhop of Sarum, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting. The date not ſpecified; but probably on the ſame day with the conſecration following, there being the ſame aſſiſtants.

Anno 1535. Thomas Mannyng. Regiſt. Cran. 39

The ſaid Biſhop of Norwich ſent to the King, recommending to him to be ſuffragan Thomas de Caſtleacre, of the Cluniac order, and John Saliſbury, Prior of St. Faith's of Horſham, of the order of St. Benet, both priors of monaſteries in Norwich dioceſe. The King ſent to the Archbiſhop to conſecrate John, the Prior of St. Faith's, for ſuffragan of Thetford. Accordingly he conſecrated him March the 19th, Nicholas Biſhop of Sarum, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting.

John Saliſbury.

CHAP. X.

The Audience Court.

THE good Archbiſhop almoſt every year met with new oppoſition from the popiſh clergy. The late act for aboliſhing the Pope's authority, and ſome acts before that, for reſtraining of applications to Rome, ſerved them now as a colour to ſtrike at one of the Archbiſhop's courts, *viz.* that of the audience, (a court which the Archbiſhops uſed to

Anno 1536. The Archbiſhop's audience court ſtruck at.

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

hold in their own houſes, where they received cauſes, complaints, and appeals; and had learned civilians living with them, that were auditors of the ſaid cauſes, before the Archbiſhop gave ſentence;) pretending that he held it as the Pope's legate: urging alſo the great troubles and inconveniences it cauſed, both to the clergy and the laity; and that every man muſt, by virtue of that court, be forced up to London, from the fartheſt part of the land, for a ſlanderous word, or a trifle. And that they thought it convenient, if it were the King's pleaſure to continue that court, that he would ſettle it upon ſome other, and not upon the Archbiſhop, that ſo it might appear, the original of that court was from the King, and not from the Pope. And laſtly, that it would not be ſafe to conſtitute the Archbiſhop the Pope's legate, becauſe it would infringe the power of the Vicar-general. This was drawn up in way of petition and complaint, either to the King or parliament, by a combination of ſome of the convocation, as I ſuſpect; the paper being writ by the hand of the regiſter of the lower houſe of convocation. The great wheel, we may be ſure, that ſet a moving this device, was Wincheſter, his never-failing adverſary.

The Archbiſhop defends it.

The King, notwithſtanding, bad the Archbiſhop maintain his court. And he anſwered all their pleas againſt it; and by way of proteſtation affirmed, that he kept not his court by virtue of his bull from Rome for legate, and that none could ſuſpect that he did: and that he ſaw no cauſe but that he might keep that court by virtue of the late act of parliament, that gave power to enjoy all things that were before had from the ſee of Rome. And finally, he anſwered, that it was the King's will and command that he ſhould continue his court. To which the convocation, or rather ſome part of it, made a reply, that may be ſeen in the Appendix. No. XVII.

The Archbiſhop promoting a reformation in the convocation.

40 But notwithſtanding theſe diſcouragements, (which were thrown in probably to hinder his good deſigns,) the Archbiſhop vigorouſly proſecuted a reformation at this convocation: where, aſſiſted by Crumwel, the King's Vicar-general, he earneſtly laboured for the redreſs of ſeveral abuſes and errors in the Engliſh church. And that not without good

ſucceſs at length: for, after much deliberation among the clergy there aſſembled, and much oppoſition too, he got a book of divers good articles to that purpoſe to be agreed upon and ſubſcribed. An account of which by and by ſhall follow. CHAP. X. Anno 1536.

CHAP. XI.

Articles of Religion.

NOW though I do not find the King went ſo far, as that it ſhould be enjoined on all the clergy to own the articles of this book by their own hands ſubſcribed, yet he publiſhed and recommended them to all his loving ſubjects in general, to accept and repute them to be agreeable to God's laws, and proper for the eſtabliſhment of peace and concord: and further probably in prudence the King thought not fit yet to go, conſidering the great diſputes and arguments that had happened in the convocation hereupon. Now becauſe this was one of the great ſervices our pious prelate contributed to the church, and was one of the firſt ſteps made in the reformation of the doctrine and worſhip, it will not be amiſs here, in order to the enlightening this hiſtory, to ſet down the heads of this book, though it be done by others before me. And notwithſtanding what the noble author of the hiſtory of Henry VIII. ſaith, he gathered by ſome records, that this book was deviſed by the King himſelf, and recommended afterwards to the convocation by Crumwel, yet we have reaſon to attribute a great ſhare therein to the Archbiſhop. Articles publiſhed and recommended by the King. Life Hen. VIII. p. 466.

They that are minded to ſee a draught of theſe articles from the original, with the royal aſſent prefixed to them, may have it in Dr. Fuller's Church Hiſtory: which, he tells us, he tranſcribed out of the acts of the convocation. The Biſhop of Sarum alſo met with an original of them in the Cotton library, wrote out fairly, as it ſeems, for the King's own uſe, and ſubſcribed with all the hands of the convocation thereunto. He alſo hath inſerted the tranſcript of them in the firſt part of his Hiſtory of the Reformation. The original thereof. Book V. p. 213. Addenda to the collection, Num. 1.

In the rebellion in the north, which happened this year

BOOK I. 1536, chiefly raiſed by prieſts and friars, many copies of theſe articles (for the book was printed by Barthelet) did Crumwel ſend, by the King's order, to the Duke of Norfolk, the King's lieutenant there, to diſperſe in thoſe parts, together with the original copy itſelf, as it was ſigned by the hands of the convocation, amounting to the number of 116 biſhops, abbots, priors, archdeacons, and proctors of the clergy. Which the ſaid Duke had order to ſhew unto the clergy and others, as occaſion ſerved; that they might underſtand it was a proper act of the church, and no innovation of the King, and a few of his counſellors, as they gave out. And, after he had made his uſe of this original, he was required to reſerve it ſafe for the King. This choice treaſure, which the King himſelf required ſuch care to be taken of, Sir Robert Cotton afterwards procured, at his no ſmall expence, no doubt. It is very fairly written in vellum; and at the bottom of the firſt page is written, *Robertus Cotton Bruceus*, by Sir Robert's own hand, ſignifying his value of this monument. It is ſtill extant in that incomparable library in the volume Cleopatra E. 5: and there I have ſeen it, and diligently compared it. Excuſe this digreſſion, and I now proceed to the articles themſelves.

Anno 1536.

The original ſent into the north to ſhew to the rebels.

41

The contents of them.

Theſe articles were of two ſorts: ſome concerning faith, and ſome concerning ceremonies.

The former ſort were digeſted under theſe five titles following.

Articles of faith.

I. *The principal Articles of Faith.* And they were theſe. "That all thoſe things that be comprehended in the whole "body and canon of the Bible, and in the three Creeds, are "true, and conſtantly to be believed. That we take and "hold the ſame for the moſt holy and infallible words of "God. That the articles of the faith, contained in the "Creeds, are neceſſary to be believed for man's ſalvation. "That the ſame words be kept, in which the articles of "faith are conceived. That all opinions contrary to the "articles, and which were condemned in the four firſt "councils, are to be utterly refuſed."

II. *The Sacrament of Baptiſm.* "That it was inſtituted "and ordained by Jeſus Chriſt as neceſſary to everlaſting "life. That by it all, as well infants as ſuch as have the

" uſe of reaſon, have remiſſion of ſins, and the grace and
" favour of God offered them. That infants and innocents
" muſt be baptized, becauſe the promiſe of grace and ever- Anno 1536.
" laſting life pertains as well to them as to thoſe who have
" the uſe of reaſon: and that therefore baptized infants
" ſhall undoubtedly be ſaved. That they are to be baptized,
" becauſe of original ſin, which is remitted only by baptiſm.
" That they that are once baptized muſt not be baptized
" again. That the opinions of Anabaptiſts and Pelagians
" are to be held for deteſtable hereſies. That thoſe who,
" having the uſe of reaſon, ſhall come to baptiſm, ſhall ob-
" tain the remiſſion of all their ſins, if they come thereunto
" perfectly and truly repentant, confeſſing and believing all
" the articles of the faith, and having firm credence and
" truſt in the promiſe of God adjoined to the ſaid ſacra-
" ment."

III. *The Sacrament of Penance.* " That that ſacrament
" was inſtituted of Chriſt in the New Teſtament, as a thing
" ſo neceſſary for man's ſalvation, that no man that after
" his baptiſm is fallen again, and hath committed deadly
" ſin, can without the ſame be ſaved. That ſuch penitents
" ſhall without doubt attain remiſſion of their ſins. That
" this ſacrament conſiſts of contrition, confeſſion, and
" amendment of life. That contrition conſiſts, firſt, of ac-
" knowledgment of our ſins: unto which the penitent is
" brought by hearing and conſidering the will of God de-
" clared in his laws, and feeling in his own conſcience that
" God is angry, and this joined with ſorrow and ſhame, 42
" and fear of God's diſpleaſure. That, ſecondly, it conſiſts
" of faith, truſt and confidence in the mercies and goodneſs
" of God: whereby the penitent muſt conceive certain
" hope, and repute himſelf juſtified, not for any merit or
" work done by him, but by the only merits of the blood
" of Jeſus Chriſt. That this faith is begotten and confirm-
" ed by the application of Chriſt's words and promiſes.
" That confeſſion to a prieſt, the ſecond part of penance, is
" neceſſary, where it may be had. That the abſolution
" given by the prieſt was inſtituted of Chriſt, to apply the
" promiſes of God's grace to the penitent. And that the
" words of abſolution, pronounced by the prieſt, are ſpoken

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"by the authority given him by Chriſt. That men muſt "give no leſs faith and credence to the words of abſolution, "pronounced by the miniſters of the church, than they "would give unto the very words and voice of God himſelf. "And that men in no wiſe contemn this auricular con- "feſſion. As to the third part of penance, *viz.* amend- "ment of life, that all are bound to bring forth the fruits of "penance, that is to ſay, prayer, faſting, and alms-deeds, "and to make reſtitution and ſatisfaction in will and deed "to their neighbour, and all other good works, or elſe they "ſhall never be ſaved. That works of charity be neceſſary "to ſalvation. That by penance and ſuch good works we "do not only obtain everlaſting life, but deſerve remiſſion "or mitigation of theſe preſent pains and affliction in this "world." Mark here, by the way, how the doctrine of merits is propounded: our merits do not extend to pardon and everlaſting life, but only to the removal or abatement of temporal afflictions.

IV. *The Sacrament of the Altar.* "That under the form "and figure of bread and wine is verily and ſubſtantially "contained that very ſame body and blood, which was "born of the Virgin Mary, and ſuffered upon the croſs. "And that the ſelf-ſame body and blood of Chriſt is diſ- "tributed unto, and received by, all the communicants. "That therefore this ſacrament is to be uſed with all due "reverence and honour. And that before any receive it, "he ought religiouſly to try and ſearch his own conſci- "ence."

V. *Juſtification.* "That the word ſignifies remiſſion of "ſins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace "and favour of God. That ſinners attain this juſtification "by contrition and faith, joined with charity. That neither "our contrition and faith, nor any work proceeding thence, "can merit or deſerve the ſaid juſtification. That the "mercy and grace of the Father, promiſed freely for Chriſt's "ſake, and the merit of his blood and paſſion, be the only "ſufficient and worthy cauſes thereof."

This was the ſum of the articles concerning faith. Thoſe concerning ceremonies followed next: which were likewiſe compriſed under five titles.

I. *Of Images.* "That they be repreſenters of virtue and "good example. That they be ſtirrers of men's minds, and "make them often to remember and lament their ſins: "eſpecially the images of Chriſt and our Lady. That it "was meet they ſhould ſtand in the churches, but be none "otherwiſe eſteemed. That the biſhops and preachers dili- "gently teach the people according to this doctrine, leſt "there might fortune idolatry to enſue. That they be "taught alſo that cenſing, kneeling, and offering to images, "be by no means to be done, (although the ſame had "entered by devotion, and fallen to cuſtom,) but only to "God and in his honour, though it be done before the "images."

Articles relating to ceremonies.

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II. *Of honouring Saints.* "That they are to be honour- "ed, but not with that confidence and honour that is due "only unto God, truſting to attain at their hands that "which muſt be had only of God. That moſt eſpecially "Chriſt is to be lauded and praiſed in them for their ex- "cellent virtues, which he planted in them; and for their "good example. And that they are to be taken, wherein "they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and de- "mands unto Chriſt."

III. *Of praying to Saints.* "That though grace and re- "miſſion of ſins be to be obtained only of God, by the "mediation of Chriſt; yet it is very laudable to pray to ſaints "in heaven to be interceſſors, and to pray for us and with us "unto God, after this manner: *All holy angels and ſaints "in heaven, pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for "his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt his ſake, we may have grace of him, "and remiſſion of our ſins, with an earneſt purpoſe (not want- "ing ghoſtly ſtrength) to obſerve and keep his holy command- "ments, and never to decline from the ſame again unto our "lives' end.* That in this manner we may pray to our bleſſed "Lady, Saint John Baptiſt, or any other ſaint particu- "larly: ſo that it be done without any vain ſuperſtition; "as to think that any ſaint is more merciful, or will hear "us ſooner than Chriſt; or that any ſaint does ſerve for "one thing more than another. That holy-days are to be "kept to God, in memory of him and his ſaints, upon ſuch

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"days as the church hath ordained: but may be mitigated "and moderated by the King, being Supreme Head."

IV. *Of Rites and Ceremonies.* "As veſtments in God's "ſervice, ſprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing "candles on Candlemas-day, giving of aſhes on Aſh-Wed- "neſday, bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday; creeping to "the croſs, and kiſſing it, and offering unto Chriſt before "the ſame on Good-Friday; ſetting up the ſepulchre of "Chriſt, hallowing of the font, and other like exorciſms "and benedictions, and laudable cuſtoms: that theſe are "not to be contemned and caſt away, but continued, to put "us in remembrance of ſpiritual things. But that none of "theſe ceremonies have power to remit ſin."

V. *Of Purgatory.* "That Chriſtians are to pray for ſouls "departed, and to commit them in their prayers to God's "mercy, and cauſe others to pray for them in maſſes and "exequies; and to give alms to others to pray for them, "that they may be relieved and holpen of ſome part of "their pain. But becauſe the place where they be, the "name thereof, and kinds of pain there, is to us uncertain "by Scripture, therefore we remit this, with all other things, "to almighty God; unto whoſe mercies it is meet to com- "mend them. That ſuch abuſes be put away, which, under "the name of purgatory, have been advanced: as to make 44 "men believe, that, through the Biſhop of Rome's pardons, "ſouls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and "the pains of it: or that maſſes ſaid at *ſcala cœli*, or other- "wiſe in any place, or before any image, might deliver "them from all their pains, and ſend them ſtraight to "heaven."

A conjecture, that the pen of the Archbiſhop was here.

Theſe are the contents of that memorable book of articles. There are reaſons added now and then to confirm the reſpective tenets there laid down, and many quotations of holy Scripture, which, for brevity ſake, I have omitted; which one may conjecture to have been inſerted by the pen of the Archbiſhop: who was the great introducer of this practice, of proving or confuting opinions in religion by the word of God, inſtead of the ordinary cuſtom then uſed, of doing it by ſchoolmen and popiſh canons. We find indeed many

popiſh errors here mixed with evangelical truths: which must either be attributed to the defectiveneſs of our prelate's knowledge as yet in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the King, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice, what a great deal of Goſpel doctrine here came to light; and not only ſo, but was owned and propounded by authority to be believed and practiſed. The ſun of truth was now but riſing, and breaking through the thick miſts of that idolatry, ſuperſtition, and ignorance, that had ſo long prevailed in this nation, and the reſt of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightneſs. CHAP. XI. Anno 1536.

CHAP. XII.

Cranmer's Judgment about ſome Caſes of Matrimony.

IN this year then came forth two remarkable books; whereof both the King, and the Archbiſhop and biſhops, might be ſaid to be joint compoſers: inaſmuch as they ſeemed to be deviſed by the Archbiſhop, and ſome of the biſhops; and then reviſed, noted, corrected and enlarged by the King. Two remarkable books publiſhed.

The one of theſe was the book of articles of religion, mentioned before. This book bore this title, *Articles deviſed by the King's highneſs to ſtable Chriſtian quietneſs and unity among the people, &c.* With a preface by the King: where the King ſaith, he was conſtrained to put his own pen to the book, and to conceive certain articles. Which words, I leave to the conjecture of the reader, whether by them he be inclined to think that the King were the firſt writer of them, or that, being writ and compoſed by another, they were peruſed, conſidered, corrected and augmented by his pen. I. The book of articles.

The other book that came out this year was occaſioned by a piece publiſhed by Reginald Pole, intituled *De Unione Eccleſiaſtica:* which inveighing much againſt the King for aſſuming the ſupremacy, and extolling the Pope unmeaſur- II. A book againſt the Pope, called the Biſhops' book.

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ably, he employed the Archbiſhop, and ſome other biſhops, to compile a treatiſe, ſhewing the uſurpations of Popes; and how late it was ere they took this ſuperiority upon them, ſome hundred years paſſing before they did it: and that
45 all biſhops were limited to their own dioceſes by one of the eight councils, to which every Pope did ſwear: and how the papal authority was firſt derived from the Emperor, and not from Chriſt. For this there were good arguments taken from the Scriptures and the Fathers. The book was ſigned by both the archbiſhops, and nineteen other biſhops. It was called the Biſhops' book, becauſe deviſed by them.

Herbert's Life of King Henry, p. 418.

Certain caſes of matrimony put to the Archbiſhop.

The Lord Crumwel did uſe to conſult with the Archbiſhop in all his eccleſiaſtical matters. And there happened now, while the Archbiſhop was at Ford, a great caſe of marriage: whom it concerned I cannot tell, but the King was deſirous to be reſolved about it by the Archbiſhop, and commanded Crumwel to ſend to him for his judgment therein. The caſe was threefold.

I. Whether marriage contracted or ſolemnized in lawful age *per verba de præſenti*, and without carnal copulation, be matrimony before God or no?

II. Whether ſuch matrimony be conſummate, or no? And,

III. What the woman may thereupon demand by the law civil, after the death of her huſband? This I ſuppoſe was a cauſe that lay before the King and his eccleſiaſtical vicegerent, to make ſome determination of. And I ſuſpect it might relate to Katharine, his late divorced Queen.

His ſolution.

The Archbiſhop, who was a very good civilian, as well as a divine, but that loved to be wary and modeſt in all his deciſions, made theſe anſwers.

That as to the firſt, he and his authors were of opinion, that matrimony contracted *per verba de præſenti*, was perfect matrimony before God. 2. That ſuch matrimony is not utterly conſummated, as that term is commonly uſed among the ſchool-divines and lawyers, but by carnal copulation. 3. As to the woman's demands by the law civil, he therein profeſſed his ignorance. And he had no learned men with him there at Ford to conſult with for their judgments: only Dr. Barbar, (a civilian that he always retained with him,)

who neither could pronounce his mind without his books, and ſome learned men to confer with upon the caſe; but he added, that he marvelled that the votes of the civil lawyer ſhould be required herein; ſeeing that all manner of cauſes of dower be judged within this realm by the common laws of the ſame. And that there were plenty of well-learned men in the civil law at London, that undoubtedly could certify the King's majeſty of the truth herein, as much as appertained unto that law: warily declining to make any poſitive judgment in a matter ſo tickliſh. This happened in the month of January. CHAP. XII. Anno 1536.

And indeed in theſe times there were great irregularities about marriage in the realm; many being inceſtuous and unlawful. Which cauſed the parliament, two or three years paſt, *viz.* 1533. in one of their acts, to publiſh a table of degrees, wherein it was prohibited by God's law to marry. But the act did not cure this evil: many thought to bear out themſelves in their illegal contracts, by getting diſpenſations from the Archbiſhop: which created him much trouble by his denying to grant them. There was one Maſſy, a courtier, who had contracted himſelf to his deceaſed wife's niece. Which needing a diſpenſation, the party got the Lord Crumwel to write to the Archbiſhop in his behalf: eſpecially becauſe it was thought to be none of the caſes of prohibition contained in the act. But ſuch was the integrity of the Archbiſhop, that he refuſed to do any thing he thought not allowable, though it were upon the perſuaſion of the greateſt men, or the beſt friends he had. But he writ this civil letter to the Lord Crumwel upon this occaſion. Refuſeth to grant a diſpenſation for the marriage of a relation.

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" My very ſingular good Lord, in my moſt hearty wiſe I " commend me unto your Lordſhip. And whereas your " Lordſhip writeth to me in the favour of this bearer, " Maſſey, an old ſervant to the King's highneſs, that being " contracted to his ſiſter's daughter of his late wife deceaſ- " ed, he might enjoy the benefit of a diſpenſation in that " behalf; eſpecially, conſidering it is none of the cauſes of " prohibition contained in the ſtatute: ſurely, my Lord, I " would gladly accompliſh your requeſt herein, if the word " of God would permit the ſame. And where you require Cleopatra E. 5. His letter thereupon.

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"me, that if I think this licence may not be granted by the "law of God, then I ſhould write unto you the reaſons and "authorities that move me ſo to think; that upon declara- "tion unto the King's highneſs, you may confer thereupon "with ſome other learned men, and ſo advertiſe me the "King's farther reſolution. For ſhortneſs of time, I ſhall "ſhew you one reaſon, which is this. By the law of God "many perſons be prohibited which be not expreſſed, but "be underſtood, by like prohibition in equal degree. As "St. Ambroſe ſaith, that the niece is forbid by the law of "God, although it be not expreſſed in Leviticus, that the "uncle ſhall not marry his niece. But where the nephew "is forbid there, that he ſhall not marry his aunt, by the "ſame is underſtood that the niece ſhall not be married "unto her uncle. Likewiſe as the daughter is not there "plainly expreſſed, yet, where the ſon is forbid to marry his "mother, it is underſtood that the daughter may not be "married to her father; becauſe they be of like degree. "Even ſo it is in this caſe and many others. For where it "is there expreſſed, that the nephew ſhall not marry his "uncle's wife, it muſt needs be underſtood that the niece "ſhall not be married unto the aunt's huſband, becauſe that "alſo is one equality of degree. And although I could "allege many reaſons and authorities mo for this purpoſe; "yet I truſt this one reaſon ſhall ſatisfy all that be learned, "and of judgment.

Vid. Fox Acts, p. 960.

"And as touching the act of parliament concerning the "degrees prohibited by God's law, they be not ſo plainly "ſet forth as I would they were. Wherein I ſomewhat ſpake "my mind at the making of the ſaid law, but it was not "then accepted. I required then, that there muſt be expreſſed "mother, and mother-in-law; daughter, and daughter- "in-law; and ſo in further degrees directly upwards and "downwards, *in linea recta*; alſo ſiſter, and ſiſter-in-law; aunt, "and aunt-in-law; niece, and niece-in-law. And this limi-
47 "tation, in my judgment, would have contained all degrees "prohibited by God's law, expreſſed and not expreſſed; "and ſhould have ſatisfied this man, and ſuch others which "would marry their nieces-in-law.

"I have no news to ſend you from theſe parts; but I

" much long to hear ſuch news as be concurrent with CHAP. XII.
" you. And therefore if you have any good news, I pray
" you to ſend me ſome. Thus, my Lord, right heartily Anno 1534.
" fare you well. At Ford, the 7th day of September.

" Your Lordſhip's own,

" Tho. Cantuarien."

He reſtrains the number of proctors.

About this year, as near as I can gueſs, the Archbiſhop made an order concerning the proctors of his court of Arches. The numerouſneſs and irregularities of proctors made theſe civil courts uneaſy to the people. Complaints were made of their clamorouſneſs, by reaſon of the plenty of them, that neither advocates nor judges could be heard: of the injuries they did to advocates, in retaining and concluding cauſes oftentimes without them: and of thruſting themſelves into cauſes without the knowledge or will of the parties, and ſuch like. The evils of which, long after endured, were endeavoured to be redreſſed by the canons and conſtitutions, made in the beginning of the reign of King James I. Our Archbiſhop conceived that, in order to the reformation of the proctors, it were good to begin at firſt with a reſtraint of the numbers of them. Wherefore he decreed, that whereas the number of the proctors in the court of Arches was heretofore about twenty, or four and twenty, and my Lord's grace at liberty to add more; thenceforth no more ſhould be admitted till the number were reduced to ten: and then that number never to be increaſed. This liberty, which his predeceſſors always had, he willingly infringed himſelf of, out of no other intent but for the benefit and eaſe of the people, whom he ſaw were enticed to contention by the crafty inſinuations of this kind of men, ſetting neighbours together by the ears for their own lucre. And therefore the fewer of them, the better. And this number he thought ſufficient for the neceſſary buſineſs of the court.

Which ſome complain of to the parliament.

But ſome looked upon this as a crafty fetch, and plot of the proctors of that time, upon the good nature and pious diſpoſition of the Archbiſhop: that ſo all others being excluded from officiating as proctors, they might have all

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the buſineſs of the Arches in their own hands. And hence might divers abuſes come into that court. And for the confirmation of this order of the Archbiſhop for the tying of his hands, they, who were counſellors to the Archbiſhop in this matter, got it confirmed by the chapter and convent of Chriſt's Church, Canterbury. This giving offence to many, there were ſome who drew up a long paper againſt this order, and preſented it to the conſideration of the parliament; becauſe it could be redreſſed no other way, the Archbiſhop having put it out of his own power to do it. In this paper they ſet forth, that the ſaid ſtatute was prejudi-
48 cial unto the commonwealth, becauſe the number of ten proctors was not ſufficient to diſpatch the cauſes that came into that court: and ſo there muſt be delays and prolix ſuits, while theſe proctors were attending other cauſes in the Archbiſhop's court of audience, and the Biſhop of London's court of conſiſtory. Whereas before it had been ſeen by experience, that twenty proctors could not ſuffice for the managery of the cauſes in theſe courts, without delays and prorogations, from day to day. That cauſes by this means could not be diligently attended, when there were many cauſes, and few proctors to look after them. And hereby many good cauſes were like to periſh for lack of good looking after. That this had occaſioned the proctors to neglect a very good oath, called *Juramentum Calumpniæ*; which was the beſt proviſion that could be againſt unlawful ſuits, and lengthening them out further than was neceſſary. This oath was, that the parties or the proctors ſhould ſwear, that they believed their cauſe was juſt, and that they ſhould not uſe unlawful delays, whereby juſtice might be deferred; that they ſhould anſwer the judge truly to what he ſhould demand of them; that nothing ſhould be given or promiſed to the judges or any other officer, beſides the fees allowed by law; and that they ſhould not procure any falſe witneſs. Again, this paper urged for a good number of proctors, that this would be a means that the judges could not ſo eaſily keep them in ſubjection and fear of them: whereby they had been hindered ſometimes in ſpeaking freely before them in their clients' cauſes. It was urged alſo, that it was a great diſcouragement to young men in

ſtudying the law, when there is ſo little proſpect of benefit thereby. Laſtly, that it was contrary to the civil and canon law, that permits any man to be proctor for another, a few excepted. But this paper, notably enough written, may be read at large in the Appendix. And ſo I leave the reader to judge of the expediency of this order of the Archbiſhop, by weighing the Archbiſhop's reaſons with theſe laſt mentioned. Surely this his act deſerved commendation for his good intentions thereby, though ſome leſſer inconveniences attended, which no doubt he had alſo well conſidered before he proceeded to do what he did.

CHAP. XII. Anno 1536. No. XVIII.

When Queen Ann, on May the 2d, was ſent to the Tower, by a ſudden jealouſy of the King her huſband; the next day, the Archbiſhop, extremely troubled at it, ſtruck in with many good words with the King on her behalf, in form of a letter of conſolation to him; yet wiſely making no apology for her, but acknowledging how divers of the Lords had told him of certain of her faults, which, he ſaid, he was ſorry to hear: and concluded, deſiring that the King would however continue his love to the Goſpel, leſt it ſhould be thought that it was for her ſake only that he had favoured it. Being in the Tower, there aroſe up new matter againſt Queen Ann, namely, concerning ſome lawful impediment of her marriage with the King: and that was thought to be a precontract between her and the Earl of Northumberland. Whereupon the Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York were made commiſſioners to examine this matter. And ſhe, being before the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, confeſſed certain *juſt, true, and lawful impediments*, as the act in the 26 of Henry VIII. expreſſeth it; but not mentioning what they were. So that by that act the ſaid marriage is declared never to have been good, nor conſonant to the laws. Yet the Earl of Northumberland, being examined upon oath before both the Archbiſhops, denied it: upon the truth of which, he received alſo the bleſſed ſacrament. And the Lord Herbert ſaw an original letter to ſecretary Crumwel, to the ſame import. But her confeſſion of it ſo far prevailed with the King, that he would be divorced from her; and with our Archbiſhop, that he performed it by due order and proceſs of law. And an act

The Archbiſhop divorceth Queen Ann. Life of King Henry, p. 446.

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paſſed, that the marriage between the King and Queen Ann was null and void, and the iſſue illegitimate.

Anno 1536. A licence for a chapel. Cran. Regiſt.

The Archbiſhop granted a licence, dated July the 24th, with the full conſent of Richard Withipol, Vicar of Walthamſtow in Eſſex, to George Monoux, Alderman of London, and Thomas his ſon, to have the ſacrament adminiſtered in his chapel, or oratory, in his houſe De Moones, now a farm near Higham-hill, in the ſaid pariſh of Walthamſtow: indulging therein to the wife of the ſaid Thomas to be purified, or churched, in the ſame chapel. I the rather mention this, that it may ſerve to recal the memory of that pious and charitable citizen and draper, Sir George Monoux; who built the fair ſteeple of that pariſh-church, and allowed a ſalary for ever for ringing the great bell at a certain hour in the night and morning the winter half year. He built alſo the north aiſle of the ſaid church; in the glaſs-windows whereof is yet remaining his coat of arms. In the chancel his body was interred, under a fair altar-monument yet ſtanding. In the church-yard he founded an hoſpital and free-ſchool, and very liberally endowed it; though now the endowments are ſadly diminiſhed. He alſo made a cauſeway over Walthamſtow-marſh to Lockbridge, over the river Lee, for the conveniency of travellers from thoſe parts to London, and left wherewith to continue and keep it in repair; but that alſo is loſt, and the ruins now only to be ſeen. But enough of that.

The Germans conceived great hope of good to befal the church by Cranmer's influence and prefidency in England; and took their opportunities of addreſſing to him. This year Martin Bucer publiſhed a large book in folio upon the Epiſtle to the Romans, intituled *Metaphraſis et Enarratio;* and dedicated it in a long Epiſtle to the Archbiſhop. Wherein are ſundry expreſſions, which will ſhew, how well known abroad the Archbiſhop was already among the Proteſtants, and what an excellent biſhop they looked upon him to be, and how fixed their eyes were upon him for doing great things towards a reformation in England. For thus he writ in this Epiſtle, *Te omnes prædicant animo præditum Archiepiſcopo, et tanti, ſicque ad gloriam Chriſti comparati regni, Primate digno, &c.* "That all men proclaimed him

Bucer dedicates this year a book to the Archbiſhop.

" endowed with a mind worthy of an Archbiſhop and Pri- CHAP.
" mate of ſo great a kingdom, and ſo diſpoſed to the glory XII.
" of Chriſt. That he had ſo attained to this high eſtate in Anno 1536.
" Chriſt by his ſpiritual wiſdom, holineſs of life, and moſt
" ardent zeal to render Chriſt's glory more illuſtrious; that,
" gathering together the humble, and taking pity upon the
" ſheepfold, being indeed diſperſed and ſcattered abroad, he
" always ſought and ſaved that which was loſt, and brought 50
" back Chriſt's poor ſheep to his fold, and the paſtures of
" everlaſting life, when they had been before moſt miſerably
" haraſſed by the ſervants of ſuperſtition, and the emiſſaries
" of the Roman tyranny." And after, ſpeaking of the King's rooting out the uſurpation of the Pope, and his pretended juriſdiction, by taking to himſelf the ſupremacy, the ſaid learned man excited Cranmer to a further reformation, by telling him, " How eaſy now it would be for him, and
" the other archbiſhops and biſhops, who were endued
" with the ſpirit and zeal of Chriſt, from the remainders of
" the eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration, to retain what might con-
" tribute to the true edifying of conſciences, the ſaving in-
" ſtruction of youth, and to the juſt diſcipline and polity of
" the whole Chriſtian people. For when the enemies were
" once removed out of the way, there could not then happen
" among us any extraordinary great concuſſion of religion
" and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, or any daſhing one againſt
" another, as among them in Germany of neceſſity came
" to paſs: ſtriving ſo many years, for the Church of Chriſt,
" againſt ſuch obſtinate enemies."

The conſecrations this year were theſe. Biſhops conſecrated.

Dioceſan Biſhops.

June the 10th, Richard Sampſon, doctor of decrees, and Dean of the King's chapel, was elected and confirmed Biſhop of Chicheſter, by reſignation of Robert Sherburn, who was now very old. No conſecration ſet down in the regiſter. Richard Sampſon. Cran. Regiſt.

June William Rugg, a monk, was conſecrated Biſhop of Norwich. This is omitted alſo, if I miſtake not, in the regiſter. Probably he was conſecrated with Sampſon. William Rugg. Godwin's Catal.

July the 2d, Robert Warton, Abbot of Bermondſey, was conſecrated Biſhop of St. Aſaph, at Lambeth, by the Arch- Robert Warton. Cran. Regiſt.

BOOK I. Anno 1536. biſhop, John Biſhop of Bangor, and William Biſhop of Norwich, aſſiſting.

Suffragan Biſhops.

October 20. William More, B. D. conſecrated Suffragan of Colcheſter, by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of the Archbiſhop's letters commiſſional to him, aſſiſted by Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and Thomas Biſhop of Sidon. This More held the monaſtery of Walden in Eſſex, an houſe of Benedictines, *in commendam*, (where Audley-end now ſtands,) and ſurrendered it to the King 1539.

CHAP. XIII.

The Biſhops' Book.

Anno 1537. The Biſhops' book by the Archbiſhop's means. THE pious Archbiſhop thought it highly conducible to the chriſtian growth of the common people, in knowledge and religion, and to diſentangle them from groſs ignorance and ſuperſtition, in which they had been nurſled up by their popiſh guides; that the Ten Commandments, the Lord's 51 Prayer, and the Creed, and the grounds of religion, ſhould be explained ſoundly and orthodoxly, and recommended unto their reading. Wherefore he conſulting with the Lord Crumwel, his conſtant aſſociate and aſſiſtant in ſuch matters; and by his and other his friends, importuning the King, a commiſſion was iſſued out from him, in the year 1537, to the Archbiſhop, to Stokeſly Biſhop of London, Gardiner of Wincheſter, Sampſon of Chicheſter, Repps of Norwich, Goodrick of Ely, Latimer of Worceſter, Shaxton of Saliſbury, Fox of Hereford, Barlow of St. David's, and other biſhops and learned divines, to meet together, and to deviſe an wholeſome and plain expoſition upon thoſe ſubjects, and to ſet forth a truth of religion purged of errors and hereſies. Accordingly they met at the Archbiſhop's houſe at Lambeth. Their courſe was, that after they had drawn up their expoſitions upon each head, and agreed thereto, they all ſubſcribed their hands, declaring their conſent and approbation.

CHAP. XIII.

In the diſputations which happened among them in this work, Wincheſter, the Pope's chief champion, with three or four other of the biſhops, went about with all ſubtil ſophiſtry, to maintain all idolatry, hereſy, and ſuperſtition, written in the canon law, or uſed in the church under the Pope's tyranny. But at the laſt, whether overpowered with number, or convinced by the word of God, and conſent of ancient authors, and the primitive church, they all agreed upon, and ſet their hands to a godly book of religion: which they finiſhed by the end of July, and ſtaid for nothing but the Vicar-general's order, whether to ſend it immediately to him, or that the Biſhop of Hereford ſhould bring it with him, at his next coming to the court. But the plague now raging in Lambeth, and people dying even at the palace-doors, the Archbiſhop deſired Crumwel for the King's licence to the biſhops to depart for their own ſafety, their buſineſs being now in effect drawn to a concluſion. Soon after the biſhops and divines parted, and the Archbiſhop haſtened to his houſe at Ford near Canterbury.

Anno 1537. Wincheſter's oppoſition. Fox MS. Life of Cranmer.

The book was delivered by Crumwel to the King; which he at his leiſure diligently peruſed, corrected, and augmented. And then, after five or ſix months, aſſigned Crumwel to diſpatch it unto the Archbiſhop, that he might give his judgment upon the King's animadverſions. A purſuivant brought it to Ford. The Archbiſhop adviſedly read and conſidered what the King had writ; and, diſliking ſome things, made his own annotations upon ſome of the royal corrections: there eſpecially, we may well imagine, where the King had altered the book in favour of ſome of the old doctrines and corruptions. And, when he ſent it back again with thoſe annotations, he wrote theſe lines to Crumwel therewith, on the 25th day of January.

The King makes animadverſions upon it.

"My very ſingular good Lord: After moſt hearty com- Cleopatra
"mendations unto your Lordſhip, theſe ſhall be to adver- E. 5.
"tiſe the ſame, that as concerning the book lately deviſed
"by me, and other biſhops of this realm which you ſent
"unto me, corrected by the King's highneſs; your Lord-
"ſhip ſhall receive the ſame again by this bearer, the pur-
"ſuivant, with certain annotations of mine own concerning
"the ſame: wherein I truſt the King's highneſs will par-

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

" don my preſumption, that I have been ſo ſcrupulous, and " as it were a picker of quarrels to his Grace's book, " making a great matter of every little fault, or rather " where no fault is at all. Which I do only for this intent; " that becauſe now the book ſhall be ſet forth by his Grace's " cenſure and judgment, I would have nothing therein that " Momus could reprehend. And I refer all mine annota- " tions again to his Grace's moſt exact judgment. And I " have ordered my annotations ſo by numbers, that his " Grace may readily turn to every place. And in the lower " margin of this book, next to the binding, he may find " the numbers, which ſhall direct him to the words, where- " upon I make the annotations. And all thoſe his Grace's " caſtigations, which I have made none annotations upon, " I like them very well. And in divers places I have made " annotations; which places nevertheleſs I miſlike not, as " ſhall appear by the ſame annotations."

Publiſhed. At length this book came forth, printed by Barthelet, in the year 1537, and was commonly called *The Biſhops' Book*, becauſe the biſhops were the compoſers of it. It was intituled, *The Godly and Pious Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man;* and conſiſted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of the Ave Mary, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the ſeven Sacraments. It was eſtabliſhed by act of parliament, having been ſigned by the two archbiſhops, nineteen biſhops, eight archdeacons, and ſeventeen doctors of divinity and law.

How eſteemed. The opinion that the favourers of the Goſpel had of this book in thoſe times, may appear by what I find in a manuſcript of the life of this Archbiſhop, by an unknown author, that wrote it ſoon after the ſaid Archbiſhop's death: " A " godly book of religion, not much unlike the book ſet " forth by King Edward VI. except in two points. The " one was the real preſence of Chriſt's body in the ſacra- " ment of the altar: of the which opinion the Archbiſhop " was at that time, and the moſt part of the other biſhops " and learned men. The other error was of praying, kiſſing, " and kneeling before images: which, ſaith he, was added " by the King, after the biſhops had ſet their hands to the " contrary."

Inter Foxii MSS.

But this book came forth again two years after, *viz.* 1540, (unleſs my manuſcript miſtake this year for 1543,) very much enlarged, and reduced into another form, and bearing another name, *A neceſſary Doctrine and Erudition of any Chriſtian Man.* And becauſe the King had put it forth by his own authority, it was called now *The King's Book*, as before it was called *The Biſhops*. But that none might be confounded in theſe books, he may know that there was, in the year 1536, another book alſo called *The Biſhops' Book*, upon the ſame reaſon that this was ſo called, becauſe the archbiſhops and biſhops had the making thereof. It was a declaration againſt the papal ſupremacy, written upon occaſion of Pole's book of Eccleſiaſtical Union, mentioned before. And in the year 1533, there came forth another book in Latin, called *The King's Book*, intituled, *The Difference between the Kingly and Eccleſiaſtical Power*: reported to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox, the King's almoner. Which was tranſlated into Engliſh, and put forth by Henry Lord Stafford in King Edward's days. The King affecting to be thought learned, affected alſo to have books called by his name; not that he was always the author of them, but that they came out by his authority, and had undergone his corrections and emendations.

Enlarged and reprinted.

Lord Herb. Hiſt. p. 418.

Ibid. p. 408.

53

Bale's Cent.

But before we paſs away from hence, it may be convenient to give the reader a little taſte of ſo famous a treatiſe as that Biſhops' book was in thoſe days. And I will do it, not in my own words, but in the words of a very learned and eminent man, the anſwerer to Dr. Martin's book againſt prieſts' marriage, not far from the beginning of Queen Mary, ſuppoſed to be Ponet Biſhop of Wincheſter, then in exile. Applying himſelf, in his preface, unto the Queen's prelates, he told them; "That in their book, intituled, *The* "*Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, preſented by their whole "authorities to the King of famous memory, King Henry "VIII. in the preface thereof they affirmed to his High"neſs, with one aſſent, by all their learnings, that the ſaid "treatiſe was in all points concordant and agreeable to holy "Scripture: yea, ſuch doctrine, that they would and deſired "to have it taught by all the ſpiritual paſtors to all the "King's loving ſubjects, to be doctrine of faith. And there

Some account of the foreſaid book.

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" intreating of the ſacrament of orders, they deſired to have
" it taught, that we be in no ſubjection to the Biſhop of
" Rome and his ſtatutes, but merely ſubject to the King's laws,
" under his only territory and juriſdiction. And that the
" canons and rules of the church were therefore allowable
" in the realm, becauſe the aſſent of the King and of the
" people accepted the ſame. And that prieſts and biſhops
" whatſoever never had any authority by the Goſpel in
" matters civil and moral, but by the grant and gift of
" princes; and that it was alway, and ever ſhall be, law-
" ful unto kings and princes, and to their ſucceſſors, with
" the conſent of their parliaments, to revoke and call again
" into their own hands, or otherwiſe to reſtrain all their
" power and juriſdiction given and permitted by their
" authority, aſſent or ſufferance, &c. Without the which, if
" the Biſhop of Rome, or any other biſhop whatſoever,
" ſhould take upon them any authority or juriſdiction in
" ſuch matters as be civil, no doubt, ſaid they, that biſhop
" is not worthy to be called a biſhop, but rather a tyrant,
" and an uſurper of other men's rights, contrary to the laws
" of God; and is to be reputed a ſubverter of the kingdom
" of Chriſt. Yea, beſides theſe things, and many other, as
" he added, they put in our creed, or belief, as an article
" of ſalvation or damnation, that the church of England is
" as well to be named a catholic and apoſtolic church, as
" Rome church, or any other church where the Apoſtles
" were reſident. And that they willed us to believe in our
" faith, that there is no difference in ſuperiority, preemi-
" nence, or authority, one over the other, but be all of equal
" power and dignity; and that all churches be free from
" the ſubjection and juriſdiction of the church of Rome. And
" that no church is to be called ſchiſmatical, as varying
" from the unity of the church of Chriſt, if it perſiſt in the
54 " unity of Chriſt's faith, hope, and charity, and unity of
" Chriſt's doctrine and ſacraments, agreeable to the ſame
" doctrine.

Defence of Prieſts' Mar. p. 226.

" And that it appertained to chriſten kings and princes,
" in the diſcharge of their duty to God, to reform and
" reduce again the laws to their old limits and priſtine ſtate,
" of their power and juriſdiction, which was given them by

" Chriſt, and uſed in the primitive church. For it is, ſay " they, out of all doubt, that Chriſt's faith was then moſt " firm and pure, and the ſcriptures of God were then beſt " underſtood, and virtue did then moſt abound and excel. " And therefore the cuſtoms and ordinances then uſed and " made, muſt needs be more conform and agreeable unto " the true doctrine of Chriſt, and more conducing to the " edifying and benefit of the church of Chriſt, than any " cuſtom or laws uſed or made ſince that time. This he " collected out of their expoſition of the ſacrament of " orders."

The ſaid learned author obſerved, that this doctrine was ſet forth by the whole authority of the biſhops in thoſe days, preſented by the ſubſcription of all their names. And ſince the time of their preſenting thereof, by the ſpace almoſt of twenty years, (that is, to the middle of Queen Mary,) never revoked, but continually from time to time taught by this book, and by ſuch other declarations.

Names of the compoſers.

And that one more particular relating to this book may be known, namely, who the biſhops and other divines were that compoſed it, and that were commiſſioned ſo to do, I ſhall record their names, as they were found writ by the hand of Dr. Sam. Ward, in his own book, now in the poſſeſſion of N. B. a reverend friend of mine; who hath well deſerved of this hiſtory.

Thomas Cant. Jo. Lond. Steph. Winton. Jo. Exon. Jo. Lincoln. Jo. Bathon. Roland. Coven. et Lich. Tho. Elien. Nic. Sarum. Jo. Bang. Edward Heref. Hugo. Wigorn. Jo. Roffen. Ric. Ciceſtr. Guilielm. Norv. Guilielm. Menevenſ. Rob. Aſſav. Rob. Landav. Edoard Ebor. Cuthb. Dunelm. Rob. Carliolen.

Richard. Wolman, Archidiac. Sudbur. Guil. Knight, Archid. Richmon. Jo. Bell, Archid. Gloc. Edmund. Bonner, Archid. Leiceſtr. John Skip, Archid. Dorſet. Nic. Hethe, Archid. Stafford. Cuthb. Marſhal, Archid. Nottingham. Rich. Curren, Archid. Oxon.

Gulielm. Cliff, Galfridus Downes, Robertus Oking, Radul. Bradford, Richardus Smith, Simon Matthew, Joannes Pryn, Guliel. Buckmaſter, Guliel. May, Nic. Wotton, Ric. Coxe, Joannes Edmunds, Thomas Robertſon, Joannes Baker, Tho-

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mas Barret, Joannes Haſe, Joannes Tyſon, ſacræ theologiæ, juris eccleſiaſtici et civilis profeſſores.

In the year 1543. the ſame book was printed again, amended much both in ſenſe and language: yet not having any ſtep in the progreſs of the reformation more than the former, each edition expreſs poſitively the corporal preſence in the ſacrament. But in this is much added about free-will, which it aſſerts, and good works. In 1544, the ſame was printed again at London in Latin, intituled, *Pia et Catholica Chriſtiani Hominis Inſtitutio.*

CHAP. XIV.

The Archbiſhop viſits his Dioceſe.

Goes down into his dioceſe.

AS ſoon as this buſineſs was over with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops at Lambeth, no parliament ſitting this year, and a plague being in London and Weſtminſter, he went down, as was ſaid before, into his dioceſe. But before he went, he expreſſed a great deſire to wait upon the King, being then, I ſuppoſe, at Hampton-Court, or Windſor; but he feared he ſhould not be permitted, coming out of the ſmoaky air, as he wrote to the Lord Crumwel, in that time of infection. Yet he deſired to know the King's pleaſure by him. He had a mind indeed to leave ſome good impreſſions upon the King's mind in the behalf of the book, that he and the reſt had taken ſuch pains about, and but newly made an end of. But whether he ſaw the King now or no, he had his commiſſion, and took it down with him. Which he adviſedly did, the better to warrant and bear him out in what he intended to do in his dioceſe, which he purpoſed to viſit.

Gets a licence to viſit.

This was a year of viſitation. For there was a new viſitation now again appointed throughout all England; to ſee how the people ſtood affected to the King, to diſcover cheats and impoſtures, either in images, relicks, or ſuch like. The Archbiſhop alſo thinking good now to viſit his dioceſe, procured the licence of the vicegerent, Lord Crumwel, ſo to do:

becauſe, I ſuppoſe, all other viſitations were to ceaſe, to give way to the King's viſitation. And to render his power of viſiting the more unqueſtionable, and void of ſcruple, he deſired the Vicegerent, that, in drawing up of his commiſſion, his licence to viſit might be put into it by Dr. Peter; who was then, if I miſtake not, maſter of the faculties to the ſaid Vicegerent, and afterwards ſecretary of ſtate. And becauſe he would not do any thing without the counſel and allowance of the Vicegerent, he aſked his advice, how he ſhould order in his viſitation ſuch perſons as had tranſgreſſed the King's injunctions. Which came out the year before under Crumwel's name: whereof ſome were for the reſtraint of the number of holy-days, a great cauſe of ſuperſtition, and of the continuance of it. And afterwards other injunctions came out: whereof the firſt was, that in all pariſhes, once every Sunday, for a quarter of a year together, the ſupremacy ſhould be taught, and the laws to that intent read. Theſe injunctions were in number eleven, as they are ſet down in the Lord Herbert's hiſtory. Pag. 472.

The Vicar of Croydon.

The Vicar of Croydon, under the Archbiſhop's noſe, had been guilty of certain miſdemeanors: which, I ſuppoſe, were ſpeaking or preaching to the diſparagement of the King's ſupremacy, and in favour of the Pope. Now before he went into the country, and having as yet divers biſhops and learned men with him at Lambeth, he thought it adviſable to call this man before them at this time. But before he would do it, he thought it beſt to conſult with Crumwel, and take his advice, whether he ſhould now do it, and before theſe biſhops or not: ſo tickliſh a thing then was it for the biſhops to do any things of themſelves without the privity and order of this great Vicegerent. Cranmer was aware of it, and therefore required direction from him in every thing. 56

The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe.

But whatſoever was done with this Vicar, the Archbiſhop was ſoon down in his dioceſe; and, having taken an account of the people and clergy, what conformity they bare to the King's laws and injunctions; he found them ſuperſtitiouſly ſet upon the obſervation of their old holy-days. Some whereof he puniſhed, and others he admoniſhed, according to the degree of their crimes. And he diſcovered the chief

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cauſe to lie in the curates and prieſts, who did animate the people to what they did: indeed their intereſt and gain was concerned. The great inconvenience of theſe holy-days lay partly in the numerouſneſs of them: ſo that the attendance upon them hindered diſpatching, and doing juſtice in Weſtminſter Hall in the terms, and the gathering in harveſt in the country: partly in the ſuperſtitions that theſe holy-days maintained, in the idolatrous worſhip of ſuppoſed ſaints; and partly in the riot, debauchery, and drunkenneſs, that theſe times were celebrated with among the common people; and laſtly, the poverty it brought upon the meaner ſort, being detained from going about their ordinary labours and callings, to provide for themſelves and families.

What courſe he took for the preventing of ſuperſtition.

For the prevention of theſe ſuperſtitions for the future, and to make the people more obedient to the King's laws, he gave out ſtrict orders to all parſons of pariſhes, upon pain of deprivation, that they ſhould cauſe the abrogated holy-days not to be obſerved for the future; and to preſent to the Archbiſhop all perſons in their reſpective pariſhes, as ſhould do contrary to any of the King's ordinances already ſet forth, or that ſhould be hereafter by his authority, relating to the doctrine and ceremonies of the church. And this courſe he conceived ſo good an expedient, that he counſelled the Lord Vicegerent, that all biſhops in their ſeveral dioceſes might be commanded to do the ſame, for the avoiding of diſobedience and contention in the realm. By which means, he ſaid, "the evil-will of the people "might be conveyed from the King and his council, upon "the ordinaries: and ſo the love and obedience of the "people better ſecured to their ſovereign." Such was his care of his prince, to preſerve him in the affections of his people, that he was willing to take upon himſelf their enmity, that it might not light upon the King. But Cranmer had obſerved theſe holy-days were kept by many, even in the court under the King's eye; which he well knew was an example and encouragement to the whole nation. And therefore he ſignified to the Lord Crumwel, that they could never perſuade the people to ceaſe from keeping them, when the King's own houſehold were an example unto

the reſt to break his own ordinances. See his letter to Crumwel in the Appendix.

CHAP. XIV.
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CHAP. XV. 57

The Bible printed.

HE was now at Ford; and it was in the month of Auguſt, when ſomething fell out that gave the good Archbiſhop as much joy as ever happened to him in all the time of his prelacy. It was the printing of the Holy Bible in the Engliſh tongue in the great volume: which was now finiſhed, by the great pains and charges of Richard Grafton the printer. Oſiander, who knew the Archbiſhop well when he was the King's ambaſſador in Germany, ſaith of him, that he was *ſacrarum literarum ſtudioſſimum*. Indeed he always had a great value for the Scriptures, becauſe they were the word of God: and extraordinary deſirous he was, from the very firſt entrance upon his biſhopric, that the people might have the liberty of reading it; and, for that purpoſe, to have it interpreted into the vulgar language. And ſo, by Crumwel's means, he got leave from the King that it might be tranſlated and printed. The care of the tranſlation lay wholly upon him; aſſigning little portions of this holy book to divers biſhops and learned men to do; and, being diſpatched, to be ſent back to him. But he could not ſee his deſire effected by theſe men, till it was happily done by other hands: and, to his inexpreſſible ſatisfaction, he ſaw the work finiſhed in this year, about July or Auguſt.

His joy at the publiſhing the Engliſh Bible.

As ſoon as ſome of the copies came to his hand, one he ſent to Crumwel, entreating him that he would preſent it from him to the King, (and no queſtion he thought it the nobleſt preſent that ever he made him;) and withal to intercede with his Majeſty, that the ſaid book might by his authority be both bought and uſed by all indifferently. Both which Crumwel did. For which the Archbiſhop was full of gladneſs and gratitude; and wrote two letters to him

Preſents one by Crumwel to the King.

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ſoon after one another, wherein he thanked him moſt heartily, telling him, "How he had hereby made his "memory famous to poſterity within the realm, among all "ſuch as ſhould hereafter be favourers of God's word: "and that he ſhould hear of this good deed of his at the laſt "day. That for his part, it was ſuch a content to his mind, "that he could not have done him a greater pleaſure, if he "had given him a thouſand pounds. And that ſuch know-"ledge would enſue hereupon, that it ſhould appear he had "done excellent ſervice both to God and the King." He alſo particularly ſpake of the Biſhop of Worceſter, how highly obliged he was ſure he was to him for this. But I refer the reader to his own letters, which follow.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 329. Cranmer's Letters to Crumwel.

"My very ſingular good Lord; in my moſt hearty wiſe I "commend me unto your Lordſhip. And whereas I under-"ſtand, that your Lordſhip at my requeſt hath not only "exhibited the Bible which I ſent unto you to the King's "Majeſty, but alſo hath obtained of his Grace, that the "ſame ſhall be allowed by his authority to be bought and "read within this realm; my Lord, for this your pains,
58 "taken in this behalf, I give you my moſt hearty thanks: "aſſuring your Lordſhip, for the contentation of my mind, "you have ſhewed me more pleaſure here, than if you had "given me a thouſand pounds; and I doubt not but that "hereby ſuch fruit of good knowledge ſhall enſue, that it "ſhall well appear hereafter what high and excellent ſer-"vice you have done unto God and the King. Which "ſhall ſo much redound to your honour, that, beſides God's "reward, you ſhall obtain perpetual memory for the ſame "within this realm. And as for me, you may reckon me "your bondman for the ſame. And I dare be bold to ſay, "ſo may ye do my Lord of Worceſter. Thus, my Lord, "right heartily fare ye well. At Ford, the xiii day of "Auguſt.

"Your own boundman ever,

"T. Cantuarien."

And in another letter, fifteen days after, he again renewed his thanks.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1537. Cleopatra E. 6. p. 292.

" My very ſingular and ſpecial good Lord; in my moſt " hearty wiſe I commend me to your Lordſhip. Theſe ſhall " be to give you moſt hearty thanks, that any heart can " think, and that in the name of them, which favour God's " word, for your diligence at this time in procuring the " King's highneſs to ſet forth the ſaid God's word, and his " Goſpel, by his Grace's authority. For the which act, not " only the King's Majeſty, but alſo you, ſhall have a per- " petual laud and memory of all them that be now, or here- " after ſhall be, God's faithful people, and the favourers of " his word. And this deed you ſhall hear of at the great " day, when all things ſhall be opened, and made manifeſt. " For our Saviour Chriſt ſaith in the ſaid Goſpel, that who- " ſoever ſhrinketh from him and his word, and is abaſhed to " profeſs and ſet it forth before men in this world, he will " refuſe him at that day: and contrary, whoſoever con- " ſtantly doth profeſs him and his word, and ſtudieth to ſet " that forward in this world, Chriſt will declare the ſame at " the laſt day before his Father and all his angels, and take " upon him the defence of thoſe men."

Some further particulars concerning this edition of the Bible.

Now becauſe by theſe letters of the Archbiſhop it appears how inſtrumental Crumwel was, when the Bible was printed, to procure the ſetting it forth by the King's authority, I will here relate more at large what countenance and aſſiſtance he gave to this pious work all along, and thoſe that were concerned and employed in the doing of it.

The Bible, as Fox ſpeaks, had been printed in the year 1532, and reprinted again four or five years after. The undertakers and printers were Grafton and Whitchurch, who printed it at Hamburgh. The corrector was John Rogers, a learned divine, afterwards a Canon of St. Paul's in King Edward's time, and the firſt martyr in the next reign. The tranſlator was William Tyndal, another learned martyr, with the help of Miles Coverdale, after Biſhop of Exeter. But before all this ſecond edition was finiſhed, Tyndal was taken and put to death for his religion, in Flanders, in the year 1536. And his name then growing into ignominy, as one burnt for an heretic, they thought it might prejudice the book, if he ſhould be named for the

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tranſlator thereof: and ſo they uſed a feigned name, calling it Thomas Matthew's Bible; though Tyndal, before his death, had finiſhed all but the Apocrypha, which was tranſlated by Rogers aboveſaid, who added alſo ſome marginal notes. In this Bible were certain prologues, and a ſpecial table collected of the common places in the Bible, and texts of Scripture for proving the ſame; and chiefly the common places of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of prieſts, and the maſs: of which it was there ſaid, that it was not to be found in Scripture. This Bible giving the clergy offence, was gotten to be reſtrained.

The printer's thanks and requeſts to Crumwel.

When Grafton had finiſhed this work, and printed off fifteen hundred Bibles at his great charge, amounting to five hundred pounds, (a round ſum in thoſe days,) the Lord Crumwel deſired to have ſix of his books: which he forthwith ſent by his ſervant, a clear man of all ſuſpicion of any infection, coming that day out of Flanders, Grafton not adventuring to come himſelf with the books, becauſe of the infection at London, where he was. Theſe books therefore he ſent, together with a letter of thanks for being ſo aſſiſtant in the publication, (which, as he writ in his letter, the Archbiſhop ſaid, the tidings of did him more good than the gift of ten thouſand pounds,) and for procuring the King's licence, which was thought fit to be ſignified in the title page in red letters, thus, *Set forth by the King's moſt gracious licence.* But ſeveral would not believe the King had licenſed it: and therefore he deſired further of Crumwel, that he would get it licenſed under the privy ſeal, which would be a defence for the preſent, and for the future. But take the letter as Grafton himſelf penned it.

Grafton to Crumwel. Cleopatra E. 5.

"Moſt humbly beſeeching your Lordſhip to underſtand, "that, according to your requeſt, I have ſent your Lordſhip "ſix Bibles; which gladly I would have brought myſelf, "but becauſe of the ſickneſs which remaineth in the city: "and therefore I have ſent them by my ſervant, which this "day came out of Flanders. Requiring your Lordſhip, if "I may be ſo bold as to deſire you, to accept them as my "ſimple gift, given to you for thoſe moſt godly pains; for "which the heavenly Father is bound, even of his juſtice, to

" reward you with the everlaſting kingdom of God. For CHAP.
" your Lordſhip's moving our moſt gracious Prince to the XV.
" allowance and licenſing of ſuch a work, hath wrought Anno 1537.
" ſuch an act worthy of praiſe, as never was mentioned in
" any chronicle in this realm: and, as my Lord of Canter-
" bury ſaid, the tidings thereof did him more good than
" the gift of 10000l. yet certain there are which believe
" not, that it pleaſed the King's Grace to licence it to go
" forth. Wherefore if your Lordſhip's pleaſure were ſuch,
" that we might have it licenſed under your privy ſeal, it 60
" would be a defence at this preſent, and in time to come,
" for all enemies and adverſaries of the ſame. And foraſ-
" much as this requeſt is for the maintenance of the Lord's
" word, which is to maintain the Lord himſelf, I fear not
" but that your Lordſhip will be earneſt therein. And I
" am aſſured that my Lord of Canterbury, Worceſter, and
" Saliſbury, will give your Lordſhip ſuch thanks as in
" them lieth. And ſure ye may be, that the heavenly
" Lord will reward you for the eſtabliſhment of his glorious
" truth. And what your Lordſhip's pleaſure is in this re-
" queſt, if it may pleaſe your Lordſhip to inform my
" ſervant, I and all that love God heartily are bound to
" pray for your preſervation all the days of our life. At
" London the xxviii day of this preſent month of Auguſt,
" 1537.

" Your orator while he liveth,

" Richard Grafton, Grocer."

The printer apprehenſive of another edition.

And as this printer had addreſſed to Crumwel for the privy ſeal, ſo he apprehended now a further need of the corroboration of authority upon another account. For ſome, obſerving how exceeding acceptable the Engliſh Bible was to the common people, were deſigning to print it in a leſs volume and ſmaller letters, whereby it would come to paſs, that Grafton would be underſold; and ſo he and his creditors would be undone: and beſides, it was like to prove a very ill edition, and very erroneous. Inſomuch that Grafton affirmed, they would commit as many faults as there were ſentences in the Bible. And it muſt needs be ſo, becauſe the printers were generally Dutchmen

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within the realm, that could neither ſpeak nor write true Engliſh: nor for covetouſneſs-ſake would they allow any learned men at all to overſee and correct what they printed, as formerly it had been printed, but paper, letter, ink and correction would be all naught. Therefore he deſired one favour more of the Lord Crumwel; and that was, to obtain for him of the King, that none ſhould print the Bible for three years but himſelf. And to move him, he ſaid he was ſure the Biſhop of Canterbury, and other his ſpecial friends, would not be unthankful to him. He urged to him, that his whole living lay upon this point. And for the better and quicker ſale of his books, he deſired alſo, that, by his commandment in the King's name, every curate might be obliged to have one; that they might learn to know God, and to inſtruct their pariſhioners; and that every abbey ſhould have ſix, to be laid in ſeveral places of the convent. He wiſhed ſome commiſſions might be iſſued out to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Biſhops of Sarum and Worceſter; and they would readily cauſe this to be done in their dioceſes. To which he earneſtly added his own arguments to provoke Crumwel to yield to his requeſt. This letter may be found in the Appendix.

Other requeſts of the printer.

No. XX.

CHAP. XVI.

Many Suffragan Biſhops made.

The feaſt of St. Thomas, &c. forbid.

IT was now forbidden by the parliament, and, in purſuance thereof, by the biſhops in their ſeveral dioceſes, that the feaſt of St. Thomas a Becket, the pretended martyr, ſhould be celebrated any more; nor of St. Laurence, nor of divers others, the feaſts of the twelve Apoſtles excepted, and of our Lady, St. Michael, and Mary Magdalene. Alſo the feaſt of the holy croſs was forbid; and commanded, that none ſhould preſume to keep thoſe feaſts holy; that is, they ſhould ring no bells, nor adorn their churches, nor go in proceſſion, nor do other ſuch-like things as belonged to the celebration of feſtivals. So when St. Thomas's eve

Auguſt. Monks Journal.

came, which had uſed conſtantly by the Archbiſhops of Canterbury, and their domeſtics, to be celebrated by faſting, Archbiſhop Cranmer took no notice of that eve, but eat fleſh, and ſupped in his parlour with his family. Which created much obſervation, it having never been ſeen before; the Archbiſhop thinking it unworthy that a man of that devotion to the ſee of Rome, and diſloyalty to his natural prince, ſhould be ſo religiouſly commemorated. CHAP. XVI. Anno 1537.

A Biſhop Dioceſan Conſecrated.

March the 25th, Robert Holgate, Maſter of the order of Sempringham, was conſecrated Biſhop of Landaff, in the chapel of St. Mary in the conventual church of Friars Preachers of the city of London, by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop to him; John Biſhop of Bangor, and Nicolas Biſhop of Sarum, aſſiſting. This Holgate was either Abbot or Prior of St. Mary Watte, an houſe of Gilbertines, which he held *in commendam*, and ſurrendered in the year 1539. Robert Holgate conſecrated biſhop.

Suffragan Biſhops.

June the 24th, John Bird, S. Th. P. Provincial of the order of Friars Carmelites of the city of London, was conſecrated ſuffragan of the ſee of Penrith, in Landaff dioceſe. And, John Bird.

Lewis Thomas, formerly Abbot of the monaſtery of Kynmer, ſuffragan Biſhop of the ſee of Salop; both conſecrated at Lambeth by the Archbiſhop. The aſſiſtant biſhops at this conſecration not mentioned in the regiſter. Lewis Thomas.

Of Bird, a word or two; I find him in Norwich about the year 1531, buſy with Bilney before his death. He was a perſon King Henry made uſe of; for in the year 1535, he, with Fox the almoner, and Bedel, a clerk of the council, were ſent to Queen Katharine, divorced from the King, to forbear the name of Queen: which nevertheleſs ſhe would not do. He preached certain ſermons before the King againſt the Pope's ſupremacy. Bale, in his expoſition upon the Revelations, makes him to be one of the ten horns that ſhall hate the whore. Godwin aſſerts of him, that he was once Biſhop of Oſſory. Bale, in his Centuries, mentions not 62 Some account of Bird. Lord Herbert's Hiſt. Hen. VIII.

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at all his being an Iriſh biſhop; but, naming his preferments, firſt calls him *Epiſcopus Penricenſis:* in 1539, made Biſhop of Bangor; and removed to Cheſter 1541. He was married, and therefore, upon Queen Mary's acceſs to the crown, was deprived of his biſhopric; but complied with the old religion. I find him alive in the year 1555, being then at Fulham at Biſhop Bonner's, and there he lodged. Upon his coming, he brought his preſent with him, a diſh of apples, and a bottle of wine. While he was here, he exhorted Mr. Hawkes, convented for pretended hereſy before Bonner, to *learn of his elders, and to bear with ſome things, and be taught by the church, and not to go too far.* In that Queen's reign he became Bonner's ſuffragan, and Vicar of Dunmow in Eſſex.

Fox's Acts.

Thomas Morley.

November the 4th, Thomas Morley, formerly Abbot of Stanley in Sarum dioceſe, of the Ciſtertian order, was conſecrated, in the chapel of Lambeth, ſuffragan of the ſee of Marlborough, by the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by John Biſhop of Lincoln, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter.

Richard Yngworth.

December the firſt, the Archbiſhop, according to the direction of the act for ſuffragan biſhops, nominated to the King two perſons, out of which he might elect a ſuffragan for Dover, *viz.* Richard Yngworth, Prior of the priory of Langley Regis, and John Codenham, both doctors in divinity. December the 8th, the King anſwered Cranmer's letter by his privy ſeal: wherein he appointed Yngworth to be conſecrated for his ſaid ſuffragan. And accordingly December the 9th, John Biſhop of London, by virtue of commiſſional letters from the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Robert Biſhop of St Aſaph, conſecrated the ſaid Yngworth. On the 10th, the Archbiſhop iſſued out his commiſſion to the ſaid ſuffragan, ordaining him his ſuffragan by thoſe preſents, until he ſhould think fit to withdraw his ſaid commiſſion again: ſignifying, that what he was to do was within his dioceſe and city of Canterbury, and juriſdiction of Calais, and the marches thereof; to confirm children, to bleſs altars, chalices, veſtments, and other ornaments of the church; to ſuſpend places and churches, and to reconcile them; to conſecrate churches and altars new ſet up; to confer all the leſſer orders; to conſecrate

holy oil of chriſm and holy unction; and to perform all other things belonging to the office of a biſhop. The Biſhop's letter to the King, deſiring him to appoint him a ſuffragan out of thoſe two above named, and the Archbiſhop's commiſſional letters to ſuffragan Yngworth, may be ſeen in the Appendix. And he that is minded to read the form of the King's mandate to the Archbiſhop for making a ſuffragan, may find it in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. No. XXI. No. XXII. Vol. i. Collect. 51. book 2.

The reaſon why the Archbiſhop all this while, that is, from the firſt making the act in the year 1534, to this time, had nominated none for ſuffragan to this ſee till now, might be, becauſe there ſeemed to be a ſuffragan already, even the ſame that had been in the time of Archbiſhop Warham, namely, John Thornton, Prior of Dover; who was one of the witneſſes appointed by that Archbiſhop to certify what was found and ſeen at the opening of St. Dunſtan's tomb. Richard Thornden ſeems to have ſucceeded Yngworth in this office ſome years after; and was very dear to the Archbiſhop, having been by him preferred to be Prebend of Canterbury; though he proved very falſe to him, and was among thoſe that made a treacherous combination againſt him in the year 1543: and in Queen Mary's time became a great perſecutor. John Thornton ſuffragan. See Sumner's Hiſt. Cant. Append. p. 423. Richard Thornden. 63

December the 9th, John Hodgkin, profeſſor of divinity, was conſecrated at the ſame time, and by the ſame biſhops as above; but to what ſee is not mentioned. The Biſhop of London, together with this Hodgkin, had nominated to the King Robert Struddel, profeſſor of divinity. Both he recommended to the King, by letters, to be made ſuffragans at large, without mention of any ſee in his dioceſe; but only expreſſing that his dioceſe wanted the comfort of ſuffragans, that might bear a part in his cure; and ſo mentioned thoſe two: adding, that the King might appoint them to ſome ſee within the province of Canterbury. Hodgkin, if I miſtake not, was conſecrated ſuffragan of Bedford: and was afterwards one of thoſe that aſſiſted at the conſecration of Archbiſhop Parker. He was a Black Friar. In the year 1531, he, with Bird, laboured with Bilney at Norwich, a little before his death, to bring him off from the doctrines for which he was condemned. After- John Hodgkin.

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wards Hodgkin coming nearer under the Archbiſhop's eye, by his means came to better knowledge in religion, and married a wife; but in Queen Mary's time put her away.

Henry Holbeach.

March 24. Henry Holbeach, Prior of the cathedral church of Wigorn, S. T. P. (Hugh Biſhop of Wigorn having recommended him to the King for Suffragan Biſhop of Briſtow,) was accordingly conſecrated in the Biſhop of London's chapel, in the ſaid Biſhop's houſe, ſituate in Lambeth-marſh, by the ſaid Biſhop; Hugh Biſhop of Wigorn, and Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, aſſiſting.

CHAP. XVII.

The Bible in Engliſh allowed.

Anno 1538. The Archbiſhop reads upon the Hebrews.

THE next year I find the careful Archbiſhop again at Canterbury, looking after his charge. And here he read lectures upon the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent, in the chapter-houſe of the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity.

A declaration for reading the Bible.

Now, *viz.* 1538, the holy Bible was divulged, and expoſed to common ſale; and appointed to be had in every pariſh-church. And then, that the ſacred book might be uſed with the more benefit, both of the clergy and laypeople, for this reaſon a declaration was iſſued out, to be read openly by all curates, upon the publiſhing of this Bible: ſhewing the godly ends of his Majeſty in permitting it to be in Engliſh; and directions how they ſhould read and hear it. Namely, to uſe it with reverence and great devotion: to conform their lives unto it; and to encourage thoſe that were under them, wives, children, and ſervants, to live according to the rules thereof: that in doubtful places they ſhould confer with the learned for the ſenſe, who ſhould be appointed to preach and explain the ſame, and not to contend and diſpute about them in ale-houſes and taverns. They that are minded to read this declaration, may find it in the Appendix. This Bible was of ſo quick ſale, that two years after it was printed again.

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No. XXIII.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1538. The Bible received and read with great joy.

It was wonderful to ſee with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder ſort, and thoſe that were noted for lovers of the reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greedineſs God's word was read, and what reſort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the book, or buſily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themſelves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpoſe. And even little boys flocked among the reſt to hear portions of the holy Scripture read. One William Maldon, happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquiſitive after thoſe that ſuffered for religion in the former reigns, aſked him, if he knew any that were perſecuted for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, that he might add it to his book of martyrs; he told him, he knew one that was whipped by his own father in King Henry's reign for it. And when Fox was very inquiſitive who he was, and what was his name, he confeſſed it was himſelf: and upon his deſire he wrote out all the circumſtances. Namely, that when the King had allowed the Bible to be ſet forth to be read in all churches, immediately ſeveral poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Eſſex, where his father lived and he was born, bought the New Teſtament, and on Sundays ſat reading of it in the lower end of the church: many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the reſt, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and ſweet tidings of the Goſpel. But his father obſerving it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to ſay the Latin mattins with him: which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father ſtill would fetch him away. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read Engliſh, that ſo he might read the New Teſtament himſelf: which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Teſtament, joining their ſtocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed-ſtraw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being aſleep, he and his mother chanced to diſcourſe

Inter Foxii MSS.

BOOK I. Anno 1537.

wards Hodgkin coming nearer under the Archbiſhop's eye, by his means came to better knowledge in religion, and married a wife; but in Queen Mary's time put her away.

Henry Holbeach.

March 24. Henry Holbeach, Prior of the cathedral church of Wigorn, S. T. P. (Hugh Biſhop of Wigorn having recommended him to the King for Suffragan Biſhop of Briſtow,) was accordingly conſecrated in the Biſhop of London's chapel, in the ſaid Biſhop's houſe, ſituate in Lambeth-marſh, by the ſaid Biſhop; Hugh Biſhop of Wigorn, and Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, aſſiſting.

CHAP. XVII.

The Bible in Engliſh allowed.

Anno 1538. The Archbiſhop reads upon the Hebrews.

THE next year I find the careful Archbiſhop again at Canterbury, looking after his charge. And here he read lectures upon the Epiſtle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent, in the chapter-houſe of the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity.

A declaration for reading the Bible.

Now, *viz.* 1538, the holy Bible was divulged, and expoſed to common ſale; and appointed to be had in every pariſh-church. And then, that the ſacred book might be uſed with the more benefit, both of the clergy and laypeople, for this reaſon a declaration was iſſued out, to be read openly by all curates, upon the publiſhing of this Bible: ſhewing the godly ends of his Majeſty in permitting it to be in Engliſh; and directions how they ſhould read and hear it. Namely, to uſe it with reverence and great devotion: to conform their lives unto it; and to encourage thoſe that were under them, wives, children, and ſervants, to live according to the rules thereof: that in doubtful places they ſhould confer with the learned for the ſenſe, who ſhould be appointed to preach and explain the ſame, and not to contend and diſpute about them in ale-houſes and taverns. They that are minded to read this declaration, may find it in the Appendix. This Bible was of ſo quick ſale, that two years after it was printed again.

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No. XXIII.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1538.

It was wonderful to ſee with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the learneder ſort, and thoſe that were noted for lovers of the reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greedineſs God's word was read, and what reſort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the book, or buſily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not themſelves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpoſe. And even little boys flocked among the reſt to hear portions of the holy Scripture read. One William Maldon, happening in the company of John Fox, in the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and Fox being very inquiſitive after thoſe that ſuffered for religion in the former reigns, aſked him, if he knew any that were perſecuted for the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, that he might add it to his book of martyrs; he told him, he knew one that was whipped by his own father in King Henry's reign for it. And when Fox was very inquiſitive who he was, and what was his name, he confeſſed it was himſelf: and upon his deſire he wrote out all the circumſtances. Namely, that when the King had allowed the Bible to be ſet forth to be read in all churches, immediately ſeveral poor men in the town of Chelmsford in Eſſex, where his father lived and he was born, bought the New Teſtament, and on Sundays ſat reading of it in the lower end of the church: many would flock about them to hear their reading; and he among the reſt, being then but fifteen years old, came every Sunday to hear the glad and ſweet tidings of the Goſpel. But his father obſerving it, once angrily fetched him away, and would have him to ſay the Latin mattins with him: which grieved him much. And as he returned at other times to hear the Scripture read, his father ſtill would fetch him away. This put him upon the thoughts of learning to read Engliſh, that ſo he might read the New Teſtament himſelf: which when he had by diligence effected, he and his father's apprentice bought the New Teſtament, joining their ſtocks together; and, to conceal it, laid it under the bed-ſtraw, and read it at convenient times. One night, his father being aſleep, he and his mother chanced to diſcourſe

The Bible received and read with great joy.

Inter Foxii MSS.

BOOK I. Anno 1526.

concerning the crucifix, and kneeling down to it, and knocking on the breaſt then uſed, and holding up the hands to it, when it came by on proceſſion: this he told his mother was plain idolatry, and againſt the commandment of God, where he ſaith, *Thou ſhalt not make any graven image, nor bow down to it, nor worſhip it.* His mother, 65 enraged at him for this, ſaid, "Wilt thou not worſhip the croſs, which was about thee when thou wert chriſtened, and muſt be laid on thee when thou art dead?" In this heat the mother and ſon departed, and went to their beds. The ſum of this evening's conference ſhe preſently repeats to her huſband: which he impatient to hear, and boiling in fury againſt his ſon, for denying worſhip to be due to the croſs, aroſe up forthwith, and goes into his ſon's chamber, and, like a mad zealot, taking him by the hair of his head with both his hands, pulled him out of the bed, and whipped him unmercifully. And when the young man bore this beating, as he related, with a kind of joy, conſidering it was for Chriſt's ſake, and ſhed not a tear; his father, ſeeing that, was more enraged, and ran down and fetched an halter, and put it about his neck, ſaying he would hang him. At length, with much entreaty of the mother and brother, he left him almoſt dead. I extract this out of the original relation of the perſon himſelf, wrote at Newington, near London, where he afterwards dwelt. Which relation he gave to John Fox.

The Archbiſhop had a hand in Lambert's death.

This year Nicolſon, a very learned man, greatly acquainted with Tindal and Frith, and who, by reaſon of trouble from the biſhops formerly, for the better concealing of himſelf for time to come, called himſelf Lambert, was adjudged to the flames, and cruelly burnt. Wherein our Archbiſhop and the Lord Crumwel unhappily had their hands; the one in reading the ſentence againſt him *De Hæretico comburendo*, by the King's commandment: and the Archbiſhop, firſt in having him before him in a judiciary way, and afterwards in diſputing publicly againſt him in favour of the doctrine of the corporal preſence. The firſt occaſion of Lambert's troubles was this. At the hearing of a ſermon of Dr. Taylor, (he who was afterwards Biſhop of Lincoln, and a favourer of the Goſpel,) preached by him at

St. Peter's, Cornhill, he came and preſented him with ten reaſons againſt tranſubſtantiation, written by him. Dr. Taylor, by Dr. Barnes his means, who, though in other things he favoured a reformation, and ſuffered death upon the ſix articles, yet was hot againſt ſacramentaries at this time, thinking the broaching that doctrine might throw in ſome impediment to the progreſs of the Goſpel; Dr. Taylor, I ſay, by Barnes his advice, carried theſe reaſons to the Archbiſhop. Who, upon this, conventing Lambert before him, endeavoured to reclaim him, by holding much diſcourſe with him. The news of this came to the court. And by the inſtigation of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the King reſolved to diſpute with him himſelf in a very public and ſolemn manner: and that becauſe he had appealed from the biſhops to the King.

The day being come, and the King preſent, with all his biſhops on the right hand, and his nobles on the left, accompanied with his lawyers and other attendants, on purpoſe to terrify him, and to make an open ſignification, that though he had caſt off the papal ſupremacy, yet he intended not to be a favourer of hereſy ſo called; firſt commanded Richard Sampſon, Biſhop of Chicheſter, (Fox ſaith it was Day Biſhop of Chicheſter; but in that he was miſtaken, for he was not yet biſhop,) to begin, and give the reaſon of the meeting. He appointed the biſhops now preſent to anſwer Lambert's ten reaſons, as Fox; or his eight, as the Biſhop of Chicheſter in his declaration mentioned. The Archbiſhop anſwered the ſecond, for the King himſelf had diſputed againſt the firſt. The Archbiſhop, according to his mild temper, but withal according to the falſe opinion which he then moſt confidently maintained, ſtyling him Brother Lambert, deſired the matter might be decided indifferently between them: and that if he convinced Lambert by Scripture, Lambert would be willing to come over from his opinion: but if Lambert, on the other hand, could by Scripture convince him, he promiſed to embrace his opinion. Then he fell upon Lambert's reaſon, which was taken out of the Acts of the Apoſtles, where Chriſt appeared unto Paul by the way: diſputing from that place, that it was not diſagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Chriſt

The biſhops diſpute againſt Lambert's reaſons.

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BOOK I. Anno 1538.

may be in two places at once: which being in heaven, was ſeen the ſame time by St. Paul upon the earth. And, ſaid the Archbiſhop, "If it may be in two places, why, by the like reaſon, may it not be in many places?" In what order and courſe the reſt of the biſhops diſputed, or rather baited this poor man, it is uncertain; only Wincheſter had the ſixth place, Tunſtal of Durham next to him, and next Stokeſly Biſhop of London. Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, who was reputed a man of great learning, had his courſe, to whoſe turn it came to confute Lambert's fixth reaſon, which was taken from that of St. Paul to the Romans, *Who hath aſcended up to heaven, to bring Chriſt down from thence?* His argument is preſerved in the Cotton library. I refer the reader to the Appendix, where he ſhall meet with it. Whereby may be ſeen after what a haughty and indecent manner this meek confeſſor of Chriſt was dealt with: as though they deſigned rather to run him down, and brow-beat him, than anſwer him.

Rom. x.

Cleopatra E. 5. No. XXIV.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Archbiſhop's judgment of the Euchariſt.

Cranmer zealous for the corporal preſence.

BUT to return to Cranmer, whoſe opinion in the point of the ſacrament we will ſtay a little upon. He was now a ſtrong ſtickler for the carnal preſence, and ſeemed greatly prejudiced to that opinion. There was one Joachim Vadianus, a learned man of St. Gal in Helvetia, and an acquaintance of the Archbiſhop's. He had framed a treatiſe, intituled, *Aphoriſms upon the conſideration of the Euchariſt*, in ſix books: which were intended to prove no corporal preſence. This book he preſented to the Archbiſhop: but though he loved him as a learned man, yet he declared himſelf much diſpleaſed with his argument; and wrote to him, "that he wiſhed he had employed his ſtudy to better "purpoſe, and that he had begun his correſpondence with "him in ſome better and more approved ſubject: adding, "that he would be neither patron nor approver of that

" doctrine, until he ſaw ſtronger proofs for it." And ſo much did he diſlike Œcolampadius and Zuinglius their opinion in this matter, that he applied that cenſure of St. Hierom concerning Origen to them; " That *where they* 67 " *wrote well, no body writ better; and where ill, no body* " *worſe.* And he wiſhed thoſe learned men had gone no " further than to confute papiſtical errors and abuſes, and " had not ſown their tares with their good corn."

That which detained our Archbiſhop in this error was the veneration he had for the ancient doctors of the church, whoſe writings, as he then thought, approved the doctrine of this groſs preſence; judging that none could ever reconcile thoſe authors to the contrary opinion. Indeed he judged it the very doctrine of the Fathers from the beginning of the church: and he reckoned that it muſt be a truth, becauſe otherwiſe it could not conſiſt with God's goodneſs to his ſpouſe, to leave her in ſuch blindneſs ſo long. It ſeemed alſo that he built this his error upon the words of Scripture, taking the ſenſe of *This is my body* literally.

His reaſons for it.

Vadian by this book had intended to have brought Cranmer off from this opinion. And before him ſeveral attempts had been made that way; but he remained ſo rooted therein, that he ſeemed to be ever unmoveable. He ſuppoſed alſo, that the giving up this doctrine would prove a great impediment to the work of the Goſpel, that now proceeded well in the nation. He adviſed and beſeeched all, both Lutherans and Zuinglians, that the churches of Chriſt would lay aſide their controverſies in that matter, and agree and unite in a Chriſtian concord together, that they might propagate one ſound pure doctrine, conſonant to the diſcipline of the primitive church: and this would be the way to convert even Turks themſelves to the obedience of the Goſpel. But I recommend the reader to the Archbiſhop's own letter to the ſaid Vadianus; wherein he may ſee how faſt and firm he ſtuck to this doctrine in theſe days. He will find it in the Appendix.

No. XXV.

Sanders, in his lying book of the Engliſh Schiſm, would make his reader believe that Cranmer was of this opinion for another reaſon, namely, becauſe his maſter King Henry thought ſo: and that he had ſo devoted himſelf to him,

Sanders's ſlanders of the Archbiſhop concerning his opinion in the Sacrament.

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

that he in all things whatſoever believed, and did, in conformity to him: giving Cranmer therefore the nick-name of Henricianus. But we muſt attribute that ſuggeſtion to the well-known venomous pen of that man, who cared not what he writ, ſo he might but throw his dirt upon the reformation, and the reformers. The ſaid author with the ſame malice would have it, that Cranmer was very variable and inconſtant, having been firſt for a corporeal preſence, afterwards a Lutheran, and then a Calviniſt: and that he thus changed his opinion, as a ſycophant and flatterer, to comply with every man's humour that was uppermoſt. That all the time of King Henry, he remained of that King's opinion, who was a vehement enemy to Luther; but when he was dead, he became wholly Lutheran, and put forth a catechiſm, dedicated to King Edward, and printed it; in which he taught, that every chriſtian that received the ſacrament, either under the bread, or in the bread, or with the bread, certainly received into his mouth the very true body and blood of Chriſt. But that ſcarce a month paſſed, when the wretch (that is his word) underſtood that the Duke of Somerſet, the King's governor, was a Calviniſt, 68 and not a Lutheran; what ſhould he do? He printed his catechiſm again, changed the word; and of an Henrician and a Lutheran, became a Calviniſt.

When Cranmer changed his opinion.

But to give a more true and reſpectful account of our Archbiſhop, as to his continuance in this opinion, and his change of it. Hitherto we have ſeen his opinion for a corporal preſence. In the next year, (*viz.* 1539.) I find one Adam Damplip of Calais, a learned preacher, convented before him, and ſeveral other biſhops, for not holding the real preſence. From which opinion the Archbiſhop, with the reſt, did endeavour to bring him off: though then he marvelled much at the anſwers that Damplip made, and confeſſed openly and plainly, that the Scripture knew no ſuch term as *tranſubſtantiation*. In the year 1541, he had one Barber, a maſter of arts of Oxford, brought before him for denying the ſaid corporal preſence: the Archbiſhop diſputed again earneſtly for that doctrine againſt this man, yet could not but admire at his readineſs in citing his places out of St. Auguſtin, nor could tell how to confute them, as

Mr. Raphe Morice his ſecretary related afterward to John Fox. And this tenet he held to the very laſt year of King Henry, that is, to the year 1546: when, by more mature and calm deliberation, and conſidering the point with leſs prejudice, and the ſenſe of the Fathers more cloſely, in conference with Dr. Ridley, afterwards Biſhop of Rocheſter, and his fellow-martyr, he at laſt quitted and freed himſelf from the fetters of that unſound doctrine; as appears by the epiſtle dedicatory before his book of the Sacrament in Latin, printed by the exiles at Embden. Which epiſtle we may give credit to, being written (as is thought) by Sir John Cheke, who well knew the Archbiſhop, and matters relating to him.

Anno 1546. Acts and Mon. p. 1101.

After Archbiſhop Cranmer and Ridley had changed their opinion, Latimer not long after changed his in this point: for, as they all three died martyrs at Oxon, I am willing to join them together here. It was but ſeven years before his burning that he relinquiſhed that old error, that is, about the year 1547, as he confeſſed to Dr. Weſton in his diſputation. There is an argument the ſaid Latimer made uſe of, to prove the deceit of the blood of Hales; which argument ſuppoſes him then of this opinion. It was pretended by the prieſts, that none could ſee this blood, but thoſe that were confeſſed and abſolved by the prieſt, and ſo clean in life; and their ſeeing of it was a ſign they were ſo. But ſaid Latimer in thoſe times, for the expoſing of this fraud; "Thoſe wretches that ſcourged Chriſt, and "nailed him to his croſs, did ſee his blood with their "bodily eyes, and yet were not in clean life. And we ſee "the ſelf-ſame blood in form of wine, when we have con-"ſecrate, and may both ſee it, feel it, and receive it to our "damnation, as touching bodily receiving." We ſhall perhaps ſay more of the Archbiſhop's opinion in the euchariſt, when we come to ſpeak of his book relating to that argument.

Latimer of the ſame judgment.

Fox, p. 1581.

Divers prieſts now, as well religious as ſecular, had married themſelves, after the example of the Archbiſhop, who kept his wife ſecretly with him. But ſome of theſe married prieſts were ſo indiſcreet, that they lived publicly and openly with their wives, though the eccleſiaſtical laws were in

Divers prieſts marry wives.

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

force againſt ſuch marriages, nor had they any allowances by the King and realm in parliament; only ſome had diſpenſations (as it is ſaid) from the Archbiſhop. Therefore the King, preſſed by ſome of the papiſts about him, (who began now, after Lambert's death, to liſten to them,) ſet forth a proclamation, November 16, for the ſtopping of ſuch matrimonies. Which ran in this tenor.

The King's proclamation againſt prieſts' marriages.

"That the King's Majeſty underſtanding that a few in "number of this his realm, being prieſts, as well religious "as other, had taken wives, and married themſelves, &c. "His Highneſs in no wiſe minding that the generality of "the clergy of this his realm ſhould, with the example of "ſuch a few number of light perſons, proceed to marriage "without a common conſent of his Highneſs, and his realm; "did therefore ſtraitly charge and command, as well all "and ſingular the ſaid prieſts as have attempted marriages, "that be openly known, as all ſuch as would preſumptuouſly "proceed to the ſame, that they, ne any of them, ſhould "miniſter any ſacrament, or other miniſtry myſtical: ne "have any office, dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or com-"modity, heretofore accuſtomed and belonging to the "clergy of this realm; but ſhould be utterly, after ſuch "marriages, expelled and deprived from the ſame; and be had "and reputed as lay-perſons to all intents and purpoſes. "And that ſuch as ſhould after this proclamation, contrary "to his commandment, of their preſumptuous mind, take "wives and be married, ſhould run in his Grace's indigna-"tion, and ſuffer further puniſhment and impriſonment at "his Grace's will and pleaſure. *Dat.* xvi. *Novembris*, "*Anno Regni ſui* xxx."

Wherein we may obſerve what a particular regard the King had for the Archbiſhop in relation to his wife, that the danger of the proclamation might not reach him, by limiting the penalty, not to ſuch as were married and kept their wives ſecretly, but to ſuch as ſhould marry hereafter, and ſuch as kept them openly. And we may obſerve further, that it ſeemed to be in the King's mind in due time to tolerate marriages to prieſts by act of parliament, which that clauſe ſeems to import, that theſe prieſts had married themſelves *without a common conſent of his Highneſs and his*

realm. And Biſhop Ponet, or whoever elſe was the author of the defence of prieſts' marriage, aſſures us, that the King intended to permit prieſts to take wives, knowing how neceſſary it was to grant that liberty; and he affirms, that it was not unknown to divers that heard him ſpeak oft of that matter: but was hindered by ſome jealous counſellors, that pretended how ill the people would take it, had it been done by his authority. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1538. Defence of Prieſts' Marriage, p. 198.

The ſect of Anabaptiſts did now begin to peſter this church; and would openly diſpute their principles in taverns and public places, and ſome of them were taken up. Many alſo of their books were brought in and printed here alſo: which was the cauſe that the King now ſet out a ſevere proclamation againſt them and their books. To which he joined the Sacramentaries, as lately with the other come into the land; declaring, "That he abhorred and deteſted "their errors; and that thoſe that were apprehended he "would make examples. Ordering, that they ſhould be "detected, and brought before the King or his council; 70 "and that all that were not ſhould in eight or ten days "depart the kingdom. This proclamation may be read in "the Appendix, Num. VIII. Where I have miſplaced "it." Anabaptiſts.

A commiſſion alſo was then given out to the Archbiſhop, to John Biſhop of Lincoln, Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, and others, againſt this ſect. Which commiſſion was ſigned at the bottom by Thomas Crumwel. A commiſſion againſt them. Cran. Regiſt.

It was obſerved that the parſons, vicars, and curates did read confuſedly the word of God, and the King's injunctions, lately ſet forth, and commanded by them to be read: humming and hawking thereat, that almoſt no man could underſtand the meaning of the injunction. And they ſecretly ſuborned certain ſpreaders of rumours and falſe tales in corners, who interpreted the injunctions to a falſe ſenſe. And becauſe there was an order that all chriſtenings, marriages, and burials ſhould be regiſtered from time to time, and the books ſurely kept in the pariſh churches, they blew abroad, that the King intended to make new exactions at all chriſtenings, weddings, and burials: adding, that therein the King went about to take away the liberties of the realm, The wardneſs of the prieſts. Cleopat. E. 6. p. 222.

BOOK I. Anno 1536.

for which, they ſaid, Thomas a Becket died. And they bad their pariſhioners, notwithſtanding what they read, being compelled ſo to do, that they ſhould do as they did in times paſt, to live as their fathers; and that the old faſhion is the beſt: and other crafty and ſeditious parables they gave out among them.

Occaſions the King to write to the juſtices.

This forced the King to write his letters to the juſtices of peace, to take up ſuch ſeditious parſons, vicars, and curates. And in theſe letters is explained the true reaſon of Thomas a Becket's contention with King Henry II. As that he contended, that none of the clergy offending ſhould be called to account, or corrected, but in the biſhops' courts only, and not by the laws of the realm: and that no King ſhould be crowned but by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury only.

He viſits the dioceſe of Hereford.

The church of Hereford being now become vacant by the death of Fox, (an excellent inſtrument of the reformation,) the Archbiſhop committed the cuſtody of the ſpiritualities to Hugh Coren, doctor of canon laws, and prebendary of that church, and by him viſited the church and dioceſe, and gave certain injunctions to the parſons, vicars, and other curates there. Theſe injunctions, as I find them in Cranmer's Regiſter, were eight in number: which I ſhall not here inſert at large, becauſe they may be met with in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. But in ſhort, they enjoined the obſervation of the King's injunctions, given by his Majeſty's commiſſaries in the year 1536. They enjoined, "that they ſhould have, by the firſt of Auguſt, a whole Bible "in Latin and Engliſh; or at leaſt a New Teſtament in the "ſame languages. That they ſhould every day ſtudy one "chapter of the Bible or Teſtament, conferring the Latin "and Engliſh together; and to begin at the beginning of "the book, and ſo continue to the end. That they ſhould "not diſcourage any laymen from reading the Bible, but "encourage them to it. And to read it for the reforma-
71 "tion of their lives, and knowledge of their duty; and not "to be bold and preſumptuous in judging of things before "they have perfect knowledge. That they ſhould, both in "their preachings and confeſſions, and in other their doings, "excite their pariſhioners unto ſuch works as are command-

Cranm. Regiſt.

Par. i. book iii. Collect. 12.

" ed by God expreſsly: adding, that for this God ſhould " demand of them a ſtrict reckoning. And to teach them, " that other works, which they do of their own devotion, " are not to be ſo highly eſteemed as the other: and that " for the not doing them, God will not aſk any account. " That no friar have any cure or ſervice in their churches, " unleſs he were diſpenſed withal and licenſed by the " ordinary. That they admit no young perſon to the " ſacrament, who never received it before, unleſs ſuch perſon " openly in the church, after maſs upon a holy-day, ſay the " Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. " That they twice a quarter declare the bands of matrimony, " and the danger of uſing their bodies, but with ſuch perſons " as they might by the law of God; and that no privy " contracts be made, as they would avoid the extreme peril " of the laws of the realm."

No dioceſan biſhop conſecrated this year.

Biſhops Suffragans.

Biſhops conſecrated.

Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph recommended to the King John Bradley, Abbot of the monaſtery of Milton, of the order of St. Benedict, or William Pelles, both bachelors of divinity, to the dignity of ſuffragan within the dioceſe [province rather] of Canterbury, mentioning no particular ſee. The Biſhop of Bath and Wells alſo recommended two to the King, out of which to nominate a ſuffragan to ſome ſee within the province of Canterbury, *viz.* William Finch, late Prior of Bremar, and Richard Walſhe, Prior of the hoſpital of St. John Baptiſt of Bridgewater.

Cranm. Regiſt.

William Finch.

April the 7th, William Finch was nominated by the King to the Archbiſhop to be conſecrated for Suffragan of Taunton; and then conſecrated in the chapel of St. Mary's, in the conventual church of the Friars Preachers, London, by John Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop, Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and William Suffragan of Colcheſter, aſſiſting. And,

John Bradley.

March the 23d, John Bradley was conſecrated Suffragan of Shaftſbury, in the chancel of the pariſh-church of St. John Baptiſt in Southampton, by John Biſhop of Bangor, by the letters commiſſional of Thomas Archbiſhop of

BOOK I. Anno 1538.

Canterbury, John Ipolitanen. and Thomas Suffragan of Marleborough, affiſting.

CHAP. XIX.

The Act of Six Articles.

The Archbiſhop makes Nic. Wotton Commiſſary of his Faculties. Cranm. Regiſt.

THIS year, October the 6th, I meet with a commiſſion, *ad facultates*, granted from the Archbiſhop to a famous man, Nicholas Wotton, LL. D. a man of great learning, and made uſe of by the King afterwards in divers embaſſies, and a privy counſellor to King Henry, and his three children ſucceſſively Princes of the realm, and Dean of Canterbury and York. This commiſſion was in purſuance of a late act of parliament, to this tenor; that in whatſoever caſes, not prohibited by divine right, in which the Biſhop of Rome, or Roman ſee, heretofore accuſtomed to diſpenſe, and alſo in all other caſes in which the Biſhop or ſee of Rome accuſtomed not to diſpenſe, if ſo be they were not forbid by divine right; in theſe caſes the Archbiſhop had power granted him to diſpenſe. In this office he conſtituted Wotton his commiſſary or deputy for the term of his natural life. He ſucceeded Edmund Boner, Maſter of the Archbiſhop's Faculties, now preferred to the biſhopric of Hereford. So that Cranmer took notice of the merits of this man, who was ſo much made uſe of afterwards in the church and ſtate; and was of that great eſteem and reputation, that he was thought on, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, for Archbiſhop of Canterbury. In the year 1528, he was doctor of laws, and the Biſhop of London's official. In the year 1540, he was reſident for the King in the Duke of Cleves court; and had been employed in the match between the King and the Lady Ann of that houſe the year before; and perhaps this might be the firſt time he was ſent abroad in the King's buſineſs.

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Ath. Oxon. p. 194.

Anno 1539. In the year 1539, the King took occaſion to be diſpleaſed with the Archbiſhop and the other biſhops *of the new learning*,

as they then termed them, becauſe they could not be brought to give their conſent in the parliament that the King ſhould have all the monaſteries ſuppreſſed to his own ſole uſe. They were willing he ſhould have all the lands as his anceſtors gave to any of them; but the reſidue they would have had beſtowed upon hoſpitals, grammar-ſchools for bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning, with other things profitable in the commonwealth. The King was hereunto ſtirred by the crafty inſinuations of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and other old diſſembling papiſts. And as an effect of this diſpleaſure, as it was thought, in the parliament this year, he made the terrible bloody act of the ſix Articles: whereby none were ſuffered to ſpeak a word againſt the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation upon pain of being burnt to death as an heretic, and to forfeit all his lands and goods, as in caſe of treaſon. And moreover, it was made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, marriage in a prieſt, or in any man or woman that had vowed chaſtity: or to ſay any thing againſt the neceſſity of private maſſes and auricular confeſſion. Which articles were plainly enough deſigned againſt any that ſhould dare to open their mouths againſt theſe Romiſh errors, and eſpecially to impoſe ſilence, and that on pain of death, upon many honeſt preachers that were now riſen up, and uſed to ſpeak freely againſt theſe abuſes; and as a good means to keep the poor people ſtill ſecurely in their old ignorance and ſuperſtition.

CHAP. XIX.

Anno 1539.

The King offended with the Archbiſhop and ſome other Biſhops.

Life of Cranm. inter Foxii MSS.

But before this act paſſed, marvellous great ſtruggling there was on both parts, for and againſt it. But the ſide of the favourers of the Goſpel at this time was the weaker, the King now inclining more to the other party, for the reaſon aboveſaid, and for other cauſes: wherein I refer the reader to the conjectures of the Lord Herbert. The biſhops diſputed long in the houſe, ſome for it, and ſome againſt it. The Archbiſhop diſputed earneſtly three days againſt it, uſing divers arguments to diſſuade paſſing the act: which were ſo remarkable for the learning and weight of them, that the King required a copy of them. And though he was reſolved not to alter his purpoſe of having this act made, yet he was not offended with the Archbiſhop's free-

The ſix Articles oppoſed by the Archbiſhop.

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Life of King Henry, p. 512.

BOOK I. Anno 1539.

dom, as knowing the ſincerity of the man. Even thoſe in the houſe that diſſented from him, were greatly taken with the gravity, eloquence, and learning he then ſhewed, and particularly the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk: who told him ſo at his table ſoon after; being ſent by the King to him to comfort him under his dejection for this act, with Crumwel, and many other Lords. The papiſt writers ſay he oppoſed it becauſe himſelf was a married man, and ſo it would touch him cloſe: but it is plain that there were other of theſe ſix Articles which he utterly diſliked; and eſpecially he abhorred the rigorous penalty of the act. But hereupon he privately ſent away his wife into Germany among her friends. On this ſide alſo were, beſide the Archbiſhop, the Biſhops of Ely, Sarum, Worceſter, Rocheſter, and St. David's: York, Durham, Wincheſter, and Carliſle went vigorouſly the other way. Againſt the former the King himſelf argued, with his learning, out of the Scriptures; and would by all means prove theſe Articles thence. The parliament men ſaid little againſt this bill, but ſeemed all unanimous for it: neither did the Lord Chancellor Audley, no, nor the Lord Privy Seal, Crumwel, ſpeak againſt it: the reaſon being, no queſtion, becauſe they ſaw the King ſo reſolved upon it. Nay, it came to be a flying report that the Archbiſhop of Canterbury himſelf, and all the biſhops, except Sarum, conſented. But this is not likely that Cranmer, who had ſo openly and zealouſly oppoſed it, ſhould be ſo ſoon changed, and brought to comply with it. Nay, at the very ſame time it paſſed, he ſtaid and proteſted againſt it, though the King deſired him to go out, ſince he could not conſent to it. Worceſter alſo, as well as Sarum, was committed to priſon: and he, as well as the other, reſigned up his biſhopric upon the act.

The arguments the Archbiſhop made uſe of at this time loſt.

In the foreſaid diſputation in the parliament-houſe, the Archbiſhop behaved himſelf with ſuch humble modeſty, and obedience in word towards his Prince; proteſting the cauſe not to be his, but God's; that neither his enterprize was miſliked of the King, and his allegations and reaſons were ſo ſtrong, that they could not be refuted. Great pity it is, that theſe arguments of the Archbiſhop are loſt; which I ſuppoſe they are irrecoverably, becauſe Fox, that lived ſo

near thoſe times, and ſo elaborate a ſearcher after ſuch papers, could not meet with them; and all that he could do, was to wiſh that they were extant to be ſeen and read. However I will make my conjecture here, that I am apt to think that one of the main matters inſiſted on by him at this time was againſt the cruel penalty annexed to theſe Articles. For I find in one of the Archbiſhop's manuſcript volumes, now in Benet College library, there is in this very year a diſcourſe in Latin upon this ſubject, *Num in hæreticos jure Magiſtratui gravius animadvertere liceat: Deciſio Urbani Rhegii, Interprete Jacobo Giſleno. Anno* 1539. Which book I ſuppoſe he might at this juncture have read over, and made uſe of. 74

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1539.

The Dukes and Lords of parliament, that, as above was ſaid, came over to Lambeth to viſit and dine with him, by the King's command, uſed words to him to this tenor; "The King's pleaſure is, that we ſhould in his behalf "cheriſh and comfort you, as one that for your travail in "the late parliament declared yourſelf both greatly learn-"ed, and alſo diſcreet and wiſe: and therefore, my Lord, "be not diſcouraged for any thing that paſſed there contrary "to your allegations." The Archbiſhop replied, "In the firſt "place, my Lords, I heartily thank the King's highneſs for "his ſingular good affection towards me, and you all, for "your pains. And I hope in God, that hereafter my al-"legations and authorities ſhall take place, to the glory of "God, and commodity of the realm." Every of the Lords brought forth his ſentence in commendation of him, to ſhew what good-will both the King and they bare to him. One of them entered into a compariſon between the ſaid Archbiſhop and Cardinal Wolſey, preferring the Archbiſhop before him for his mild and gentle nature; whereas, he ſaid, the Cardinal was a ſtubborn and churliſh prelate, that could never abide any nobleman. The Lord Crumwel, as Cranmer's ſecretary relates, who himſelf heard the words, "You, "my Lord," ſaid he, "were born in an happy hour I ſuppoſe; "for do or ſay what you will, the King will always take it "well at your hands. And I muſt needs confeſs, that in "ſome things I have complained of you to his Majeſty; "but all in vain, for he will never give credit againſt you,

The King's meſſage to the Archbiſhop by the Lords.

MS. Life of Cranmer, in C.C.C.C.

BOOK I. Anno 1539.

"whatſoever is laid to your charge: but let me, or any "other of the council, be complained of, his Grace will "moſt ſeriouſly chide, and fall out with us: and therefore "you are moſt happy, if you can keep you in this ſtate."

A book of ceremonies laboured to be brought in.

The Roman zealots, having obtained this act of the ſix Articles, deſiſted not, but ſeconded their blow by a book of *Ceremonies to be uſed by the Church of England*, ſo intituled; all running after the old popiſh ſtrain. It proceeded all along in favour of the Roman church's ſuperſtitious ceremonies, endeavouring to ſhew the good ſignification of them. The book firſt begins with an Index of the points touched therein; *viz.* "churches and church-yards, the "hallowing and reconciling them. The ceremonies about "the ſacrament of baptiſm. Ordering of the miniſters of "the church in general. Divine ſervice to be ſung and ſaid "in the church. Mattins, prime and other hours. Cere-"monies uſed in the maſs. Sundays, with other feaſts. "Bells. Veſture and tonſure of the miniſters of the church, "and what ſervice they be bound unto. Bearing candles "upon Candlemas-day. Faſting days. The giving of "aſhes. The covering of the croſs and images in Lent. "Bearing of palms. The ſervice of Wedneſday, Thurſday, "and Friday before Eaſter. The hallowing of oil and "chriſm. The waſhing of the altars. The hallowing of "the font upon Saturday in the Eaſter-even. The cere-
75 "monies of the reſurrection in Eaſter-morning. General "and other particular proceſſions. Benedictions of bells or "prieſts. Holy water, and holy bread. A general doctrine "to what intent ceremonies be ordained, and of what value "they be." The book itſelf is too long to be here inſert-

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 259.

ed; but ſuch as have the curioſity, may find it in the Cotton library, and may obſerve what pains was taken to ſmooth and varniſh over the old ſuperſtitions. I do not find this book mentioned by any of our hiſtorians. The Biſhop of Wincheſter, with his own pen, hath an annotation in the margin of one place in the book: and I ſtrongly ſuſpect he was more than the reviſer of it; and that it was drawn up by him and his party, and ſtrongly puſhed on to be owned as the act of the clergy: for this year there was a convocation. The King had ſent his letters, written March

A convocation.

the 12th, in the 30th year of his reign, *viz.* 1538. to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury for ſummoning a convocation, to meet together at St. Paul's the ſecond day of May. But this aſſembly, by the King's letters to him, was prorogued till November the 4th. At this convocation, I ſuppoſe, theſe Articles were invented and propounded to the houſe. All this long book, in behalf of the ceremonies, did our laborious metropolitan put himſelf to the pains of anſwering, and thereby hindered the reception of it: for concerning this, I do interpret that paſſage of Fox, *viz.* That the Archbiſhop confuted eighty-eight articles deviſed by a convocation, and which were laboured to be received, but were not. But to return to the ſix Articles.

CHAP. XIX. Anno 1539.

Great triumphing now there was on the papiſts' ſide, as appears by a letter wrote from ſome Roman catholic member of the houſe of Lords to his friend: which may be read in the Appendix. But after ſome time, the King perceiving that the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhops did this thing, not of malice or ſtubbornneſs, but out of a zeal they had to God's glory and the commonwealth, reformed in part the ſaid ſix Articles, and ſomewhat blunted the edge of them.

The papiſts rejoice.

No. XXVI.

March 20, two commiſſions were ſent to the Archbiſhop to take the ſurrender of two houſes of religious perſons; namely, that of Chriſt's Church, Canterbury, and that of Rocheſter.

Two priories ſurrendered to the Archbiſhop.

Towards the latter end of this year ſeveral new biſhoprics were founded out of old monaſteries; and ſeveral deaneries and colleges of prebends out of divers priories belonging to cathedral churches. Herein as Crumwel, ſo Cranmer had a great hand: who laboured with the King that in theſe new foundations there ſhould be readers of Divinity, Greek, and Hebrew, and ſtudents trained up in religion and learning; from whence, as a nurſery, the biſhops ſhould ſupply their dioceſes with honeſt and able miniſters: and ſo every biſhop ſhould have a college of clergymen under his eye, to be preferred according to their merits: for it was our Archbiſhop's regret, that the prebendaries were beſtowed as they were. This complaint Biſhop Burnet tells us he ſaw in a long letter of Cranmer's own hand.

The Archbiſhop and Crumwel labour with the King about the new biſhoprics.

Hiſt. Ref. P. i. p. 201.

BOOK I.

Biſhops Confirmed.

Anno 1539. Biſhops this year. In Archbiſhop Cranmer's regiſter I find theſe biſhops confirmed, their conſecrations being omitted.

John Bell. Auguſt the 11th, John Bell, LL. D. brought up in Baliol 76 College, and Archdeacon of Gloceſter, was confirmed Biſhop of Worceſter, upon the reſignation of Biſhop Latimer, in the chapel of Lambeth. He is ſtyled in the regiſter, the *King's Chaplain and Councellor.*

John Skyp. November the John Skyp, D. D. Archdeacon of Dorſet, and once Chaplain to Queen Ann Bolen, was confirmed Biſhop of Hereford. The King's letter to the Archbiſhop to conſecrate him bears date November 8.

CHAP. XX.

The Archbiſhop in commiſſion.

Anno 1540. The Archbiſhop's enemies accuſe him. THE next year, *viz.* 1540, the Archbiſhop loſt his great friend and aſſiſtant in carrying on the reformation; I mean the Lord Crumwel. And when he was, by popiſh craft and malice, taken off, their next work was to ſacrifice Cranmer. And many were the accuſations that were put up againſt him: and trial was made many ways to bring him to his death, or at leaſt to bring him in diſgrace with the King.

His honeſty and courage in diſcharge of a commiſſion. And firſt, they thought to compaſs their ends againſt him by occaſion of a commiſſion now iſſued out from the King to a ſelect number of biſhops, whereof the Archbiſhop was one, (which commiſſion was confirmed by act of parliament,) for inſpecting into matters of religion, and explaining ſome of the chief doctrines of it. Theſe commiſſioners had drawn up a ſet of articles, favouring the old popiſh ſuperſtitions: and meeting together at Lambeth they produced them, and vehemently urged that they ſhould be eſtabliſhed, and that the Archbiſhop would yield to the allowance of them; eſpecially ſeeing there was a ſignification, that it was the King's will and pleaſure that the articles

CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

ſhould run in that tenor. But they could not win the Archbiſhop neither by fear nor flattery; no, though the Lord Crumwel at this very time lay in the Tower. There was not one commiſſioner now on his part, but all ſhrank away, and complied with the time: and even thoſe he moſt truſted to, *viz.* Biſhop Hethe of Rocheſter, and Biſhop Skyp of Hereford. The Archbiſhop, as he diſliked the book already drawn up by them, ſo he preſented another book, wherein were divers amendments of theirs. After much arguing and diſputing, nor could the Archbiſhop be brought off, Hethe and Skyp, with a friend or two more, walked down with him into his garden at Lambeth, and there uſed all the perſuaſion they could; urging to him, that the King was reſolved to have it ſo, and the danger therefore of oppoſing it. But he honeſtly perſiſted in his conſtancy: telling them, "that there was but one truth in the Articles to "be concluded upon, which if they hid from his Majeſty, "by conſenting unto a contrary doctrine, his Highneſs "would in proceſs of time perceive the truth, and ſee how "colourably they had dealt with him. And he knew, he ſaid, "his Grace's nature ſo well, that he would never after cre-"dit and truſt them. And they being both his friends, he 77
"bad them beware in time, and diſcharge their conſciences "in maintenance of the truth." But though nothing of all this could ſtir them, yet what he ſaid ſufficiently confirmed the Archbiſhop to perſiſt in his reſolution.

And his ſucceſs therein.

The Archbiſhop, ſtanding thus alone, went himſelf to the King, and ſo wrought with him, that his Majeſty joined with him againſt all the reſt of them; and the book of Articles paſſed on his ſide. When indeed this ſtiffneſs of Canterbury was the very thing his enemies deſired; thinking that for this oppoſition the King would certainly have thrown him into the Tower; and many wagers were laid in London about it. So that this ended in two good iſſues; that the Archbiſhop's enemies were clothed with ſhame and diſappointment, and a very good book, chiefly of the Archbiſhop's compoſing, came forth for the inſtruction of the people, known by the name of *A Neceſſary Erudition of any Chriſtian Man:* a particular account whereof may be read in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. This vexed Winchester

Hiſt. Ref. P. i. p. 286.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

to the heart, that his plot took no better effect: but he put it up till he ſhould find other opportunities to attack him, which after happened, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this ſtory.

Queſtions of religion to be diſcuſſed by divines, by the King's command.

But this matter deſerves to be a little more particularly treated of: the King had, as was ſaid before, appointed ſeveral of the eminent divines of his realm to deliberate about ſundry points of religion then in controverſy, and to give in their ſentences diſtinctly. And that in regard of the Germans, who the laſt year had ſent over in writing the judgment of their divines reſpecting ſome articles of religion; and had offered his Majeſty to appoint ſome of their divines to meet ſome others of the King's, in any place he ſhould aſſign; or to come over into England to confer together. And alſo in regard of a more exact review of the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, put forth about two or three years before, and now intended to be publiſhed again, as a more perfect piece of religious inſtruction for the people. The King therefore, being minded thoroughly to ſift divers points of religion, then ſtarted and much controverted, commanded a particular number of biſhops, and other his learned chaplains and dignitaries, to compare the rites and ceremonies, and tenets of the preſent Church, by the Scriptures, and by the moſt ancient writers; and to ſee how far the Scripture, or good antiquity, did allow of the ſame. And this I ſuppoſe he did by the inſtigation of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

The names of the commiſſioners.

The names of the commiſſioners were theſe; Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Lee Archbiſhop of York, Boner Biſhop of London, Tunſtal Biſhop of Durham, Barlow Biſhop of St. David's, Aldrich Biſhop of Carliſle, Skyp Biſhop of Hereford, Hethe Biſhop of Rocheſter, Thirleby Biſhop elect of Weſtminſter; Doctors, Cox, Robinſon, Day, Oglethorp, Redman, Edgeworth, Symonds, Treſham, Leyghton, Curwen, Crayford; where we may wonder not to ſee the name of the Biſhop of Winton[c]: but if we conſider the reaſon

Hiſt. Reform. vol. i. p. 274.

[c] Whereas I had ſaid, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter was not in a commiſſion there ſpecified; it appears by Crumwel's ſpeech, ſet down by the Biſhop of Sarum, that that Biſhop was then indeed a commiſſioner. Here my MS. deceived me. But be it noted what the Lord

the King gave why he left him out of the number of his executors, *viz.* becauſe (as he told ſeveral noblemen then about him) that biſhop was a turbulent wilful man; and if he were joined with them, they ſhould have no quiet in their 78 conſultations: the ſame reaſon we may conclude moved the King now, in theſe deliberations about religion, to lay him aſide. Theſe perſons were generally learned and moderate men, and ſuch as we may conjecture the Archbiſhop had the nomination of to the King: however, we may be ſure Wincheſter was not idle at this time. CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

And firſt the doctrine of the ſacraments was examined, by propounding ſeventeen diſtinct queſtions, drawn up, as I have reaſon to conclude, by the Archbiſhop, on which the divines were to conſult: but each one was to ſet down in writing his ſenſe of every of theſe queſtions ſingly and ſuccinctly. Theſe queſtions are the ſame with thoſe in the Hiſtory of the Reformation. The right reverend Author hath ſet down there the ſeveral anſwers that thoſe biſhops and divines, that he met with in Biſhop Stillingfleet's manuſcript, made to each queſtion; which I ſhall not now repeat after him. But I find in a Cotton book a few pages that deſerve (according to my poor judgment) to be tranſcribed, of ſomething which is not in that hiſtory, being the anſwers of other biſhops and divines in the ſame commiſſion. The firſt is nameleſs; but for ſome reaſons I believe him to be the Biſhop of Durham. Each page conſiſteth of three columns; the middle column contains the queſtions. On one ſide-column is writ his anſwer to each queſtion; on the other ſide-column are the King's notes upon the anſwer, wrote by his own hand. I refer the reader to the Appendix for this. There follow in the Cotton book, ſolutions of each of theſe queſtions by another, omitted by the Biſhop of Sarum in his Hiſtory. He is nameleſs alſo, but appears to have been ſome popiſhly affected biſhop, but yet one that

Seventeen queſtions upon the ſacrament.

Part i. Collect. xxi. p. 201.

Cleopatra E. 5. p. 86.

Numb. XXVII.

Paget teſtified before the commiſſioners at that Biſhop's trial in 1549; namely, that becauſe he was ſo wilful in his opinion, and addicted to the popiſh part, the King left him out of the commiſſion for compiling the laſt book of religion. And what that book was I know not, unleſs the *Neceſſary Erudition.* [*From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*]

Acts and Mon. firſt edit. p. 815.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

converſed much with the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of St. David's, and Dr. Cox, and was, I ſuppoſe, Thirleby, elect of Weſtminſter: for in many places in the margin of his paper are ſet the names of thoſe men; for what purpoſe I do not know, unleſs to ſignify their judgments as agreeable with his: though in theſe very places ſometimes their minds and his differ. This man's anſwer alſo was peruſed by the King, who ſometimes writ his own objections in the margin. This alſo I have cast into the Appendix.

Numb. XXVIII.

The Archbiſhop's judgment upon theſe queſtions.

In the concluſion of this famous conſultation upon theſe ſeventeen articles concerning the ſacraments, (their reſolutions being drawn up in writing under their own hands,) the Archbiſhop, having theſe diſcourſes given into his hand for the King's uſe, drew up a ſummary of each man's judgment: which, together with his own, he cauſed to be written fairly out by his ſecretary, and ſo preſented to the King. The Biſhop of Sarum hath ſaved me the trouble of writing them out in this work, having preſented them already to the world in his Hiſtory, from another manuſcript than the Cotton book which I make uſe of, which is a true original. The Archbiſhop's ſummary may be found among the collections in the ſaid Hiſtory, againſt the word *Aggreement* in the margin, and the Archbiſhop's own judgment againſt his name in the margin. At the concluſion of his paper, which he ſent to the King, he ſubſcribed thus, moſt warily and modeſtly, with his own hand;

Vol. i. book 3. Collect. xxi. Cleopatra E. v.

> "*T. Cantuarien.* This is mine opinion and ſentence at "this preſent; which nevertheleſs I do not temerariouly define, but refer the judgment thereof unto "your Majeſty."

The ſubſcription of ſeveral biſhops and divines concerning other points.

Beſides theſe ſeventeen queſtions, there are in this choice Cottonian manuſcript divers others propounded to another combination of biſhops and divines, perhaps about this time, or rather, I conceive, three years before, with their anſwers under their hands thereunto being called together in order to the compoſing the book called *The Inſtitution*. As, concerning confirmation: Whether this ſacrament be a ſacrament of the New Teſtament, inſtituted by Chriſt, or not? What is the outward ſign, and inviſible grace, that is con-

ferred in the ſame? What promiſes be made, that the ſaid graces ſhall be received by this ſacrament? The Biſhop of Sarum hath printed among his Collections the reſolutions of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Biſhop of London to theſe queries; having taken them out of this manuſcript volume which I uſe. But there be here the opinions of many more, both biſhops and other dignitaries of the Church: as namely, the Archbiſhop of York, the Biſhops of Ely, Rocheſter, Lincoln, Bangor, and Sarum. Then follows the opinion of the Biſhop of London, and next of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. Then come the judgments of Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Barber, Archdeacon of Cleveland, and Warden of All Souls, Oxon, and one of the convocation in 1562; Dr. Bell, a civilian, employed in the King's buſineſs againſt Queen Katharine, Archdeacon of Gloceſter, and ſoon after Biſhop of Worceſter; Dr. Wolman, Dean of Wells; Dr. Marſhall, Archdeacon of Nottingham; Dr. Cliff, Treaſurer of the church of York; Dr. Edmunds, the ſame, I ſuppoſe, that was Maſter of Peter Houſe, Cambridge; Dr. Downs, Chancellor of the church of York; Dr. Marmaduke, the ſame probably that was called Marmaduke Waldeby; Dr. Robinſon, for Robertſon, I ſuppoſe, Archdeacon of Leiceſter; Dr. Smith, he probably that was Profeſſor of Divinity in Oxon; Dr. Buckmaſter, and another nameleſs. CHAP. XX. Anno 1546.

And as theſe learned men treated of this point of confirmation, ſo, by the various heads and diſcourſes I meet with here, they all gave their judgments of divers other chief points of religion; as *De Fide, De Salvatione, De Matrimonio, De Pœnitentia, De Sacramentorum uſu,* and *De auriculari Confeſſione:* where is a letter of the King's own writing, in anſwer to ſomewhat the Biſhop of Durham had writ upon that argument. This royal letter the Biſhop of Sarum hath printed in his Hiſtory. *Of Prieſts' marriage;* whereof the King wrote a ſhort diſcourſe. *Of Pilgrimages; Of Purgatory;* of this there is a diſcourſe wrote by Latimer: and after follows another by the King. Latimer's diſcourſe is animadverted upon by the King's pen in the margin; *De utraque ſpecie.* Three or four large diſcourſes thereupon in favour of receiving in one kind: one whereof was part of the King's Part i. Addenda to the Collect. No. XI.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

anſwer to the German ambaſſadors that were ſent hither about a treaty in the years 1538 and 1539. The ſecond is part of an apology, by an Engliſh divine, to thoſe German proteſtants, for communion in one kind, and for private maſs. And this latter probably is the Biſhop of Durham's, becauſe the correction of the paper (tranſcribed, as it ſeems, by his Secretary) here and there is his own hand.

So that ſome of theſe diſcourſes were, I make no doubt, drawn up by the divines for the King's uſe, in order to his anſwer to the writing which the German agents the laſt year had compoſed, before their voyage home. But theſe papers, ſome Engliſh and ſome Latin, are ſo large, that they would too much ſwell this volume, and entangle the thread of the diſcourſe, if I ſhould here inſert them: and therefore I muſt omit them, and proceed to other matters.

An act to prevent divorces.

In this thirty-ſecond year of the King, by a ſeaſonable law, a ſtop was put to an evil that now mightily prevailed: namely, the frequency of divorces. For it was ordinary to annul marriages, and divide man and wife from each other, who it may be had lived long together, and had children in wedlock: when, upon any diſguſt of man or wife, they would withdraw from one another; and ſo in effect make their children baſtards, upon pretence of ſome pre-contract or affinity: which by the Pope's law required a divorce. The King himſelf took particular care of this act, and there were two rough draughts of it, which I have ſeen in the Cotton library: both which he himſelf reviſed diligently, and corrected with his own pen. Theſe divorces the Archbiſhop highly diſliked; and might probably have laid before the King the great inconveniences, as well as ſcandal, thereof. It troubled him to ſee how common theſe divorces were grown in Germany, and after-marriages, and bigamy. There is a letter of his to Oſiander, the German divine, concerning matrimony: in what year written appeareth not; unleſs perhaps in this year, or the following, now that the King was employing his thoughts about redreſs of this buſineſs.

The Archbiſhop to Oſiander, concerning the Germans' abuſe of matrimony.

The ſum of the letter is to deſire Oſiander to ſupply him with an anſwer to ſome things that ſeemed to reflect a fault upon thoſe in Germany that profeſſed the Goſpel; and that was, that they allowed ſuch as were divorced to marry,

again, both parties divorced being alive: and that they ſuffered, without any divorce, a man to have more wives than one. And Oſiander had acknowledged as much expreſsly to Cranmer, in a letter, ſeeming to complain of it, and added, that Philip Melanchon himſelf was preſent at one of theſe marriages of a ſecond wife, the firſt being alive. CHAP. XX. Anno 1540.

Indeed if any thing were done among thoſe proteſtants that ſeemed not juſt and fair, to be ſure Cranmer ſhould preſently be twitted in the teeth for it. And then he was fain to make the beſt anſwers he could, either out of their books, or out of his own invention. And he was always aſked about the affairs in thoſe parts. And ſometimes he was forced to confeſs ſome things, and be ready to bluſh at them, (ſuch a concern had he for Germany,) as concerning their allowance of uſury, and of concubines to their noblemen: as he wrote to the ſaid German. But I will not longer detain the reader from peruſing the excellent learned letter of the Archbiſhop, which he may find in the Appendix, concerning this ſubject. No. XXIX.

CHAP. XXI. 81

The largeſt Bible printed.

THE largeſt Engliſh Bible coming forth in print this year, wherein our Archbiſhop, out of his zeal to God's glory, had ſo great an influence, I ſhall here take occaſion to give ſome account of the tranſlation of, as well as I can; there having been no exact ſtory thereof any where given, as I know of. Some account of printing the Engliſh Bible.

The firſt time the holy Scripture was printed in Engliſh, (for written copies thereof, of Wickliff's tranſlation, there were long before, and many,) was about the year 1526. And that was only the New Teſtament, tranſlated by Tindal, aſſiſted by Joy and Conſtantine, and printed in ſome foreign parts, I ſuppoſe at Hamburgh or Antwerp. For in this year I find that Cardinal Wolſey and the biſhops conſulted together for the prohibiting the New Teſtament of Tindal's New Teſtament printed in 1526.

BOOK I.

tranſlation to be read. And Tonſtal Biſhop of London iſſued out his commiſſion to his archdeacons for calling in the New Teſtament. This year alſo Tonſtal and Sir Thomas More bought up almoſt the whole impreſſion, and burnt them at Paul's Croſs. I think it was this firſt edition that Garret, alias Garrerd, Curate of Honylane, afterwards burnt for hereſy, diſperſed in London and Oxford.

Anno 1540. And burnt. Fox's Acts, p. 929.

Reprinted about 1530.

Soon after Tindal reviſed his tranſlation of the New Teſtament, and corrected it, and cauſed it again to be printed about the year 1530. The books finiſhed were privily ſent over to Tindal's brother, John Tindal, and Thomas Patmore, merchants, and another young man; who received them and diſperſed them. For which having been taken up by the Biſhop of London, they were adjudged in the Star-Chamber, Sir Thomas More being then Lord Chancellor, to ride with their faces to the horſe tail, having papers on their heads, and the New Teſtaments and other books (which they diſperſed) to be faſtened thick about them, pinned or tacked to their gowns or cloaks, and at the ſtandard in Cheap themſelves to throw them into a fire made for that purpoſe: and then to be fined at the King's pleaſure. Which penance they obſerved. The fine ſet upon them was heavy enough, *viz.* eighteen thouſand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence: as was extant to be ſeen in the records of the Star-Chamber.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Burnt again.

The Scripture prohibited, in a meeting at the Star-Chamber.

Anno 1531, the Biſhops came into the Star-Chamber, and communing with the King's counſel, and alledging that this Teſtament was not truly tranſlated, and that in it were prologues and prefaces of hereſy and raillery againſt biſhops; upon this complaint the Teſtament, and other ſuch like books, were prohibited. But the King gave commandment to the biſhops at the ſame time, that they, calling to them the beſt learned out of the Univerſities, ſhould cauſe a new tranſlation to be made; ſo that the people might not be ignorant in the law of God. But the biſhops did nothing in obedience to this commandment.

New Teſtaments burnt the third time. Fox, p. 987.

The ſame year, *viz.* 1531, in the month of May, Stokeſly, Biſhop of London, (as Tonſtal, his predeceſſor, had done four or five years before,) cauſed all the New Teſtaments of

Tindal, and many other books which he had bought up, to be brought to Paul's church-yard, and there openly burnt. CHAP. XXI.

In the year 1537, the Bible, containing the Old and New Teſtaments, called Matthews's Bible, of Tindal's and Rogers's tranſlation, was printed by Grafton and Whitchurch at Hamburgh, to the number of fifteen hundred copies. Which book obtained then ſo much favour of the King, by Crumwel's and Canterbury's means, that the King enjoined it to be had by all curates, and ſet up in all pariſh-churches throughout the realm. It was done by one John Rogers, who flouriſhed a great while in Germany, and was ſuperintendent of a church there; being afterwards a prebend of St. Paul's, and the firſt martyr in Queen Mary's days. He is ſaid by my author to have tranſlated the Bible into Engliſh from Geneſis to the end of the Revelations, making uſe of the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German, and Engliſh [that is, Tyndal's] copies. He added prefaces, and notes out of Luther: and dedicated the whole book to King Henry, under the name of Thomas Matthews, by an epiſtle prefixed; minding to conceal his own name. Grafton, and the reſt of the merchants concerned in the work, thinking that they had not ſtock enough to ſupply all the nation, and this book being of a volume not large enough, and conſidering the prologues and marginal notes gave offence to ſome, and being put on by thoſe that favoured the Goſpel, that as many as poſſible could be might be printed, for the diſperſing the knowledge of Chriſt and his truth; they reſolved to imprint it again, which they intended ſhould be of a larger volume than any before: and therefore it was called, when it came forth, *The Bible in the largeſt volume.* They intended alſo, in order to this edition, to have the former tranſlation reviſed, and to omit ſeveral prologues and annotations. And Miles Coverdale was the man now that compared the tranſlation with the Hebrew, and mended it in divers places, and was the chief overſeer of the work. But though they left out Matthews's, that is, Rogers's notes, yet they reſolved to make hands and marks on the ſides of the book: which meant, that they would have particular notice to be taken of thoſe places, being ſuch texts as did

Anno 1540. The whole Bible printed 1537.

Matthews' that is, Rogers's Bible.

Balæi Centur.

BOOK I. more especially strike at the errors and abuses of the Romish church.

Anno 1540. About 1538. the Bible printing again in Paris.

Grafton resolved to print this Bible in Paris, if he could obtain leave, there being better paper and cheaper to be had in France, and more dexterous workmen. For this purpose the Lord Crumwel, who stood by him in this enterprise, procured letters of the King, as Fox relates, to Francis the French King, which were conveyed to Boner, then ambassador at that court, for him to present them to that King. The contents of which letters of King Henry were to this effect; "For a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English "in his dominion, both in regard of his paper and work-"men." The King at the same time wrote to his said ambassador to aid and assist the undertakers of this good work in all their reasonable suits. Boner did not only present this letter to Francis, and obtained with good words the licence desired, but he shewed great friendship to the merchants and printers, and so encouraged them, that the work went on
83 with good speed and success. And to shew how well affected he was now to the holy Bible, he caused the English
Fox, p. 1086. there in Paris to print the New Testament in English and Latin, and took off a great many of them himself, and distributed them to his friends. But the principle that moved Boner in all this was, that he might the better curry favour with Crumwel, and recommend himself to him, who, being the great favourite now with the King, was the fittest instrument for his rise. The letters patents that Boner procured of the French King for the printing this Bible, may be seen
No. XXX. in the Appendix: wherein indeed I do not find any specification of King Henry's letters to Francis, but only mention made that he had sufficient testimony that the said Henry had allowed them to print the Bible as well in Latin as English, and, being finished, to bring the impression safely over.

The printers fall into the inquisition.

But notwithstanding this royal licence, such was the overswaying authority of the inquisition in Paris, that the printers were had up into the said inquisition. For in the year 1538, there was an instrument dated December the 17th, coming from Henry Garvais, S. Th. D. Prior of the

convent of the Friars Preachers, Paris, and Vicar-general of the venerable father Friar Matthew Ory, of the ſame order, and D. D. Inquiſitor-general of heretical pravity in the whole kingdom of France, by apoſtolical and regal authority eſpecially deputed: ſetting forth, "That ſince from the "tranſlation of the ſacred Scriptures, as well of the Old "Teſtament as New, into the mother-tongue, which cometh "to the hands of the ſimple, it is found in theſe laſt days "that ſome have taken occaſion of error in the faith; and "that it is provided by edicts of the ſupreme court of "parliament, that none ſhould print the Old and New Teſta-"ment in his mother-tongue, or ſell it being printed; and "that it was known to him, that one Francis Regnault, a "bookſeller of the city of Paris in thoſe days, did print the "Bible in the vulgar Britannic, or Engliſh language; by "reaſon of which, ſcandals and errors might ariſe in the "church: therefore he gave out his order to all prieſts, "vicars, curates, &c. to cite the ſaid F. Reginault, and all "other that it might concern, to anſwer, &c. And to in-"hibit them under canonical pains to imprint the ſaid "Bible, nor to make away, or conceal, from him or his "poſſeſſion, the ſheets that are already printed, unleſs they "were ſeen by him, and otherwiſe appointed. Dated at "Paris, under the ſeal uſed in ſuch caſes, and the ſign "manual of the notary public, or ſworn ſcribe of the ſaid "holy inquiſition.

Le Tellier."

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1540. Cleopatra E. 5.

But before this happened, they were gone through even to the laſt part of the work. And then great troubles aroſe: the printer was ſent for by the inquiſitors, and charged with certain articles of hereſy: and the Engliſhmen likewiſe that were at the coſt and charges hereof, and the corrector Coverdale. Therefore finding it not ſafe to tarry any longer, they fled away as faſt as they could, leaving behind them all their Bibles, the impreſſion conſiſting of five and twenty hundred in number; which were ſeized. And if you would know what was done with them, the Lieutenant-criminal cauſed them to be burnt in Maubert-place, as heretical books. Only a few eſcaped, the Lieute-

The Bible printed with French preſſes in London.

84 The Engliſh Bible burnt the fourth time.

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

nant ſelling them for waſte paper to a haberdaſher, being about four dry-fats full. But however, not long after, the Engliſh that were concerned in this work, by the encouragement of Crumwel, went back to Paris again, and got the preſſes, letters, and printing-ſervants, and brought them over to London: and ſo became printers themſelves, which before they never intended. And ſo at length in this year 1540, they ſucceſsfully printed off the Bible of the largeſt volume: and after that there were ſundry other impreſſions alſo.

The largeſt Bible publiſhed in the year 1540.

To this impreſſion of the Bible, that came forth in theſe troubleſome times, and through extraordinary oppoſition, the King gave countenance, commanding the buying and ſetting it up. For as it had been printed about three years before; and Crumwel, the King's Vicar-general, in his injunctions in the King's name, had ordered all incumbents of livings to provide one, and to ſet it up publicly in their churches: ſo this year the King, by his proclamation in the month of May, did again command, that this Bible of the largeſt volume ſhould be provided by the curates and pariſhioners of every pariſh, and ſet up in their churches. For as yet, notwithſtanding the firſt injunctions, many pariſhes in the realm were deſtitute of them: whether it were by reaſon of the unwillingneſs of the prieſts to have the Engliſh Bible, or the people to be any ways acquainted with it, for fear it ſhould make them heretics, as their curates told them. He ſtinted alſo the time, namely, that it ſhould be every where provided before All-Saints day next coming, and that upon a penalty of forty ſhillings a month, after the ſaid feaſt, that they ſhould be without it. The ſaid proclamation alſo ſet the price at ten ſhillings a book unbound; and well bound and claſped, not above twelve ſhillings: and charged all ordinaries to take care for the ſeeing this command of the King the better executed.

Boner's admonitions for reading the Bible.

And upon this, Boner, being now newly Biſhop of London, ſet up ſix Bibles in certain convenient places of St. Paul's church; together with an admonition to the readers, faſtened upon the pillars to which the Bibles were chained, to this tenor; "That whoſoever came there to read, ſhould "prepare himſelf to be edified and made the better thereby.

" That he ſhould join thereunto his readineſs to obey the " King's injunctions made in that behalf. That he bring " with him diſcretion, honeſt intent, charity, reverence, and " quiet behaviour. That there ſhould no ſuch number meet " together there, as to make a multitude. That no ex- " poſition be made thereupon, but what is declared in the " book itſelf. That it be not read with noiſe in time of " divine ſervice: or that any diſputation or contention be " uſed at it."

The Bible ſuppreſſed again, an. 1543.

But it was not much above two years after that the popiſh biſhops obtained of the King the ſuppreſſion of the Bible again. For after they had taken off the Lord Crumwel, they made great complaint to the King (their old complaint) of the tranſlation, and of the prefaces: whereas indeed and in truth it was the text itſelf, rather than the prefaces or tranſlation, that diſturbed them. Whereupon it was forbid again to be ſold, the biſhops promiſing the King to amend and correct it, but never performed it. And Grafton was now, ſo long after, ſummoned and charged with printing Matthews's Bible: which he, being timorous, made excuſes for. Then he was examined about the great Bible, and what the notes were he intended to ſet thereto. He replied, that he added none to his Bible, when he perceived the King and the clergy not willing to have any. Yet Grafton was ſent to the Fleet, and there remained ſix weeks; and, before he came out, was bound in three hundred pounds that he ſhould neither ſell nor imprint any more Bibles till the King and the clergy ſhould agree upon a tranſlation. And they procured an order from the King that the falſe tranſlation of Tindal, as they called it, ſhould not be uttered either by printer or bookſeller; and no other books to be retained that ſpoke againſt the ſacrament of the altar: no annotations or preambles to be in Bibles or New Teſtaments in Engliſh, (that ſo they might keep Scripture ſtill as obſcure as they could:) nor the Bible to be read in the church, and nothing to be taught contrary to the King's inſtructions. And from henceforth the Bible was ſtopped during the remainder of King Henry's reign.

But however, for ſome certain ends, the King reſtrained now and then the uſe of the Scriptures, to comply with the

BOOK I. importunate ſuits of the popiſh biſhops; yet his judgment always was for the free uſe of them among his ſubjects, and (in order to that) for the tranſlating and printing them. For proof of which, I will recite the words of the tranſlator of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe upon St. Luke, in his preface thereunto; *viz.* Nic. Udal, a man of eminency in thoſe days, a Canon of Windſor, and a ſervant unto Queen Katharine, the King's laſt wife: "His moſt excellent Majeſty, from the "firſt day that he wore the imperial crown of this realm, "foreſaw that, to the executing the premiſſes, [*viz.* to deſtroy "counterfeit religions, and to root up all idolatry done to "dead images,] it was neceſſary that his people ſhould be "reduced to the ſincerity of Chriſt's religion by knowing of "God's word. He conſidered, that requiſite it was his "ſubjects were nurſled in Chriſt by reading the Scriptures, "whoſe knowledge ſhould eaſily induce them to the clear "eſpying of all the ſleights of the Romiſh juggling. And "therefore, as ſoon as might be, his Highneſs, by moſt "wholeſome and godly laws, provided that it might be "lawful for all his moſt faithful loving ſubjects to read the "word of God, and the rules of Chriſt's diſcipline, which "they profeſſed. He provided that the holy Bible ſhould "be ſet forth in our own vulgar language, to the end that "England might the better attain to the ſincerity of Chriſt's "doctrine, which they might draw out of the clear fountain "and ſpring of the Goſpel."

Anno 1540. King Henry's judgment for the uſe of the Bible.

86 CHAP. XXII.

The Archbiſhop retired.

The Archbiſhop keeps himſelf more retired. OUR Archbiſhop, after the unhappy death of the Lord Cromwel, ſo excellent an inſtrument in correcting the abuſes of religion, out of ſorrow and care of himſelf, betook himſelf to more retirement, and greater privacy. For in and after this year 1540, I find nothing in his regiſter but the acts of confirmations, and elections, and conſecrations of biſhops, as biſhoprics fell vacant; the Archbiſhop very

ſeldom conſecrating any himſelf, but commiſſionating others by his letters to confirm and conſecrate: and nothing to be found a great way on in the regiſter concerning giving ordinances and injunctions to the dioceſe or province. And no wonder, for there was now no Vicegerent in eccleſiaſticals to be ready to hearken to the Archbiſhop's directions and counſels for reforming abuſes, and to ſee them executed in the church. And his own ſorrows, and the troubles he met with in theſe times from his enemies, made him judge it convenient for him now more warily to conceal himſelf till better days.

The Archbiſhop iſſues out his commiſſion for the conſecrating of Boner.

But before the death of Crumwel, when Boner, Biſhop elect of London, was to be conſecrated, the Archbiſhop probably not liking him, and ſeeing through him, whatever his pretences were; and therefore declining to have any hand in his preferment; ſent his commiſſion in April to Stephen Biſhop of Wincheſter, Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and John Biſhop of Hertford, [*i. e.* Hereford] to conſecrate him. Which, it is ſaid in the regiſter, they did accordingly, *per ſacri chriſmatis unctionem, et manuum ſuarum impoſitionem.* In this conſecration, the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury inſiſted, it ſeems, upon an ancient privilege of their church, which I do not find in this regiſter they had at other conſecrations done; namely, that the conſecration ſhould be celebrated at the church of Canterbury, and at no other church or oratory, without their allowance. And ſo, in a formal inſtrument, they gave their licence and conſent, directed to the Archbiſhop, to proceed to the conſecration elſewhere. The letter is from Thomas the Prior, and the chapter of Canterbury; and it ran thus. Cranm. Regiſt.

Licet antiquitus fuerit ſalubriter ordinatum, hactenuſque in et per totam veſtram Provinciam Cantuar' inconcuſſe obſervatum, quod quilibet Suffraganeus Eccleſiæ veſtræ Metropoliticæ Chriſti Cantuar' memoratæ in Eccleſia veſtra Metropolit' Cantuar' et non alibi, pntialiter conſecrari et benedici debeat, &c. "Yet they gave their conſent that he might "be conſecrated in any other oratory: but yet ſo that "neither they, nor the church, received any prejudice, and "reſerving to themſelves a decent cope, as every ſuffragan

BOOK I. Anno 1540.

" of the church of Canterbury, according as his profeſſion " was, ought to give to the ſame church by right and " ancient cuſtom; and the rights, liberties, privileges, and " other cuſtoms of the ſaid church always, and in all things, " being ſafe." The renewing of this their old pretended privilege looked like ſome check to the Archbiſhop, and as
87 though they required of him a ſort of dependence on them now more than before; and it ſhewed ſome ſecret ill-will towards him, which brake out more openly not long after, as we ſhall ſhew in the proceſs of our ſtory.

Boner's oath of fidelity.

In the regiſter is alſo recorded Boner's oath of fidelity to the King againſt the Biſhop of Rome: which I will add here, that men may ſee with what little affection to the Pope this man was let into the biſhopric, which he afterwards made ſo much uſe of for him and his uſurpations; though thereby he ſtands upon record for ever for perjury. But the oath was this:

" Ye ſhall never conſent nor agree that the Biſhop of " Rome ſhall practiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of " authority, juriſdiction, or power, within this realm, or " any other the King's dominions, but that ye ſhall reſiſt " the ſame at all times to the uttermoſt of your power: " and that from henceforth ye ſhall accept, repute, and " take the King's Majeſty to be the only ſupreme head in " earth of the Church of England, &c. So help you God, " and all ſaints, and the holy evangeliſts."

Signed thus,

℔ + *In fidem præmiſſorum Ego* Edm. Boner *Electꝰ. et Confirmat.* Londonienſ. *huic præſenti chartæ ſubſcripſi.*

The Archbiſhop makes a commiſſary in Calais.

By the Archbiſhop's letters, bearing date May 20, he made Robert Harvey, B. I.L. his commiſſary in Calais, and in all the other neighbouring places in France, being his diocefe. A man ſurely wherein the good Archbiſhop was miſtaken, or elſe he would never have ventured to ſet ſuch a ſubſtitute of ſuch bigoted cruel principles, in that place. This Harvey condemned a poor labouring man of Calais, who had he would never believe that any prieſt could make the Lord's body at his pleaſure. Whereupon he was

accuſed before the commiſſary, who roundly condemned him to be burnt, inveighing againſt him, and ſaying, he was an heretic, and ſhould die a vile death. The poor man ſaid, he ſhould die a viler ſhortly. And ſo it came to paſs; for half a year after, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered for treaſon.

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He ſeemed to have ſucceded in the room of a man of better principles, called Sir John Butler: who was deprived of his commiſſaryſhip by ſome biſhops, commiſſioners from the King for the examining ſeveral perſons ſuſpect of religion in Calais. The council there had, about the year 1539, complained of him as a maintainer of Damplip, a learned and pious preacher there. So he was ſent for into England, and charged to favour Damplip, becauſe he preached ſo long there, and was not reſtrained nor puniſhed by him. He anſwered warily and prudently, that the Lord Liſle, Lord Deputy, and his council, entertained and friendly uſed him, and countenanced him by hearing him preach; ſo that he could not do otherwiſe than he did. After long attendance upon the King's commiſſioners, he was diſcharged, and returned home, but diſcharged alſo of his commiſſary's place too.

Butler a better commiſſary.

88 His troubles.

And having been an officer of the Archbiſhop's, I will add a word or two more concerning him. About the year 1536, he was apprehended in Calais, and bound by ſureties not to paſs the gates of that town, upon the accuſation of two ſoldiers, that he ſhould have ſaid, in contempt of the corporal preſence, that "if the ſacrament of the altar be "fleſh, blood, and bone, then there is good aqua vitæ at "John Spicer's:" where probably was very bad. This Butler, and one Smith, were ſoon after brought by purſuivants into England; and there brought before the privy-council in the Star-Chamber for ſedition and hereſy, (which were charges ordinarily laid againſt the profeſſors of the Goſpel in thoſe times,) and thence ſent to the Fleet: and brought ſoon after to Bath-place, there ſitting Clark Biſhop of Bath, Sampſon Biſhop of Chicheſter, and Reps Biſhop of Norwich, the King's commiſſioners.

And no wonder he met with theſe troubles: for he had raiſed up the hatred of the friars of Calais againſt him by

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being a diſcoverer and deſtroyer of one of their groſs religious cheats. There had been great talk of a miracle in St. Nicholas church, for the conviction of men, that the wafer, after conſecration, was indeed turned into the body, fleſh, and bones of Chriſt. For in a tomb in that church, repreſenting the ſepulchre, there were lying upon a marble ſtone three hoſts ſprinkled with blood, and a bone repreſenting ſome miracle. This miracle was in writing, with a Pope's bull of pardon annexed, to thoſe, I ſuppoſe, that ſhould viſit that church. There was alſo a picture of the reſurrection, bearing ſome relation to this miracle. This picture and ſtory Damplip freely ſpake againſt in one of his ſermons, ſaying, that "it was but an illuſion of the French before "Calais was Engliſh." Upon this ſermon, (the King alſo having ordered the taking away all ſuperſtitious ſhrines,) there came a commiſſion to the Lord Deputy of Calais, to this Sir John Butler, the Archbiſhop's commiſſary, and one or two more, that they ſhould ſearch whether this were true; and if they found it not ſo, that immediately the ſhrine ſhould be plucked down; and ſo it was. For breaking up a ſtone in the corner of the tomb, inſtead of the three hoſts, the blood and the bone, they found ſoldered in the croſs of marble lying under the ſepulchre, three plain white counters, which they had painted like unto hoſts, and a bone, that is in the tip of a ſheep's tail. This Damplip ſhewed the next day, being Sunday, unto the people; and after that, they were ſent to the King by the Lord Deputy. But this ſo angered the friars and their creatures, that it coſt Damplip his life, and Commiſſary Butler much trouble, and the loſs of his office.

Anno 1540. The occaſion thereof the diſcovery of a religious cheat.

Glazier commiſſary in Calais.

After Harvey, Hugh Glazier, B. D. and Canon of Chriſt's Church, Canterbury, ſucceeded in the office of commiſſary to the Archbiſhop for Calais. He was once a friar, but afterwards favoured the reformation. He was put up to preach at Paul's Croſs the firſt Lent after King Edward came to the crown: and then aſſerted the obſervation of Lent to be but of human inſtitution.

This year the cathedral church of Canterbury was altered from monks to ſecular men of the clergy, *viz.* prebendaries, or canons, petty-canons, choriſters, and ſcholars. At this

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erection were preſent Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop; the Lord Rich, Chancellor of the court of the augmentation of the revenues of the crown; Sir Chriſtopher Hales, Knight, the King's attorney; Sir Anthony Sentleger, Knight; with divers other commiſſioners. And nominating and electing ſuch convenient and fit perſons, as ſhould ſerve for the furniture of the ſaid cathedral church, according to the new foundation, it came to paſs, that when they ſhould elect the children of the grammar-ſchool, there were of the commiſſioners more than one or two, who would have none admitted but ſons, or younger brethren, of gentlemen. As for other huſbandmen's children, they were more meet, they ſaid, for the plough, and to be artificers, than to occupy the place of the learned ſort. So that they wiſhed none elſe to be put to ſchool, but only gentlemen's children. Whereunto the moſt reverend father the Archbiſhop, being of a contrary mind, ſaid, "That he thought it not indifferent "ſo to order the matter: for," ſaid he, "poor men's chil-"dren are many times endued with more ſingular gifts of "nature, which are alſo the gifts of God, as with eloquence, "memory, apt pronunciation, ſobriety, and ſuch like; and "alſo commonly more apt to apply their ſtudy, than is the "gentleman's ſon delicately educated." Hereunto it was on the other part replied, "That it was meet for the plough-"man's ſon to go to plough, and the artificer's ſon to apply "the trade of his parent's vocation; and the gentleman's "children are meet to have the knowledge of government "and rule in the commonwealth. For we have," ſaid they, "as much need of ploughmen as any other ſtate: and "all ſorts of men may not go to ſchool." "I grant," replied the Archbiſhop, "much of your meaning herein as "needful in a commonwealth: but yet utterly to exclude "the ploughman's ſon and the poor man's ſon from the be-"nefit of learning, as though they were unworthy to have "the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed upon them, as well "as upon others, is as much to ſay, as that Almighty "God ſhould not be at liberty to beſtow his great gifts of "grace upon any perſon, nor no where elſe, but as we and "other men ſhall appoint them to be employed, according "to our fancy, and not according to his moſt godly will.

89 Archbiſhop's judgment of admiſſion of ſcholars into the ſchool belonging to the cathedral.

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" and pleaſure: who giveth his gifts both of learning, and " other perfections in all ſciences, unto all kinds and ſtates " of people indifferently. Even ſo doth he many times " withdraw from them and their poſterity again thoſe bene- " ficial gifts, if they be not thankful. If we ſhould ſhut up " into a ſtrait corner the bountiful grace of the Holy Ghoſt, " and thereupon attempt to build our fancies, we ſhould " make as perfect a work thereof as thoſe that took upon " them to build the tower of Babel: for God would ſo " provide, that the offspring of our beſt-born children ſhould " peradventure become moſt unapt to learn, and very dolts, " as I myſelf have ſeen no ſmall number of them very dull, " and without all manner of capacity. And to ſay the truth, " I take it, that none of us all here being gentlemen born " (as I think) but had our beginning that way, from a low " and baſe parentage: and through the benefit of learning, " and other civil knowledge, for the moſt part all gentlemen " aſcend to their eſtate." Then it was again anſwered,
90 " That the moſt part of the nobility came up by feats of " arms, and martial acts." " As though," ſaid the Archbiſhop, " that the noble captain was always unfurniſhed of " good learning and knowledge to perſuade and diſſuade his " army rhetorically: who rather that way is brought unto " authority, than elſe his manly looks. To conclude, the " poor man's ſon, by pains-taking, will for the moſt part be " learned, when the gentleman's ſon will not take the pains " to get it. And we are taught by the Scriptures, that Al- " mighty God raiſeth up from the dunghill, and ſetteth him " in high authority. And whenſoever it pleaſeth him of his " divine providence, he depoſeth Princes unto a right hum- " ble and poor eſtate. Wherefore if the gentleman's ſon be " apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not apt, let the " poor man's child that is apt enter his room." With words to the like effect. Such a ſeaſonable patron of poor men was the Archbiſhop.

Biſhops conſecrated.

Edmond Boner. Nicholas Hethe.

April the 4th, Edmond Boner, LL. D. Biſhop of Hereford, conſecrated Biſhop of London, and Nicolas Hethe, conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, in a chapel in St. Paul's, on

the north ſide of the nave, by Stephen Biſhop of Winton, aſſiſted by Richard Biſhop of Chicheſter, Robert Biſhop of St. Aſaph, and John Biſhop of Hereford; by virtue of commiſſional letters from the Archbiſhop. CHAP. XXII. Anno 1540. Cranm. Regiſt.

December the 29th, Thomas Thirlby, conſecrated the firſt Biſhop of Weſtminſter in St. Saviour's chapel, near the ſepulchre of Henry VIII. in the church of Weſtminſter, by the Biſhop of London; aſſiſted by Nicholas Biſhop of Rocheſter, and John Suffragan of Bedford, by letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop. Thomas Thirlby.

Dr. Butts, the King's phyſician, firſt moved him to take Dr. Thirlby into his ſervice; for that the ſaid Thirlby was accounted a favourer of all ſuch as favoured ſincere religion. The Archbiſhop ſoon became acquainted with him, and liked his learning and his qualities ſo well, that he became his good lord towards the King's Majeſty, and commended him to him, to be a man worthy to ſerve a prince, for ſuch ſingular qualities as were in him. And indeed the King ſoon employed him in embaſſies in France and elſewhere: ſo that he grew in the King's favour by the means of the Archbiſhop; who had a very extraordinary love for him, and thought nothing too much to give him, or to do for him. And we may conclude it was by his means that, after the diſſolution of the biſhopric of Weſtminſter, he was preferred to Norwich, in the year 1550. He complied with King Edward's proceedings all his reign; and ſo he did with Queen Mary's during hers, being then tranſlated to Ely: and was then made uſe of to be one of the biſhops (Boner being the other) that were ſent to Oxon to degrade the Archbiſhop, which he did with tears. If this Biſhop "did not, to his uttermoſt endeavour, practiſe to ſave the "Archbiſhop's life, he not only did him much wrong, but "alſo abuſed his ſingular benevolence with over-much in-"gratitude." I uſe the words of Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, as though he ſuſpected he did not. Some account of Thirlby's riſe. In a letter to Day the printer, an. 1565.

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Anno 1541.

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CHAP. XXIII.

All-Souls College viſited.

The Archbiſhop viſits All-Souls College.

THE following year, the college of All-Souls, Oxon, underwent the Archbiſhop's viſitation, by virtue of a commiſſion, May 12, to John Cocks, the Archbiſhop's Vicar-general in ſpirituals, John Rokeſby, LL. D. of the Arches, Walter Wright, LL. D. Public Notary, and John Warner, M. D. Warden of the college. This viſitation was occaſioned upon a complaint of the very ill and looſe behaviour of the members of that houſe. The college grew ſcandalous for their factions, diſſenſions, and combinations one againſt another; for their compotations, ingurgitations, ſurfeitings, drunkenneſſes, enormous and exceſſive comeſſations. They kept boys in the college, under pretence of poor ſcholars. They entered not into orders, and became not prieſts after they were maſters of art: nor obſerved their times of diſputations. Their habit and apparel was gaudy. And other things there were among them contrary to the ſtatutes of the college. This viſitation was prorogued, and all the viſitors were reduced to one, *viz.* Dr. Wright. And in concluſion, the Archbiſhop gave them a ſet of injunctions, declarations, and interpretations of their ſtatutes, to the number of four and twenty. One was for the better frequenting chapel, and finging the ſervice. Another for the reſidence of the Warden, not to be abſent above ſixty days in a year. The reſt were, to obſerve, at the Dean's command, the ſolemn times of diſputation. That ſuch bachelors of arts that were fellows, ſhould take their degrees of maſters of arts, when they were ſtanding for it. That ſeveral of them, being maſters of arts, ſhould take prieſts' orders. That the Maſter and the reſt, fellows and ſcholars, ſhould wear long gowns to their heels, plain ſhirts, and not gathered about the neck and arms, and adorned with ſilk; and the reſt ſhould wear decent garments. Concerning keeping boys, beſide ſuch as were ſervants; that if any of the fellows, ſcholars, or ſervants of the college, ſhall keep any poor ſcho-

Abp. Cranm. Regiſt.

lars, boy, or youth, to lodge with him in his chamber, or within the college, to nouriſh him with the fragments of the college, after ſuch a day, that he be then admoniſhed by the Warden, or Sub-warden, &c. and ſuch boys to be expelled the college. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1541.

But it ſeems this viſitation did not effect the good ends intended by it: for not long after another commiſſion for the viſitation of this college was given by the Archbiſhop to John Barbar, LL. D. Official of his court of Canterbury. Viſits it a ſecond time.

In the month of October, there iſſued out the King's letters to our Archbiſhop for taking away ſuperſtitious ſhrines. Which I ſuppoſe the Archbiſhop himſelf procured, having complained to the King how little effect former orders from his Majeſty had taken, (and particularly in his own Church,) for the images and bones of ſuppoſed ſaints, with all the monuments of their pretended miracles, to be taken away and defaced: and how his injunctions were illuded, which commanded, that there ſhould be no offerings nor ſetting up candles to them in any church, and ſpecially in the cathedral church of Canterbury; which once before had been ſcoured of theſe ſuperſtitions, when Thomas a Becket's tomb, and the riches thereof, were taken away. The King in this letter commanded him to cauſe due ſearch to be made in his cathedral church for ſhrines, and coverings of ſhrines, &c. and to take them away, that there remain no memory thereof; and to command all the curates and incumbents of livings to do the like. The Archbiſhop gives order about ſhrines. 92

The King's letters were as follow.

" By the KING.

" MOST reverend father in God, right truſty, and right " intirely well-beloved, we greet you well: Letting you wit, " that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance " which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty " God, perceiving ſundry ſuperſtitions and abuſes to be uſed " and embraced by our people, whereby they grievouſly of- " fended him and his word; we did not only cauſe the " images and bones of ſuch as they reſorted and offered " unto, with the ornaments of the ſame; and all ſuch writ- The King to the Archbiſhop for ſearching after ſhrines. Abp Cranm. Regiſt.

BOOK I. Anno 1541.

"ings and monuments of fained miracles, wherewith they "were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; "but alſo by our injunctions commanded, that no offering, "or ſetting of lights or candles, ſhould be ſuffered in any "church, but only to the bleſſed ſacrament of the altar: "it is lately come to our knowledge, that, this our good in- "tent and purpoſe notwithſtanding, the ſhrines, coverings "of ſhrines, and monuments of thoſe things, do yet remain "in ſundry places of our realm, much to the ſlander of our "doings, and to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the "ſame being means to allure our ſubjects to their former "hypocriſies and ſuperſtition; and alſo that our injunctions "be not kept, as appertaineth. Fro [for] the due and ſpeedy "reformation whereof, we have thought meet by theſe our "letters expreſsly to will and command you, that, incontinently upon the receipt hereof, you ſhall not only cauſe "due ſearch to be made in your cathedral church for thoſe "things; and if any ſhrine, covering of ſhrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimage, do there continue, "to cauſe it to be taken away, ſo as there remain no memory of it: but alſo that you ſhall take order with all the "curates, and others, having charge within your dioceſe, "to do the ſemblable. And to ſee that our injunctions be "duly kept, as appertaineth, without failing, as we truſt "you, and as you woll anſwer to the contrary. Yeven "[under] our ſignet, at our town of Hull, the iiii day of "October, in the xxxiiii year of our reign."

This was dated from Hull, for the King was now in his progreſs towards Scotland, to meet the Scots King according to appointment; though he met him not.

The Archbiſhop's orders accordingly to his Dean, his Archdeacon, and Commiſſary.

93 Whereupon the Archbiſhop, by his letter dated from Lambeth, Oct. 15. to Richard Lyel, LL. D. Dean of the deaneries of Shoreham, Croyden, Bocking, Riſburgh, Tering, and Pageham, enjoined him to take care to execute the King's will: to cite before him, with all ſpeed, all and ſingular the miniſters of the collegiate churches; and rectors, vicars, and prieſts of the pariſh-churches within the deaneries aforeſaid; and then to declare to them the contents of the King's letters, and to command them to obſerve exactly the

King's injunctions. The like letters he alſo ſent to Edmond Cranmer, Archdeacon of Canterbury. An anſwer to which the ſaid Edmond wrote to the Archbiſhop, dated Oct. 29. ſignifying his doing according to the Archbiſhop's commandment. The like were written to Hugh Glazier, the Archbiſhop's Commiſſary-general in the town of Calais, and the marches of the ſame. Who ſent his anſwer to the Archbiſhop, Nov. 24. from the town of Calais. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1541.

I am apt to think that theſe letters of the King were circulary, and ſent with the ſame command to all the biſhops to ſee executed in their ſeveral dioceſes; though the effect of them was, according as the biſhops themſelves ſtood affected.

This year an exchange was made by the Archbiſhop of the manor of Biſhopſburn for Bekeſburn, with Sir John Gage, Comptroller of the King's houſehold. Bekeſburn, anciently called Livingſburn, was healthfully and conveniently ſeated, lying an eaſy diſtance from Canterbury, whenſoever the Archbiſhops were minded to be retired. This place Archbiſhop Parker took a great delight in, and intended greatly to enlarge by buildings; but died before he began his purpoſe. Archbiſhop Cranmer made conſiderable buildings here, and probably would have done more, had he continued in his prelacy. In the year 1552, he finiſhed the gate-houſe now ſtanding; as appears from the north and ſouth ſides thereof, wherein are two ſtones ſet in the brick-work, with the letters of his name, T. C. and coat of arms, and motto, *Noſce Teipſum, et Deum*; together with the date, 1552. This manor now returned to the Church again, from whence it had been for ſome time ſevered; only the owners changed. For whereas, before the diſſolution of the monaſteries, it belonged to the Priors of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury; now it came to the Archbiſhops. This manor was not given to Chriſt Church till after the year 1400. Thomas Goldſtone, a prior of that church, and a great builder, built the manor-houſe for a manſion for the priors, and a chapel annexed, and a new hall adjoining to the dormitory, and divers other edifices there; as we learn from the Hiſtory of the Priors of Canterbury lately publiſhed. To which we may add a record in that church, to The Archbiſhop lays Bekeſburn to the ſee. Angl. Sacra, vol. i. p. 140.

BOOK I. direct us in the computation of the time: *viz.* Anno Dom. 1508. *In vigiliis S. Marci Capella dedicatur in Manerio de Lyvyngſborn, procurante Thoma Goldſton.* At the diſſolution this was alienated and given to Gage; and from him it came to Archbiſhop Cranmer and his ſucceſſors. And the bargain was confirmed by act of parliament, Anno Henr. 34.

Anno 1541.

Records of Chr. Ch. Cant.

Learned preachers preferred by the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop, as he had opportunity, preferred learned and pious men in his dioceſe in the benefices of his church; and ſuch who freely preached againſt the Pope and his ſuperſtitions, againſt images, and the worſhip of them. The chief of theſe were Nic. Ridley, (afterwards Biſhop of London,) whom he made Vicar of Herne, and Prebend of Canterbury; and John Scory, (afterwards Biſhop of Chicheſter,) whom he made one of the ſix preachers; Michael Drum, and Lancelot Ridley, worthy men, were two more of the ſix. Theſe he preferred, and divers others about through his dioceſe, that ſet the abuſes of popery open before the people's eyes in their ſermons. This ſo angered the men of the old religion, and particularly ſome of his own church in Canterbury, that they detected them to the Archbiſhop, by articling againſt them for their doctrine. This they did this year, when the Archbiſhop viſited his church. And about two years after they did ſo again, as ſhall be taken notice of in due ſeaſon.

94

The Archbiſhop makes ſome recant.

About this time it was that Serles and Shether, two of the ſix preachers of Canterbury, were by the Archbiſhop's cenſure put to recantation for ſome unſound paſſages they had preached. Which made them ſuch enemies to the Archbiſhop, and ſuch contrivers of his ruin, by deviſing and drawing up a great number of articles againſt him, if they could have accompliſhed their deſign, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter under the year 1543. It was obſerved of Shether at this time, that after the pronouncing his recantation, or declaration, he added theſe words; "Good Chriſtians, I take "God to record, that I never preached any thing to you "in my life but the truth." And ſo in ſhort gave himſelf the lie, and overthrew all the recantation he had made before.

A convocation.

The latter end of the year there was a convocation:

wherein one of the matters before them was concerning the procuring a true tranſlation of the New Teſtament; which was indeed intended, not ſo much to do ſuch a good work, as to hinder it. For having decried the preſent tranſlation, on purpoſe to make it unlawful for any to uſe it, they pretended to ſet themſelves about a new one. But it was merely to delay and put off the people from the common uſe of the Scripture: as appeared plainly enough, in that the biſhops themſelves undertook it. And ſo having it in their own hands, they might make what delays they pleaſed. For in the third ſeſſion, a propoſition was made for the tranſlation, and an aſſignation to each biſhop of his taſk: as Matthew to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Mark to the Biſhop of Lincoln, Luke to Winton, John to Ely: and ſo of the reſt. But the Archbiſhop ſaw through all this: and therefore, in a ſeſſions that followed after, told the houſe from the King, to whom I ſuppoſe he had diſcovered this intrigue, that the tranſlation ſhould be left to the learned of both univerſities. This was a ſurpriſe to the biſhops, who all, except Ely and St. David's, proteſted againſt it, and began to undervalue the ſufficiency of the univerſities, as much decayed of late; and that they were but young men: and that the greateſt learning lay in the convocation-men. But the Archbiſhop roundly ſaid, that *he would ſtick by his maſter's will and pleaſure; and that the univerſities ſhould examine the tranſlation.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Anno 1541. Their buſineſs Fuller's Ch. Hiſt. from the records of Canterbury.

Biſhops conſecrated. 95

May 29, being Sunday, William Knight was conſecrated Biſhop of Bath and Wells by Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, by virtue of the Archbiſhop's letters to him, aſſiſted by Richard Suffragan of Dover, and John Suffragan of Bedford, in the chapel of the ſaid Biſhop of Bath's houſe, ſituate in the Minories without Aldgate.

William Knight.

September the 25th, John Wakeman, late Abbot of Teukſbury, was conſecrated the firſt Biſhop of Gloceſter by the Archbiſhop, Edmond Biſhop of London, and Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter, aſſiſting.

John Wakeman.

John Chambre, B. D. was conſecrated firſt Biſhop of Peterburgh, October 23, in the cathedral church of Peter-

John Chambre.

BOOK I. Anno 1541.

burgh, in the preſbytery there, by John Biſhop of Lincoln, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, and William Biſhop of Norwich, by commiſſion from the Archbiſhop.

Arthur Bulkeley.

February the 19th, Arthur Bulkeley was conſecrated in the chapel of John Incent, LL. D. Dean of St. Paul's, by John Biſhop of Sarum, by virtue of letters commiſſional from the Archbiſhop, William Biſhop of St. David's, and John Biſhop of Gloceſter, aſſiſting.

Robert King.

Robert King, another abbot, and titular Biſhop Reonen, ſuffragan to the Biſhop of Lincoln, was this year conſecrated Biſhop of Oxford. The date, or his conſecrators, I cannot aſſign, the act being omitted in the Archbiſhop's regiſter. He was firſt a monk of Rewly, a priory without Oxford, of the Ciſtertian order; then Abbot of Bruerne in Oxfordſhire; after, Abbot of Thame, of which he was alſo called Biſhop; and laſtly of Oſeney: both which he ſurrendered to the King at the diſſolution of monaſteries. This man, when ſuffragan, preached at St. Mary's in Stamford, where he moſt fiercely inveighed againſt ſuch as uſed the New Teſtament. In Queen Mary's reign he was a perſecutor of the proteſtants, and died, 1557.

CHAP. XXIV.

The King's Book reviſed.

Anno 1542. The King's book reviſed by the Archbiſhop.

THE Archbiſhop was this year, among other things, employed in the King's book, as it now was called, that is, *The Erudition of any Chriſtian Man*, ſpoken of before. For the King was minded now to have it well reviewed, and if there were any errors, and leſs proper expreſſions, to have them corrected and amended: and ſo to have it recommended unto the people as a complete book of chriſtian principles, in the ſtead of the Scripture; which, upon pretence of their abuſe of, the King would not allow longer to be read. Accordingly a correction was made throughout the book; and the correct copy ſent to Cranmer to peruſe: which he did, and added his own annotations upon various

paſſages in it at good length. And had it not been too long, I had tranſcribed it wholly out of a volume in the Benet College library. But for a taſte take this that follows. In the title, under his own hand, was this written,

Animadverſions upon the King's book. 96

Upon the Chapter of Original Sin.

For the firſt offence of our father Adam.] No man ſhall be damned for the offences of Adam, but for his own proper offences, either actual, or original. Which original ſin every man hath of his own, and is born in it, although it came from Adam. Miſcellanea D. inter MSS. C.C.C.C.

The principal means (*viz.* God's favour) *whereby all ſinners attain their juſtification.*] This ſentence importeth, that the favour and love of the Father of heaven towards us is the means whereby we come to his favour and love. And ſo ſhould one thing be the means to itſelf. And it is not the uſe of Scripture to call any other the means and mediator for us, but only Jeſus Chriſt, by whom our acceſs is to the Father.

Having aſſured hope and confidence in Chriſt's mercy, willing to enter into his perfect faith.] He that hath aſſured hope and confidence in Chriſt's mercy, hath already entered into a perfect faith, and not only hath a will to enter into it: for perfect faith is nothing elſe but aſſured hope and confidence in Chriſt's mercy.

Upon the Explication of the Tenth Commandment.

Without due recompenſe.] This addition agrees not well with the coveting of another man's wife, wherein is no recompenſation. And in the other things, although recompenſation be made, yet the commandment nevertheleſs is tranſgreſſed and broken.

Upon another Chapter concerning Obedience to the Civil Power.

By his ordinate power.] This word *ordinate power* obſcureth the ſentence in the underſtanding of them that be ſimple and unlearned: and among the learned it gendereth contention and diſputation, rather than it any thing edifieth. Therefore methinketh it better, and more plain as it is in

BOOK I. Anno 1542.

the print; or elſe to ſay, *by his ordinance:* for the Scripture ſpeaketh ſimply and plainly, *poteſtati ejus quis reſiſtit?*

By theſe few paſſages, which I have carefully taken out of the Archbiſhop's own book, may be ſeen of what a critical and exact judgment he was.

Divers diſcourſes of the Archbiſhop.

But beſides theſe *adverſaria* in theſe papers of the Archbiſhop's annotations, there be divers large diſcourſes of his, upon ſeveral heads of religion, drawn up, as I conceive, upon the King's command, to be inſerted into his book above mentioned. I have extracted ſome of theſe diſcourſes; as upon faith, juſtification, and forgiveneſs of injuries: wherein may be ſeen his ſound opinion in thoſe great doctrines of Chriſtian religion. I took alſo out of the ſame volume ſome ſpecimen of three other diſcourſes of his: one with this title, writ by his own hand, *De Conſolatione Chriſtianorum contra metum mortis. Ex Doctoribus Eccleſiaſticis.* Compiled, I gueſs, as well for his own uſe, being not inapprehenſive of his tickliſh ſtation and danger, from ſo many and implacable enemies which he had, as to be inſerted in the aforeſaid book. The others were two exhortations, to take the pains of ſickneſs well, and adverſity patiently: the one taken out of Cyprian, the other out of St. Auguſtin, lib. *De viſitatione infirmorum.* The ſpecimen of them are in the Appendix; as alſo the diſcourſes of faith, juſtification, and forgiveneſs of injuries.

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No. XXXI. XXXII.

The goodly Primer.

This year Boner Biſhop of London ſet forth injunctions for the clergy of his dioceſe, containing directions for their preaching and converſation; together with a catalogue of certain books prohibited: which the curates were to inquire after in their reſpective pariſhes, and to inform their ordinaries of them, and of thoſe in whoſe poſſeſſions they found them. Among theſe books were the Engliſh Teſtament of Tindal, and divers other pieces of the ſaid godly and learned man; ſome prefaces and marginal gloſſes of Thomas Matthews in his Engliſh Bible. A book of Friar Barnes. The Supplication of Beggars. The Practice of Prelates. The Revelation of Antichriſt. The Church of John Raſtal. The Diſputation between the Father and the Son. The preface made in the Engliſh primers by Marſhal. This

Marſhal was he, I ſuppoſe, whoſe chriſtian name was Cuthbert, and was D. D. and Archdeacon of Nottingham, and died about 1549. At this book I will ſtop a little, being a book of eminency and remark in thoſe times; and that hath ſuch a ſtrain of truth and ſerious piety in it, that it ſeems very probable that the Archbiſhop had a conſiderable hand in it, and procured the publication of it, *cum privilegio Regali.* It was ſtyled *A Goodly Primer*, or *Book of Prayers*, and called *The King's Primer.* I ſpeak of the ſecond edition, which was about the year 1535. It began with an admonition to the reader, containing very ſharp and ſevere reflections upon the popiſh devotions, and praying to ſaints. And towards the concluſion, the writer profeſſeth, "That this his "admonition proceded neither of blynde zele, or affection, "neyther of wyll or purpoſe to offend or diſpleaſe any "man, moch leſs than to diſpleaſe any ſaint in heven; and "in no wyſe than our bleſſed Lady, but evin of very pure "love to the honour of God, and helth of mennes ſouls."

Then followeth a pious expoſition of the Ten Commandments; and the Creed. Then is a general confeſſion of ſin; which goes according to the Commandments, after this manner: 1. I have not ſet my whole belief, confidence, truſt and hope in thee, &c. 2. I have divided thy worſhip and honour from thee, and given it to thy creatures, and to dead things, imagined of my own fond fantaſy; I mean, in the miſuſing of images. 3. I have abuſed thy name, &c. 4. In the ſabbath-day I have not given myſelf to hearing, reading, and learning the holy Scriptures, &c. Then comes an expoſition upon the Lord's Prayer, and the ſalutation. Some ſhort prayers. Some graces before and after meat; 98 moſt of which are graces ſtill retained in our Engliſh primers, after the catechiſm. And the method of the book is the ſame with our children's primer now in uſe. In this edition there was a litany added, with a preface before it, directly againſt praying to ſaints, and ſhewing the difference of the caſe, between preſenting our petitions to God, and preſenting a petition to an earthly King: that though this latter cannot be done without the mediation of ſome ſervant of the King, yet the former may be done immediately to God, in the name of Chriſt. Beſides, he ſaid, there were many

BOOK I. Anno 1542.

doubtful ſaints: that many ſaints canonized by the Biſhop of Rome, whether they were ſaints or no, he committed to the ſecret judgment of God. By this taſte of the preface, you eaſily ſee, why Biſhop Boner placed it among the prohibited books, to be diligently ſearched for. The litany the author added, for the ſake of many people, that thought there could be no right prayers without they were in the old form of proceſſions, which were by way of litany, or ſupplication to angels and ſaints. And ſo he writ in this preface, that it was for the contentation of ſuch weak minds, and ſomewhat to bear their infirmities, that he had, at this his ſecond edition of the primer, cauſed the litany to be printed. In this litany all doubtful ſaints are left out, and he addreſſeth only to the holy angels St. Michael, St. Raphael, &c. to pray for us; and the bleſſed apoſtles, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, &c. The prayer for the King nameth King Henry VIII. and his gracious ſon Prince Edward. In the calendar Thomas a Becket's days are ſtill retained in red letters: but I ſuppoſe that was done of courſe by the printer, uſing the old calendar. In the ſame book is a large and pious paraphraſe on Pſalm li. A dialogue between the Father and the Son. Meditations on Chriſt's paſſion; and many other things.

The Archbiſhop inſtrumental to the reformation in Scotland.

By ſomewhat that happened this year, the Archbiſhop proved very inſtrumental in promoting the reformation of corrupt religion in the neighbouring nation of Scotland: which this year had received a great overthrow by the Engliſh army; and great numbers of Scottiſh noblemen and gentlemen were taken priſoners, and brought up to London, and after diſpoſed of in the houſes of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, under an eaſy reſtraint. The Earl of Caſſillis was ſent to Lambeth; where the good Archbiſhop ſhewed him all reſpects, in providing him with neceſſaries and conveniences, but eſpecially in taking care of his ſoul. He detected to him the great errors of popery, and the reaſons of thoſe regulations that had been lately made in religion in England. And ſo ſucceſsful was the Archbiſhop herein, that the Earl went home much enlightened in true religion; which that nation then had a great averſion to, for they highly miſliked the courſes King Henry took.

Hiſt Reform. vol. i. p. 320.

CHAP. XXIV.

Which prejudices the King underſtanding, endeavoured to take off, by ſending Barlow, Biſhop of St. David's, to Scotland, with the book of *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man:* which nevertheleſs made no great impreſſion upon that people. But this that happened to the Scottiſh nobility, that were now taken priſoners, and eſpecially this gueſt of the Archbiſhop, becoming better inclined to religion by the knowledge they received while they remained here, had a happier effect, and brought on the reformation that after happened in that kingdom. Anno 1543.

The parliament being ſummoned in January, in order to the King's making war with France, (whither he intended to go in perſon,) the Archbiſhop reſolved to try this occaſion to do ſome good ſervice again for religion, which had of late received a great ſtop. His endeavour now was to moderate the ſevere acts about religion, and to get ſome liberty for the people's reading of the Scripture. Cranmer firſt made the motion, and four biſhops, *viz.* Worceſter, Hereford, Chicheſter, and Rocheſter, ſeconded him. But Wincheſter oppoſed the Archbiſhop's motion with all earneſtneſs. And the faction combined with ſo much violence, that theſe biſhops and all other fell off from the Archbiſhop; and two of them endeavoured to perſuade the Archbiſhop to deſiſt at preſent, and to ſtay for a better opportunity. But he refuſed, and followed his ſtroke with as much vigour as he could; and in fine, by his perſuaſion with the King and the Lords, a bill paſſed. And the King was the rather inclined thereunto, becauſe he being now to go abroad upon a weighty expedition, thought convenient to leave his ſubjects at home as eaſy as might be. So with much ſtruggling an act was paſſed, intituled, *An act for the advancement of true religion, and the aboliſhment of the contrary.* In this act, as Tindal's tranſlation of the Scriptures was forbidden to be kept or uſed, ſo other Bibles were allowed to ſome perſons, excepting the annotations and preambles, which were to be cut or daſhed out. And the King's former proclamations and injunctions, with the primers, and other books printed in Engliſh, for the inſtruction of the people before the year 1540, were ſtill to be in force, which it ſeems before were not. And that

An act procured by the Archbiſhop.

Hiſt. Refor. vol. i. p. 321.

BOOK I. Anno 1542.

every nobleman and gentleman might have the Bible read in their houſes: and that noble ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themſelves: but no men or women under thoſe degrees. That every perſon might read and teach in their houſes the book ſet out in the year 1540, (which was, *The neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian Man*,) with the Pſalter, Primer, Pater-noſter, Ave, and Creed in Engliſh. But when Wincheſter and his party ſaw that they could not hinder the bill from paſſing, they clogged it with proviſos, that it came ſhort of what the Archbiſhop intended it; as that the people of all ſorts and conditions univerſally might not read the Scriptures, but only ſome few of the higher rank: and that no book ſhould be printed about religion without the King's allowance: and that the act of the ſix Articles ſhould be in the ſame force it was before.

100 *A Biſhop conſecrated.*

Paul Buſh.

June the 25th, being Sunday, Paul Buſh, Provincial of the Bonhommes, was conſecrated the firſt Biſhop of Briſtol by Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſted by Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter, and John Suffragan of Bedford. This conſecration was celebrated in the pariſh-church of Hampton, in the dioceſe of Weſtminſter.

CHAP. XXV.

Preſentments at a Viſitation.

Anno 1543. The King's book publiſhed by authority.

BY the act above mentioned, the generality of the people were reſtrained from reading the holy Scriptures. But in lieu of it was ſet forth by the King and his clergy, in the year 1543, a doctrine for all his ſubjects to uſe and follow; which was the book aboveſaid: and all books that were contrary to it, were by authority of parliament condemned. It was printed in London by Thomas Barthelet. This book the Archbiſhop enjoined to be made public in his dioceſe, (as I ſuppoſe it was in all other dioceſes throughout the

kingdom,) and allowed no preaching or arguing againſt it. And when one Mr. Joſeph, once a friar in Canterbury, now a learned and earneſt preacher, (and who was afterward preferred to Bow-Church in London,) had attempted to preach againſt ſome things in the book, the Archbiſhop checked and forbad him: for indeed there were ſome points therein which the Archbiſhop himſelf did not approve of, foiſted into it by Wincheſter's means and intereſt at that time with the King. Which biſhop, politicly as well as flatteringly, called it *The King's Book*, a title which the Archbiſhop did not much like; for he knew well enough Wincheſter's hand was in it: and ſo he told him plainly in King Edward's time, when he might ſpeak his mind; telling him in relation thereunto, that *he had ſeduced the King*. But becauſe of the authority of the parliament ratifying the book, and the many good and uſeful things that were in it, the Archbiſhop introduced and countenanced it in his dioceſe, and would not allow open preaching againſt it. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1548.

A viſitation at Canterbury.

The Archbiſhop, about the month of September, held a viſitation in Canterbury: chiefly becauſe of the jangling of the preachers, and the divers doctrines vented among them, according as their fancies, intereſts, or judgments led them. The viſitation proceeded upon the King's injunctions, and other late ordinances. And here I ſhall ſet down before the reader ſome of the preſentments, as I take them from an original in a volume that belonged to this Archbiſhop. Wherein notice may be taken, what ignorance was then in ſome of the prieſts; what bandying againſt one another, and what good progreſs the Goſpel did begin to make, and what good numbers of prieſts and laymen there were that ſavoured of the Goſpel-doctrine.

Intit. Accuſatio Cranmer, inter MSS. C.C.C.C.

Preſentments. 101

Sir Humphrey Chirden, Parſon of St. Elphins, on a Sunday in Lent, ſaid, "If Judas had gone to God and confeſſed "his fault, ſaying *Peccavi*, as he went unto the prieſts, he "had not been damned." This paſſage was plain enough levelled againſt confeſſing to a prieſt. But this was preſentable, becauſe againſt the ſix Articles.

One Lancaſter, the parſon of Pluckley, was preſented, becauſe that when one Giles ſaid, that he bleſſed himſelf

BOOK I. Anno 1548.

daily and nightly, ſaying, *In nomine Patris, et Filii et Sp. Sancti;* and then ſaid, in the honour of God and our Lady, and all the company of heaven, and for all chriſtian ſouls that God would have prayed for, a Pater-noſter, an Ave, and a Creed; the ſaid parſon ſaid to him, that if he knew it of truth that the ſaid Giles uſed the ſame form of prayer, he would not accompany him, nor once drink with him.

Vincent Ingeam (a juſtice of peace I ſuppoſe) commanded on Eaſter Munday, 33° of the King, that no man ſhould read, or hear the Bible read, upon pain of impriſonment: and caſt two into priſon, the one for ſpeaking againſt him therein, and the other for ſhewing him the King's injunctions concerning the ſame. He repugned againſt the doings of the commiſſary for taking down the image of St. John, by the King's commandment. Where I find, among other witneſſes to this, one Daniel Cranmer, a relation doubtleſs of the Archbiſhop.

Sir Thomas, Curate of Sholden, and Thomas Sawier, ſet up again four images, which by the King's commandment were taken down, for abuſes by pilgrimages and offerings: *viz.* St. Nicolas, St. Stephen, St. Laurence, and our Lady.

Another accuſed for forſaking his own pariſh-church at the time of Eaſter, two years together, [not liking his pariſh-prieſt for his affection to the Goſpel,] and for going to Walſingham, [in pilgrimage:] and that he would at no time ſhew to the Vicar a lawful certificate that he had received the bleſſed ſacrament at the time commonly accuſtomed, as a chriſtian man ought to do. And obſtinately refuſed to learn his Pater-noſter, Ave, Credo, and Ten Commandments in Engliſh, according to the King's injunctions.

Sir Edward Sponer, Vicar of Boughton, had not declared to his pariſhioners the right uſe of ceremonies, neither ſhewed the difference between them and works commanded by God, as he is commanded by the King's proclamation. He had not preached againſt the Biſhop of Rome his uſurped power, and ſet forth the King's ſupremacy, as he is bound by the King's injunctions, and other his proceedings. He hath not preached his quarter's ſermons, neither at Boughton, nor at his benefice in the Merſh. He never declared,

that the even of ſuch ſaints, whoſe days be abrogated, be no faſting-days. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1548.

The Archdeacon of Canterbury, (that was Edmund, the Archbiſhop's brother,) the morrow after the Aſcenſion was three years, took out of the church of St. Andrew's in Canterbury three lamp tapers brenning before the ſacrament, and a coat from a rood, and did violently break the arms and legs of the rood.

Sir William Kemp, Vicar of Northgate, had not read the Bible ſince Pentecoſt, as he was commanded by the ordinary. He doth not declare to his pariſhioners the right uſe of holy water, holy bread, bearing of candles upon Candle- 102
mas-day, giving of aſhes, bearing of palms, creeping to the croſs: for lack whereof the moſt part of the ſaid pariſh be as ignorant in ſuch things, as ever they were. And many of them do abuſe holy water, inſomuch that againſt tempeſts of thunder and lightning, many run to the church for holy water to caſt about their houſes, to drive away evil ſpirits and devils, notwithſtanding the King's proclamations in the ſame. He hath not read to them the King's injunctions, as he ought to do, by reaſon whereof his pariſh be blind and ignorant in them.

Bartholomew Joy confeſſed to his Curate in general, ſaying, I am a ſinner. And when the Vicar aſked him wherein he had ſinned, he anſwered, that he had confeſſed himſelf to the Lord already, and that he would make none other confeſſion at that time; and ſo departed.

John Tofts, Chriſtopher Levenyſh, Bartholomew Joy, in the thirtieth of the King, pulled down all the pictures in the church of Northgate in Canterbury, except only the rood, Mary and John, the twelve Apoſtles, the picture of our Lady, and St. John Baptiſt. And in the thirty-fourth of the King, Tofts pulled down the picture of our Lady, and had her and the tabernacle home to his houſe, and there did hew her all to pieces. And at another time, the ſame Tofts openly, with a loud voice, read the Bible in Engliſh in the church to his wife, Sterkies wife, George Tofts' wife, to the midwife of the ſame pariſh, and to as many others as then were preſent.

Joanna Meriwether of St. Mildred's pariſh, for diſpleaſure

BOOK I. Anno 1548.

that ſhe bare towards a young maid named Elizabeth Celſay, and her mother, made a fire upon the dung of the ſaid Elizabeth; and took a holy candle, and dropt upon the ſaid dung. And ſhe told unto her neighbours, that the ſaid enchantment would make the cule of the ſaid maid to divide into two parts.

Rafe, the bell-ringer of Chriſt-Church, at the burial of Dr. Champion, [the Archbiſhop's chaplain,] after the prieſt had cenſed his grave, and a boy was bearing away the cenſers and the coals, called after the boy, and took the cenſers, and poured the hot coals upon him in his grave, to the great ſlander of the ſaid Dr. Champion, as though he had been an heretic, worthy burning. Alſo he ſaid, the King was content that all images ſhould be honoured as they were wont to be.

Coxſon, petty Canon of Chriſt Church, made his teſtament, by the advice of Mr. Parkhurſt, Mr. Sandwich, and Mr. Mills, canons of the ſaid church; and gave and bequeathed to every Vicar of Chriſt Church twenty pence, that had a pair of beads, and would ſay our Lady pſalter for his ſoul departed. And this was executed according to the will.

The Parſon of Alyngton never preached in the church of Alyngton, nor declared againſt the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome, nor ſet forth the King's ſupremacy according to the King's proclamations, letters, and injunctions. He hath been a great ſetter forth in his pariſh of the Maid of Kent, pilgrimages, fained relics, and other ſuch ſuperſtitions; and yet never recanted, and reproved the ſame, according to the King's Majeſty's injunctions. He hath not declared to his pariſhioners, that the eves of ſuch holy
103 days as be abrogate be no faſting-days, according to the King's injunctions. So upon the Sundays, Candlemas-day, Aſh-Wedneſday, Palm-Sunday, and Good-Friday, he hath not declared the true uſe of the ceremonies, uſed thoſe days according to the King's proclamation.

The Curate of Stodmerſh did diſſuade men from eating of white-meats the laſt Lent, and rebuked them that did eat white-meats. About All-hallontide was twelvemonth he preached in St. Dunſtan's church beſide Canterbury, that

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1548.

" men ſhould love God, and fear God, but not to truſt him " too much."

Turnor, in the time of his being at Chartham, did caſt no holy water, neither before the ſacrament, nor upon any altar in the church, (except the high altar.) Nor alſo before the crucifix in the rood-loft, according to the laudable ceremony. He chriſtened three children upon one day, and did not anoint them with holy oil, neither upon back nor belly. He neither incenſed the crucifix in the rood-loft, nor any altar in the church, except the high altar: nor diſtributed any holy candles among his pariſhioners, as hath been accuſtomed.

Sir James Newman and one Lawrence took down an image of our Lady; to the which was no offering, except candles at the purification of women: nor any miracles noted to be done there by the ſaid image.

Scory, one of the ſix preachers, ſaid, that much ſuperſtitions were uſed in the church, as making of croſſes upon Palm-Sunday, ſetting of them up, and bleſſing them with the holy candles; ringing of bells in the thunder. " For " think you," ſaid he, " that the Devil will be afraid, or " flee away at croſs-making, hurling of holy water, ringing " of bells, and ſuch other ceremonies; when he was not " afraid to take Chriſt himſelf, and caſt him on his back, " and ſet him on a pinnacle? Thoſe things that be good of " themſelves may not utterly be put away, although they " be abuſed. For then the holy ſacrament of the altar " ſhould be ſet aſide, which is daily bought and ſold."

Serles, one of the ſix preachers, in a ſermon ſaid, " If the " preacher preach error and erroneous doctrine, the ſimple " man, though he receive it and believe it, it doth not infect " nor corrupt him." And this he repeated twice. He ſaid alſo, that " Moſes ſent letters from hell, to teach the ſtate " thereof, and how men ſhould live: and another likewiſe " out of heaven. Item, they ſay," ſaid he, " that only " faith juſtifies, and that it maketh no matter how we do " live: Chriſt died for us, and by his blood hath waſhed all " our ſins away; therefore what needeth us to faſt or " pray?"

Sandwich, a Canon of Chriſt's Church, ſaid in his ſermon

BOOK I. Anno 1543. in the year 1542, "Whereas a good chriſtian, or evil, "preached unto you truly the word of God, as I report me "to the conſcience of you all; yet ſome that have evil ears, "did evil report of me. But if their ears were cut off, "as Malchus's was, and ſet up where every man might "wonder at them, I think therein a man ſhould not wiſh "much againſt charity." At another time, in the year 1543, he ſaid in his ſermon, "Some, if they are given to goodneſs, "to follow the decrees of holy church, to kneel before
104 "the bleſſed ſacrament, they will counſel them from the "ſame, and ſay, *Deus in manufactis templis non habitat.* "They will have none of the holy doctors. They will not "have St. Auguſtin, St. Ambroſe, St. Hierom, St. Gregory, "Baſil, Gregory Nazianzen, &c. Since the time we have "been given to new fangles, the ſpirit of new fangle hath "brought in the ſpirit of error. But what remedy then," ſaid he, "to obtain the ſpirit of truth again? Of that," ſaid he, "I ſpake the laſt time that I preached, and ſhewed "you that we muſt return where we went out. We muſt "return to our dog, to our conſcience again; and that will "certify us where is the truth."

Shether, one of the ſix preachers, ſaid, "That there was "one ſtrait way to the truth, in which we and all men have "gone a long time; ſaving a few now of late, not being "content to follow that trade, have wandered in divers "pathways to ſeek a nearer way to the truth. But they "are like unto one, that, being clean loſt, was fain to aſk "which way he might go to the end of his journey? And "to ſuch it was anſwered, You be clean out of the way, "and there is none other means for you, but even to turn "back again, and to begin your journey again where you "left." Nothing at all, as the informer adds, admoniſhing the people of the way, which men had loſt, by defending and retaining the uſurpations of Rome: nor no mention that the King's Majeſty hath reformed the abuſes of ſuperſtitious religion. But even as one, that would have all things honeſtly reformed, to revert again into their ſuperſtition, for the maintenance of all blindneſs and error, commanded every man to turn back, and to begin where they left.

Dr. Willowby, the Vicar of Chilham, keepeth ſtill in his church a certain ſhrine gilt, named St. Auſtin's ſhrine: which ſhrine was conveyed from St. Auſtin's of Canterbury unto the pariſh-church of Chilham, at the ſuppreſſion of the monaſtery of St. Auſtin's. *Item*, a rood there, which had ſhoes of ſilver, being a monument of pilgrimage, or offering, ſtandeth yet ſtill, being only ſpoiled of the monument. He ſaid, images had power of God to help ſick people vowing unto them, the communication then being of our Lady of Cutupſtreet, between the ſaid Vicar and one Dawſon of Chartham, a miller. *Memorandum*, that Potter's wife was baniſhed out of Feverſham for her ſuſpect lying with Dr. Willowby, and alſo was compelled to forſake Chilham for the ſame, about two or three years paſt; and yet ſhe remains in the company of the ſaid Doctor. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543.

Serles, mentioned before, in a ſermon made in the chapter-houſe of Chriſt's Church, anno 1543, ſaid, Some that occupy this place of preaching ſay no mattins, maſs, nor even-ſong, once in a quarter. They be never ſeen confeſſed, nor to occupy porteous, nor maſs-book. Theſe uſe no vocal prayer: beware of their doctrine. In the church of Leneham, in the day of Aſſumption, he ſaid, That as the moon is in the full at fourteen days, even ſo Mary was conceived fully with Chriſt, when ſhe was fourteen years old. *Item*, he ſaid, That if one had looked in Mary, when ſhe was full conceived with Chriſt, he ſhould have perceived him in his mother's womb with a buſh of thorns on his back: for he was crucified, crowned, and pricked with thorns. That Mary bare Chriſt poorly; for ſhe had no fire, but begged 105
a coal of one, and a ſtick of another, to warm her child. He preached, that Mary nouriſhed her ſon with milk, but not with material milk, but with milk that came from heaven: for no woman elſe can nouriſh her child with material milk, than ſhe that is conceived by knowledge of man. [And no queſtion this heavenly milk came along the milky way.] That all the whole faith of the world remained in Mary only for the ſpace of three days and three nights. That faith was dead in the Apoſtles, and in all the world, from the death of Chriſt till his reſurrection, and remained in the Virgin Mary whole and only. That the ſorrows that

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

ſhe had were greater and more painful than Chriſt's, but for death only. That Chriſt deſcended into hell, and roſe the third day and aſcended into heaven, and many more with him; ſaying thus, *Multa corpora aſcenderunt cum Chriſto, ut perhiberent teſtimonium.* In Aſhford he preached, that prayer was not acceptable with God, but in the church only, and no where elſe; alleging this text, *Domus mea domus orationis vocabitur.* Then and there he ſaid alſo, You fellows of the new trick, that go up and down with your Teſtaments in your hands, I pray you what profit take you by them? [This laſt paſſage relating to the Teſtament was interlined by Cranmer himſelf.] As Adam was expulſed out of Paradiſe for meddling with a tree of knowledge, even ſo be we for meddling with the Scripture of Chriſt. He ſaid, There were ſome that ſaid, that part of the Ave Maria was made to a ſtrumpet. That Chriſt in the Goſpel confounded Mary Magdalene with two parables, likening her to an aleſtake, and to a poor woman whom an Emperor had married, and in his preſence did lie with a leprous lazar-man. Anno 1542, preaching in Kennyngton church on Good-Friday, he ſaid, That as a man was creeping to the croſs upon a Good-Friday, the image looſed itſelf off the croſs, and met the man before he came to the croſs, and kiſſed him. At the funeral of Mr. Boys he preached, That by the receiving of the ſacraments and penance, all a man's deadly ſins were forgiven clearly, but the venial ſins remained; and for them they that died ſhould be puniſhed, except they were relieved by maſſes and dirges after their death. [This that follows is Cranmer's hand;] He preacheth no ſermon, but one part of it is an invective againſt the other preachers of Chriſt's Church.

Shether preached at Sandwich in the year 1542, That baptiſm taketh away but only original ſin. At another time there, That every man, ſince the paſſion of Chriſt, hath as much liberty and free-will as ever Adam had in Paradiſe before his fall. That the new preachers, with the liberty of the Goſpel, have cauſed our livings to be worſe than the Turks. That Zacharias, and Elizabeth his wife, kept all the commandments of God; and that it was a light thing for every man to keep them, if he would. That Chriſt and

baptiſm did nothing elſe but waſh away original ſin: and that if any man after baptiſm did fall, he muſt purchaſe remiſſion of his ſins by penance, as Mary Magdalene did. That a certain king was ſick of a leproſy, and had a viſion to go to Jordan to be waſhed, and ſhould be whole. And as he was in his good intent going, he thought that he had as good and ſweet water in his own country, as that was; and ſo returned back and waſhed himſelf therein, but nothing at all he thereby mended: and then he went to Jordan, and ſo was made whole. He compared man's conſcience to a dog. Beware of theſe falſe preachers, which preach to you new fangles. Will you know how to diſcern a true preacher from a falſe? You have a dog, which is your conſcience: whenſoever you ſhall come to any ſermon, aſk your dog, what he ſaith unto it? If he ſay, it be good, then follow it: but if your dog bark againſt it, and ſay it is naught, then beware and follow it not. Adding theſe words, If you will aſk your conſcience, what ſhe thinks of ſuch new fangles as are brought into the Church of God, ſhe will ſay, that they be naught. He alſo preached, that men now-a-days ſay, that holy water ſignifieth of Chriſt's blood. O! theſe are very glorious words. But it is not fit, good Chriſtians, that ſuch new fangles and fantaſies of men ſhould be brought into the Church of God. *Item*, In all his ſermons he commonly uſeth to make invectives againſt the other preachers of this cathedral church; making the people believe that the preachers of the Church preach nothing but a carnal liberty, new fangles, new auricular confeſſion, prayers, faſting, and all good works. This laſt is added by Cranmer's hand, as are alſo ſeveral other paſſages above, according as he himſelf took the examination. CHAP. XXV. Anno 1543. 106

And as the Goſpellers thus articled againſt the Papiſts, ſo the Papiſts were as hot in drawing up articles againſt the Goſpellers.

Scory, before mentioned, was accuſed, that he preached in a ſermon at St. Elphy's, on Aſcenſion-day 1541, That there was none in heaven but Chriſt only; [meaning, I ſuppoſe, as mediators there with God, in oppoſition to the interceſſion of ſaints.] Then followeth, writ by Cranmer's

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

hand, theſe words; "The witneſſes againſt him were Bradkirk, prieſt, Shether, Marden, Colman;" adding, "Theſe "four be witneſſes againſt all the articles of Ridley and "Scory, in the firſt detection made to me two years paſt." Then follow more accuſations of Scory. He preached in Auguſt laſt, in the chapter-houſe of Chriſt's Church, That no man may pray in any wiſe in Latin, or other tongue, except he underſtand what he prayeth: and that prieſts and clerks do offend, taking any money or reward for ſaying *dirige* and maſs. He ſaid, that ſome preachers brought in their ſermons *Geſta Romanorum*, perſuading to the people, that it was the Goſpel or the Bible. Another time, anno 1541, he preached in Lent in Chriſt's Church, Canterbury, That only faith juſtifies; and he that doth deny that only faith doth juſtify, would deny, if he durſt be ſo bold, that Chriſt doth juſtify. He preached at Chriſt's Church another time, That the ſupper of the Lord, which is *Sacrificium et Hoſtia*, is not *Hoſtia pro peccatis*, but *Hoſtia Laudis*. He preached at Faverſham, anno 1542, in the Feaſt of Dedication, That the dedication of material churches was inſtituted for the biſhops' profits; and that he could not ſee by Scripture that they might uſe any ſuch faſhions for that purpoſe, as for conjuration. And then they muſt conjure the Devil out of the ground, or out of the lime and ſtones. And if ſo, then it were as neceſſary for every man's houſe to be
107 conſecrate or dedicate. Admit, quoth he, that the dedication of the ſame were lawful, yet the biſhops ſhould always preach, (for that is their office;) and other men might and may conſecrate them as well as they.

Item, This ſumptuous adorning of churches is againſt the old faſhion of the primitive church. They had no ſuch copes, nor chalices, nor other jewels, nor gildings, nor paintings of images, as we now have. And therefore, if I were curate, I would ſell all ſuch things, or lay them to pledge to help the poor.

At Chriſtmas laſt there was a general proceſſion by the King's Majeſty, and Mr. Scory preached theſe words: "Every country hath a cuſtom to chooſe a patron. As Eng-"land hath choſen St. George; Scotland, St. Andrew, &c. "thinking rather by interceſſion of ſaints to obtain the vic-

" tory of their enemies. But, good people, quoth he, for- Anno 1543.
" aſmuch as ſaints be circumſcript, it is not poſſible for the
" ſaint that is in the north to hear the prayer that is made
" in the ſouth; nor that ſaint that is in the ſouth to hear
" the prayer that is made in the north." But this laſt paſſage of the Chriſtmas ſermon hath a croſs ſtruck through it.

Ridley, the prebendary, was charged, Sept. 22, 1543, that he preached at St. Stephen's, in the Rogation-week, anno Reg. 32. that auricular confeſſion was but a mere poſitive law, and ordained as a godly means for the ſinner to come to the prieſt for counſel; but he could not find it in Scripture. And that there was no meeter terms to be given to the ceremonies of the Church, than to call them *beggarly ceremonies*. That *Te Deum* hath been ſung commonly in Engliſh at Herne, where the ſaid Mr. Doctor is Vicar.

Brooks, one of the ſix preachers, was accuſed for preaching, That all maſters and miſtreſſes were bound to eat eggs, butter, and cheeſe in Lent, to give example to their houſeholds to do the ſame. [This the papiſts thought a breaking of Lent, to allow this eating of white-meats, whereas fiſh only ought to be eaten.] And he thought that the ceremonies of the Church were but *beggarly ceremonies*, and that was the meeteſt term he could give them.

Thomas Carden, Vicar of Lime, in a Lenten-ſermon, anno 1543, ſaid, He ſuppoſed St. Katharine was rather a devil in hell, than a ſaint in heaven. And that the people ſaid naught, and that this term was naught to ſay, That they ſhould receive their Maker at Eaſter; but they ſhould ſay, we ſhall receive our houſel. He preached, That the water in the font is no better than other water is.

Drum, one of the ſix preachers in the year 1543, preached in a ſermon made in Chriſt's Church, that we may not pray in an unknown tongue; for if we do, we do but mock with God, and of God we be mocked. As if a man do come to a lord, and babble to him words he knoweth not, the lord will but mock him, and account him for a fool. So thy prayer, man, not underſtood, is but babbling; and for that before God thou art but a fool. Your pſalmody and ſong in the church is ſo taken with God, if that you, which do occupy yourſelves therein, do not underſtand it. And

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

thou that ſo babbleſt doſt break the command of God: for it is written, *Non accipies nomen Dei in vanum.* And you do call on God vainly, when you do call upon him in a
108 tongue that you underſtand not. Wherefore to ſuch as know not the Latin, it muſt be needful to pray in the mother-tongue. *Item*, That the material church is a thing made and ordained to content the affections of men, and is not the thing that pleaſeth God, nor that God requires; but is a thing that God doth tolerate for the weakneſs of men. For as the father contenteth his child with an apple, or a hobby-horſe; not becauſe theſe things do delight the father, but becauſe the child, ruled by affections, is more deſirous of theſe things than the father is rejoiced in the deed: ſo Almighty God, condeſcending to the infirmities of man, and his weakneſs, doth tolerate material churches, gorgeouſly built, and richly decked; not becauſe he requires, or is pleaſed with ſuch things. This Drum was one of the Cambridge men that Cardinal Wolſey tranſplanted into his college at Oxon, and who ſuffered impriſonment there ſome time after with Cox and Frith, and divers others of the ſame college, for matters of religion. But however, Drum afterwards fell away into papiſtry.

Lancaſter, Parſon of Pluckley, uſeth not in the church-porch any hally-water, according to the laudable cuſtom of the Church. A great part of his pariſh uſeth not to receive hally-bread. Going on proceſſion, he uſeth not to rehearſe *Sancta Maria*, nor any other ſaints' names.

The Curate of Much Mongam, going on proceſſion, refuſeth, and will in no wiſe ſing nor ſay the Litany in ſuch manner as all other curates do.

Reflections upon the former preſentments.

All theſe collections I have made out of the original of this viſitation of the Archbiſhop. Wherein may be ſeen the particular matters in theſe times vented and toſſed about in the pulpits; the trifling way of popiſh preaching, conſiſting in ridiculous lying fables and ſtories, as is uſed ſtill in the popiſh countries; and with how much more ſolidity, truth, and reaſon, the ſermons of thoſe who favoured the Goſpel were repleniſhed. We may obſerve here alſo, how diligent our Archbiſhop was in his care of his dioceſe, and the pains

he took to come to a perfect detection of his clergy, in order to their regulation, and divers other things, which an ingenious reader will take notice of. Anno 1543.

The Archbiſhop had all the prebendaries and preachers before him in his conſiſtory at Croydon, on Trinity-Sunday was twelvemonth; where he argued with them, inſtructed, rebuked, exhorted them, according as he ſaw needful for every man, with relation unto the articles above ſaid. He told Serles, who had preached in favour of images in churches, as repreſentatives of ſaints, and not idols, "That "*Imago* and *Idolum* was one thing; but the one was the "Latin, the other the Greek." To which Gardiner, a prebend of the Church, replied, "that he did not think that "an image and an idol was one, but that an image, not "abuſed with honour, is an image, and not an idol." This ſaying of the Archbiſhop did ſo gall them, that they took occaſion after, in their ſermons, to confute it. And they lyingly reported in Canterbury, that the Archbiſhop ſhould ſay, he would be even with Gardiner, or that Gardiner ſhould repent his reaſoning with him. Whereas all that Cranmer ſaid was, that the communication that Gardiner had that day ſhould be repeated again at his Grace's coming to Canterbury. The ſame day the Archbiſhop told them, that he had ſet in their church ſix preachers, three of the old learning, and three of the new. Now Gardiner told him, he thought that would not be for the moſt quietneſs in preachers. The Archbiſhop replied, that he had ſhewed the King's grace what he had done in that matter, and that the King's pleaſure was, that it ſhould be ſo. He then alſo gave them warning, that none ſhould inveigh againſt others in their ſermons.

The prebendaries and preachers admoniſhed by the Archbiſhop.

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Anno 1543.

CHAP. XXVI.

A black Cloud over the Archbiſhop.

The prebendaries plot againſt the Archbiſhop.

SOON after this, a great and black cloud hung over our Archbiſhop's head, that threatened to break upon him in thunder and lightning. The prebendaries and others of the church of Canterbury, for the moſt part, were addicted to the Pope and the old ſuperſtitions: which the Archbiſhop's endeavour to aboliſh, and to bring in truer knowledge of religion among them, cauſed them to do what they could to oppoſe him. And indeed they uſually carried themſelves diſobligingly enough to him: which made him ſay to one of them, *viz.* Gardiner, alias Sandwich, "You and your com-"pany hold me ſhort; but I will hold you as ſhort." They ſeemed now to have a fair advantage againſt him, upon account of the ſtatute of the ſix Articles: which the King at this time ſtood much upon the execution of; and did give out, that he required juſtices and others, his officers, in their ſeveral places, to give notice of all diſobedience againſt it. The Biſhop of Wincheſter alſo was now in great favour with the King, a conſtant adverſary to Canterbury, and implacably ſet againſt the new learning, as it was then called. He thought to take this opportunity to deal ſo effectually with the King, as to get the Goſpel deſtroyed, and all that adhered to it. And moreover, about this time was given out a ſaying ordinarily, that "the Biſhop of Wincheſter had "bent his bow to ſhoot at ſome of the head deer:" meaning, as the iſſue made manifeſt, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and Queen Katharine Par, and others of the court.

Wincheſter the chief manager.

And to carry on his purpoſe, he, being a privy-counſellor himſelf, had an underſtanding with ſome of the council, who were of his mind, and ready to ſecond theſe his ends: as among the reſt was Baker, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations. Theſe were his confidants at home. Abroad, to be his ſolicitor and his great agitator, he had a very fit man for his purpoſe, one Dr. London, Warden of New College, Oxon, Prebend of Shipton in the church of

Sarum, Canon of Windſor, and Dean of Oſenay, a very buſy zealot: who was in his time the great contriver and practiſer of miſchief againſt good men that could not comply with papal ſuperſtitions. He was one of the three that ſome years before now proſecuted moſt rigorouſly the good ſtudents in the Cardinal's college, when by impriſonment and hard uſage ſeveral of them died. But this man was met with; not long after this ſuffering public ſhame for perjury, and died in a jail. At one and the ſame time Wincheſter, with this his truſty partner London, was driving on two games together: the one was to bring into trouble ſeveral of the King's own court, that were favourers of the Goſpel; not liking that ſuch ſhould be ſo near the King: and the other was to overthrow the good Archbiſhop, and his friends in his dioceſe of Canterbury, and to extinguiſh that light of the Goſpel that began notably to ſhine there. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543. 110

For the compaſſing the firſt, they procured among them a ſpecial ſeſſions to be held at Windſor: wherein they not only, upon the ſix Articles, condemned four poor honeſt men, *viz.* Perſons, Filmer, Teſtwood, and Marbeck, whereof the three former were burnt to death; but they drew up a bundle of indictments againſt a very great many, and ſome of eminency about the King, as Cardin and Hobby, knights, of the King's privy chamber; with the ladies Harman and Welden, Snowbal and his wife, and a great many more of the King's true and peaceable ſubjects. One Ockham, that ſerved for clerk of the peace at that time, had theſe indictments ready to carry them to the chief patron of theſe plots, the Biſhop of Wincheſter. But this deſign, notwithſtanding the privacy and crafty contrivance of it, took not effect; but he rather brought himſelf into diſgrace thereby. For one Fulk, belonging unto the Queen, being at ſeſſions at Windſor at that time, and obſerving what was done, haſtily rode to court, and diſcovered to the perſons concerned what was hatching againſt them, letting them know, that Ockham was coming with his indictments to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: who, as ſoon as he had received them, would without doubt have laid them before the King and his council. But by this ſeaſonable notice they waylaid Ockham, and Cardin and others ſeized him, and all his papers, as ſoon as

Wincheſter deſigns the death of divers of the court. Fox.

BOOK I. Anno 1548.

he came to court, before he got to Wincheſter. Theſe papers were peruſed by ſome of the privy council; and ſeeing what large numbers, it may be, of themſelves and of their friends, as well as others, were indicted, and deſigned for death, they thought fit to acquaint the King with it. And he, not liking ſuch bloody doings, gave them all a pardon: and obſerving how Wincheſter was the great agent in all this, never liked him after.

And of the Archbiſhop and his friends.

But Wincheſter and London had other irons in the fire againſt the Archbiſhop and his friends at and about Canterbury: and particularly Dr. Ridley, a prebendary, Scory, Lancelot Ridley, and Drum, three of the preachers. And to bring miſchief upon theſe, by the inſtigation of Wincheſter and practice of London, ſeveral of the prebendaries, and ſome of the ſix preachers, combine in a reſolution to draw up accuſations, both againſt the Archbiſhop and againſt his friends. But neither did this Wincheſter's ſecond plot ſucceed, but rather drew ſhame upon himſelf, and thoſe that aſſiſted in it.

The papers relating to Archbiſhop Cranmer's accuſation.

There is a volume in the Benet College library, entitled, *Accuſatio Cranmeri:* wherein are contained the rough papers of the examinations that were taken of theſe accuſers of the Archbiſhop; the interrogatories put to them, their confeſſions and ſubmiſſions to the Archbiſhop. Upon which papers this was writ by the hand of Archbiſhop Parker, in whoſe poſſeſſion they afterwards came, *viz.*

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"*Memorandum*, that King Henry, being divers times by "Biſhop Gardiner informed againſt Biſhop Cranmer, and "the ſaid Gardiner having his inſtructions of one Dr. London, "a ſtout and filthy prebendary of Windſor, who there con-"victed [of perjury] did wear a paper openly, and rode "through the town with his face toward the horſe-tail; "and alſo had information of Mr. Moyles, Mr. Baker, and "of ſome others promoted by the ſaid Cranmer; (whoſe "tales he uttered to the King;) perceiving the malice, "truſted the ſaid Cranmer with the examination of theſe "matters; which he did of divers perſons, as by this doth "appear."

The contents thereof.

Hence I have carefully extracted ſome particulars, that I may [illegible] particular account of this exquiſite piece of

malice; which aimed at nothing leſs than this good man's life, and that they might make him tread the ſame path with his friend Crumwel two or three years before, as a reward of his endeavours in ſetting forward a reformation in the church. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543.

But firſt I will ſet down the names of the prebendaries and preachers of the cathedral church of Canterbury, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion often to mention divers of them. The canons and preachers of Canterbury.

Canons of Canterbury, Anno 1543.

Richard Thornden, Suffragan of Dover; Arthur Sentleger; Richard Parkhurſt, Parſon of Leneham; Nicolas Ridley, John Meines, Hugh Glazier, William Hunt, William Gardiner, John Milles, John Daniel, Robert Goldſon, John Baptiſt.

The ſix Preachers.

Robert Serles, Vicar of Charing, Michael Drum, Lancelot Ridley, John Scory, Edmund Shether, Thomas Brooke.

Many of theſe he had himſelf preferred, and was a ſpecial good lord unto. And yet ſuch was the ingratitude of ſeveral of them, that they voluntarily yielded to be made tools to carry on this wicked machination againſt him. The names of the chief actors were Thornden, who lived in the Archbiſhop's family, and eat at his table, and with whom he uſed to converſe moſt familiarly: Gardiner, whom Cranmer had taken as his own child; and he had reſigned up himſelf to him with heart, body, and ſervice, as he once ſolemnly profeſſed to the Archbiſhop: Sentleger, Milles, Parkhurſt, Serles, and Shether; and one Dr. Willoughby, beneficed in Kent, and the King's chaplain.

Their firſt attempt which they made was, to prefer bills of accuſation againſt the Archbiſhop's chaplains and preachers, *viz.* the two Ridleys, Scory, Turner, Bland, Drum, Lancaſter, and others; and ſlantingly through their ſides ſtriking at the Archbiſhop himſelf. This they did to the juſtices at their ſeſſions, upon the ſtatute of the ſix Articles. And that by the ſuggeſtion of London; who thought it convenient that the articles ſhould firſt be carried to the ſeſſions, and from thence returned to the council-board. Cranmer's chaplains complained of at the ſeſſions. 112

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

Willoughby, being the King's chaplain, and a man of ſome quality, was prevailed with to preſent the articles to the juſtices, and to make them willing to meddle in this affair, which otherwiſe they had no great ſtomach to do, fearing they might draw the King's diſpleaſure upon themſelves. Willoughby, by the direction of London, told Moyle and Thwaits, and the other their fellow-juſtices, that they ſhould be ſhent for ſuffering ſuch preaching and contention, without doing any thing therein to ſtop it. And this was that they drove at; that after theſe articles were preferred from the juſtices up to court, and ſeen and read by the King and council, a commiſſion ſhould then be obtained: and ſuch put into the commiſſion as might effectually take order with the preachers. And theſe three prebendaries, Parkhurſt, Gardiner, and Mills, they laboured eſpecially to be put in commiſſioners; and that the Archbiſhop himſelf ſhould be left out: for ſo London had promiſed.

They prepare the articles, and prefer them.

Their next care was to prepare the articles. Gardiner and Serles are extraordinary diligent in this work, and had been gathering matter a good ſpace before. The writings were finiſhed at Juſtice Moyle's houſe: and Willoughby ſeems to be the man that offered the bill in court. They dealt earneſtly with Baro, clerk of the peace, to draw up the indictment againſt the good men complained of in their bill of articles, (the chief whereof were John Bland, and Richard Turner,) but he denied it. And when the jury, that were to be ſworn, came, they took them not orderly as they ſtood in the panel, but overleaped ſome of them, and left them unſworn, that they might be ſure to have ſuch men as would do their buſineſs. After they had proceeded thus far, their next care was to get their articles ſent up to the court, and laid before the King and council.

They article againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf.

And to theſe aforeſaid articles they drew up another book againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf, the matter being firſt plotted between Dr. London and Serles, a diſcontented man, lately impriſoned. And this created them a new diligence, and divers journeys from Kent to London to take their inſtructions, and from London to Kent, to get their informations. And there was at laſt a parcel of articles (trifles for the moſt part) raked out of the dunghill, picked up any

where, and from any perſon, without proof: for they had nothing to ſhew for the truth of them, but hearſay and report, and ſcarcely that. Serles inveigles Dr. Willoughby into this buſineſs, and brings him into acquaintance with Dr. London: in whoſe houſe the articles are firſt read, to whom it was propounded to preſent them. But when Serles had ſaid, that the things mentioned in the articles were ſuch as were openly ſpoken, Willoughby replied, "Though he heard ſuch things, he was not ſure they were "true; and there was no record to affirm them true, no "witneſſes' hands being ſubſcribed:" and ſo made a great boggle at preſenting them, and put Serles upon that work. But London urged Willoughby to carry them to the council, telling him, that it would be a matter of great danger for him, being ſo near the King, if he ſhould not give information of ſuch ill things in that country where he lived; eſpecially knowing the King's pleaſure that ſuch matters ſhould not be concealed, but that complaint ſhould be made of them to him and his council. And he bad him not fear; for that he himſelf had made ſuch a ſpectacle [d] at Windſor in bringing to light abominable hereſies, (meaning in cauſing thoſe three poor men to be burnt, and indicting ſo many more their maintainers,) whereat the King, he ſaid, was aſtoniſhed, and angry both with the doers and bearers. And therefore if he ſhould now ſhrink, he ſhould ſhew himſelf to be no true ſubject. Upon theſe words, which created ſome fear in Willoughby, if he ſhould decline what London put him on to do, he was content to preſent them. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543. 113

Thus having gotten a perſon ready for this part of the drudgery, to prefer the complaints againſt the Archbiſhop, London writ them over again, and added other new articles as he pleaſed. Which Serles himſelf liked not: but London ſaid he meant, by putting in ſome things, to bring the matter before the juſtices, and certain of the ſpirituality, for his purpoſe. Matters, many of them, of mere untruth, and not ſo much as the pretence of a rumour for. But he London's practices.

[d] Little thinking what a ſpectacle he was ſoon after to make there, when he was carried on horſeback through the town, with a paper upon his head declaring his perjury, and his face to the horſe's tail.

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

told Willoughby and Serles, that it ſhould never be known to be their doings. And ſo Willoughby took the old copy with him into Kent, to get it recorded, and ſigned with hands: and London ſent a copy to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Willoughby being now at Canterbury about this buſineſs, requiring the prebendaries to ſign the articles, they all refuſed. Up rode Willoughby to London again, and acquaints Dr. London therewith with a heavy heart. Then he began another practice, to tamper with the juſtices, bidding Willoughby let them know, that the King would be angry with them for taking no more notice of the diſorders in Kent. London went alſo himſelf to Moyle's lodging, a leading juſtice then in Kent, and talked with him, exhorting him to forward this work againſt the Archbiſhop; telling him, that he himſelf had taken up my Lord of Canterbury before the council: meaning thereby to ſignify to him, that he needed not to fear him ſo much as he ſeemed to do, or his intereſt at the court. Upon this Moyle ſent to ſeveral other gentlemen and juſtices to ſearch out for any prieſts that wanted a crown, [as a reward for their information,] who ſhould inquire about the country for what things were rumoured againſt the Archbiſhop: and ſo as many rumours and bruits as were brought, were preſently turned into articles. But Moyle warily ſent all the reports that came to his hand to the Archbiſhop, not ſo much out of good-will to him, as that he might pretend to diſcharge his duty in giving information to the dioceſan of abuſes in his dioceſe: thereby alſo reckoning to avert the diſpleaſure of the Archbiſhop from himſelf. But this London liked not of, and told him he would mar all.

A great maſs of articles againſt the Archbiſhop procured.

At length Serles and Willoughby had got together a maſs of accuſations; whether true or falſe mattered not, but a great heap they made. For theſe two were the chief collectors of articles, both at Canterbury, and other places in Kent: London having adviſed them to get as much matter as could be deviſed; for it would be the goodlieſt deed, as he ſaid, and the moſt bounden act to the King, that
114 ever they did. Theſe reports were digeſted into two or three books. Serles brought up ſome of the articles roughly drawn to London; and London tranſcribed them, and

brought them to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: and there they were copied out by German Gardiner, his ſecretary, another buſy man. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1543.

Gardiner, the prebendary, by this time had gotten a book of articles, ſigned by the reſt of the prebendaries, and Willoughby brought them up: ſome of the prebendaries coming up too, being about to be the preſenters of the book themſelves. Wincheſter, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, gave the ſaid prebendaries encouragement to proceed in what they went about. And buſy London, to make the articles the better entertained, when they ſhould be preſented to the council, had officiouſly ſhewn the copy of them to ſeveral of the ſaid council beforehand. The chief inſtruments. Gardiner.

I muſt here give this further note concerning Serles: that he was ſo zealous a man, that he had the year before put up to the council articles againſt the preachers of the Goſpel: but they were ſuch that the council thought not fit the King ſhould ſee them. Which he complained of; and it ſeems at his return was clapt up in priſon for his pains, for ſome either malicious inſinuations, or irregular practices herein. Serles.

Shether was another of the gang, and one of the forwardeſt in this invidious buſineſs againſt the innocent Archbiſhop. He was one of thoſe that came up to London to preſent the bill. It may be gueſſed what a hot-headed man he was, by a paſſage we meet with concerning him when he was proctor at Oxford in the year 1535. In which year he made ſuch a combuſtion betwixt the univerſity and the townſmen, that they being enraged againſt him, he went in danger of his life. So that he and his company were fain to go armed when they went abroad. And when he was out of his proctorſhip, the univerſity allowed him to defend himſelf from the townſmen at the univerſity charge, if he ſhould be ſet upon by them. This Shether brought up alſo his collections to one Ford, his brother-in-law, to write them out: which amounted to a great book of two days labour. For they were reſolved to have enough; and to make out in bulk, what was wanting in truth. Shether. Faſti Oxon. p. 686.

Take an hint or two here of Gardiner Biſhop of Win-

BOOK I.

Anno 1543. The Biſhop of Winchester's diſcourſe with a prebendary of Canterbury.

cheſter, the ſecret machine in all this ingrateful work. Coming once from the council, that then was beyond the ſea at Calais, about the time of the breach with France, he, after hearing maſs at the cathedral church at Canterbury, took his nameſake Gardiner, the prebendary, by the hand, and aſked him how he did, and how they did in Canterbury? Meaning in relation to religion profeſſed in the city. And when Gardiner anſwered, "But meetly;" he enquired, How they did within the houſe among themſelves, with relation to the churchmen belonging to it? He told him, that they did not agree all in preaching. "So do I hear," ſaid Wincheſter. Then he aſked, wherein they did not agree? Gardiner then repeated ſomewhat of Ridley's and Scory's ſermons: and this among other things, "That prayer ought "to be made in a tongue known, and not in a tongue un-
115 "known; for ſo it were but babbling." Wincheſter then ſaid, "He miſſed: for the Germans themſelves are now "againſt that ſaying. Well," ſaid he, "this is not well. "My Lord of Canterbury will look after this, I doubt not, "or elſe ſuch preaching will grow unto an evil incon-"venience: I know well he will ſee remedy for it. Well, "how do you do with them?" Gardiner replied, "My Lord, "hardly: I am much marked in my ſermons: and I can-"not tell whether I be taken, or no. I pray your good "Lordſhip of your counſel, what were beſt for me to do. "I had rather leave preaching betimes, than to be taken in "my ſermons." Then ſaid Wincheſter, "Do thus: write "your ſermons into a book, every word, as you will preach "it; and when you go into the pulpit, deliver your book "unto the chiefeſt man there that can read, and let him "take heed of your book while you do preach, and ſay "no more but that you have written and ſtudied for; and "I warrant you you ſhall do well enough. And when "you do hear any man preach any otherwiſe than well, "hold you contented, and meddle not; ſo ſhall you do "beſt." Then he paſſed forth his time in communication concerning the ordinances of their choir, their ſtatutes, their maſſes, and hours of them. And at the laſt ſent for Ridley the prebendary, and had ſome conference with him: but what, it is uncertain.

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The bulky articles being at laſt hammered out and made ready, London now required Willoughby to deliver them to the council; which he would fain have ſhrunk from. He then charged him upon his allegiance to go with him to the council-chamber-door, meaning to have him into the council. Having gotten him there, he went in, and informed ſome of the privy council, (and friends, I ſuppoſe, to the matter,) that Dr. Willoughby was without, deſiring he might be called in. Willoughby was before inſtructed by London to uſe words to the council to this tenor, when he ſhould deliver his articles: *viz.* "That the King and they "had been at great charges, and taken great pains to ſet a "good and godly way among them, [meaning the ſtatute "of the ſix Articles:] and for all that they had with them "in Kent the moſt enormous hereſies. And becauſe he "heard, that it was the King's will and pleaſure that every "man, on pain of his allegiance, ſhould bring in what he "knew, or elſe, if he knew and did conceal it, it ſhould be "his damage; therefore, in diſcharge of his duty, he came "to tender that bill of articles." But this ſpeech was not delivered that day, the council not being at leiſure. And leſt ſome people, knowing the pragmatical temper of London, might be jealous what he did at the court, and ſuſpect it was for no good to the profeſſors of the Goſpel, it was ſtudiouſly given out, that he was there for ſome promotion from the King.

Anno 1543. Willoughby and London wait at the council-chamber.

The next day the ſedulous man carried Willoughby to the Lord Privy Seal [Lord Ruſſel, if I miſtake not] with his articles; but neither would my Lord Privy Seal ſee them, having no leiſure, as he pretended: I ſuppoſe, becauſe he liked them not, and loved my Lord of Canterbury. The day after London carried him to the Biſhop of Wincheſter: into whom he went and tarried an hour, carrying in the copy of the articles: in which time, no queſtion, the Biſhop and his truſty ſubſtitute contrived for the managing of the matter. Soon after Willoughby being with Wincheſter, and deſiring him that he might not be put to preſent the articles, not being able to teſtify to the truth of them, Wincheſter bade him "fear not to do his duty: and that "if the matter were not to be abiden by, the doers ſhould

Willoughby brought to the Lord Privy Seal, and to Wincheſter.

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"bear the blame, and not the preſenter. And that it "was all our duties to ſtand in ſuch things as were contrary "to the King's injunctions." But notwithſtanding Willoughby got himſelf excuſed, and delivered them not; but the prebendaries ſoon after Eaſter did.

The contents of the articles againſt the Archbiſhop.

The articles are not ſpecified in the papers I uſe; but, by the interrogatories and other paſſages, it appears that ſome of them were theſe that follow: "That he rebuked "Serles for that he preached, that images might be per- "mitted in the church as repreſentatives of ſaints, and not "be idols. Item, that the Archbiſhop ſpake openly before "all the prebendaries and preachers in conſiſtory, that the "King's pleaſure was to have the ſix preachers conſiſt of "three of the new learning, and three of the old. Item, "that Serles and Shether underwent cenſure laid upon them "by the Archbiſhop for ſomewhat they had preached, "when the honeſty of their audience offered themſelves to "teſtify that they were falſely accuſed, and that that which "was laid againſt them was not true: and although they "were a great number, yet they could not be admitted. "That they were innocent preachers, and, being innocent, "were condemned, the one to priſon, and the other to read "a declaration of falſe ſurmiſed articles. Item, that thoſe "that would ſpeak againſt evil opinions, dared not; for if "they did, they were complained of, and called ſeditious "perſons, ſtirring the people to commotion: and complain- "ing to their ordinary, they got nothing but diſpleaſure; "and the evil preachers had much more favour and bold- "neſs. Item, that there were two images of Chriſt, and "two of our Lady, that were taken down; whereunto was "neither oblation, nor any lights ſtanding before them."

More articles againſt his Commiſſary.

Other articles, which were of Serles his own collecting, as appears by the interrogatories that Cranmer under his own hand had prepared to put to him, were ſuch as theſe, and were chiefly againſt the Archbiſhop's Commiſſary. "That "there were a great number of evil preachers in Canterbury "dioceſe. That the Archbiſhop's commiſſary [Dr. Leigh] "in his viſitation commanded that the wax-candles, bleſſed "upon Candlemas-day, ſhould not be delivered unto the "people. That holy-water ſhould not be borne, nor caſt into

" men's houſes. That in ſome churches, by the Commiſſary's " command, all the images were pulled down, and hewed " with axes. That the Commiſſary was moſt converſant " with abjured perſons, and other ſuſpect of hereſy, aiding, " maintaining, and ſuccouring them. That Joanna Bochier " was delivered by the favour of the Commiſſary. [Where- " as indeed ſhe was by the King's pardon. This is ſhe that " was afterwards burnt for Arianiſm in King Edward's " days.] That one Giles came to Canterbury, in a courtier's " coat and a beard, being a prieſt, and there lodged ten " days. And one Hardes, a juſtice, complained of him to 117
" the Commiſſary, but the Commiſſary did nothing. [Where- " as in truth he was not a prieſt, but a layman.] That a " taylor in Canterbury did openly read and expound the " Scripture in his own houſe: and open reſort thither " was ſuffered by the Commiſſary. That the Maſter of " St. John's in Canterbury at his death refuſed to receive, " and deſpiſed the bleſſed ſacrament: and yet, by the ſuffer- " ance of the Commiſſary, was both buried like a true " chriſtian, and alſo was of very many praiſed for a good " and holy man. That Mr. Bland, in communication with " Mr. Sponer, Vicar of Boughton, denied auricular confeſ- " ſion to be requiſite, and delivered his opinion to the ſaid " Sponer in writing: which the Commiſſary hearing, de- " ſired Sponer to let him ſee the writing, ſwearing that " he would not keep it from him: but when he had the " bill, he put it into his purſe. That the Commiſſary re- " ſigned a benefice to the ſaid Bland, binding Bland and " his ſucceſſor, by a writing made under the hand of my " Lord of Canterbury and the chapter, to pay unto him, " and his aſſigns, a great part of the clear yearly value for " many years." This was the ſum of Serles's articles: but moſt of them were found to be frivolous and falſe.

Articles yet more againſt our Archbiſhop were, " That he More ſtill.
" held a conſtant correſpondence with Germany, ſending " letters thither, and receiving letters thence." That he gave out a great many exhibitions in Germany, and had many penſioners there. (In relation to which, there ſeemed to be a deſign carrying on, that the Biſhop of Wincheſter ſhould ſeize ſome of theſe letters of the Archbiſhop: for

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Gardiner told him whoſe hands they paſſed through, namely, one Fuller of Canterbury, and that if the ſaid biſhop would ſend for him, and command him upon his allegiance, he ſhould know more: or at leaſt, that he might make uſe of Fuller for a witneſs to ſerve to prove this article.) Moreover, they put in their articles, "That his Grace's ſiſter was "a milner's wife, and that ſhe and her huſband lived nine "or ten years together in Canterbury. And then that ſhe "married to one Mr. Bingham, her former huſband being "yet alive: and that Mr. Commiſſary married her daughter. "And though he were thus a married prieſt, yet he was "joined with Mr. Dean [Wotton] to be one of the proctors "of the clergy in the convocation-houſe: and not of their "election, but that it was obtained by the intereſt of his "affinity."

The witneſſes.

The chief witneſſes and perſons concerned as vouchers and informers were, Roper, Balthazar a chirurgeon, Heywood, Moor, Beckinſal, German Gardiner.

The prebendaries deliver the Articles

At length, after much ado, ſome of the prebendaries, in the name of the church of Canterbury, delivered into the council, not long after Eaſter, the articles ſwelled to a good quantity of paper. And ſo they came at laſt into the King's hand. Having received them, he bade Baker, the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, a Kentiſh man, being one of the privy council, and a privado in this matter, to ſend to Canterbury for ſome to prove the articles. The ſaid Chancellor orders the Dean, ignorant of the matter, to ſend to Shether and Serles to come up as ſecretly as might be to London. Being come up, Shether repairs to the
118 Dean: who bad him, with Gardiner and Parkhurſt, to go to the Chancellor, who ſent for them. Being come before him, he ſaid to them, "That the King had a book againſt "the Archbiſhop delivered to him; which he had himſelf "peruſed. And becauſe that he perceived that they could "ſay ſomewhat, wiſhing alſo for Serles, (who was not "yet come,) he told them the King willed them to ſay what "they knew, fearing no perſon, but to dread only one "God and one King." Whereupon they took the book, and drew out ſuch articles as they could witneſs of. He bad them return to Canterbury, and provide the witneſſes

there; and that Shether the youngeſt ſhould come back again, after he had perfected the book in the day and year, and to bring it with him. From him they applied again to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, the great wheel, and ſhewed him what Baker had ſaid to them.

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CHAP. XXVII.

The King the Archbiſhop's friend in this danger.

THE King well perceiving the malice of the men, and a plot contrived againſt an honeſt and innocent man, ſtrengthened with the favour and aid of Wincheſter, and ſeveral of the counſellors, and the imminent danger the Archbiſhop was in, except he himſelf did interpoſe, it pleaſed God to turn the King's heart to him. So he put the book of articles in his ſleeve; and paſſing one evening in his barge by Lambeth-bridge, the Archbiſhop ſtanding at the ſtairs to do his duty to his Majeſty, he called him into the barge to him; and, accoſting him with theſe words, "O my chaplain, now I know who is the greateſt here-" tic in Kent," communicated to him theſe matters, ſhewing him the book of articles againſt him and his chaplains, and bad him peruſe it. This both ſurpriſed and troubled the Archbiſhop not a little: that thoſe of his own church, and juſtices of the peace whom he had obliged, ſhould deal ſo treacherouſly with him. He kneeled down to the King, and, well knowing how falſe the articles were, deſired him to grant a commiſſion to whomſoever it pleaſed him, to try the truth of theſe accuſations, ſo as from the higheſt to the loweſt they might be well puniſhed, if they had done otherwiſe than became them. The King told him, "He "would grant a commiſſion, and that ſuch affiance and "confidence he had in his fidelity, that he ſhould be the "chief commiſſioner himſelf, to whom he would wholly "commit the examination, with two or three more ſuch as "he ſhould chooſe." When the Archbiſhop replied, that it would not ſeem indifferent to make him a commiſſioner,

The King himſelf diſcovers all to the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop deſires a commiſſion.

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who was a party accuſed; the King told him, "That he "was ſure he would not halt with him, although he were "driven to accuſe himſelf; but would ſpeak the truth of "himſelf, if he had offended." The King added, that he knew partly how the matter came about, [namely, by Wincheſter's ſubtile means,] and that if he handled the matter wiſely, he ſhould find a pretty conſpiracy againſt him. The King named but one, *viz.* Dr. Belhouſe, to be in the commiſſion; and the Archbiſhop named Dr. John Cocks his
119 Vicar-general, and Anthony Huſſey his Regiſter. The commiſſion was made out of hand, and he was commanded to go himſelf into Kent upon it: and the King commanded the commiſſioners particularly, that it ſhould be ſifted out who was the firſt occaſion of this accuſation. Preſently every one that had meddled in this detection ſhrunk away, and gave over their hold.

The Archbiſhop in commiſſion expoſtulates with his accuſers.

The Archbiſhop came to Feverſham himſelf, and there, as it ſeems, ſat upon the commiſſion, and drew up ſome interrogatories with his own hand for ſome of theſe informers; and having ſummoned theſe accuſers before him, argued and expoſtulated meekly, and ſometimes earneſtly, with them; chiefly inſiſting upon their ingratitude and diſingenuity with him. He aſked Sentleger if he were at home on Palm-Sunday? (that was the day when the prebendaries ſigned the articles.) Sentleger ſaying, he was then at his benefice, the Archbiſhop declared the *proceſſion done that day*, as he called it; and ſaid, whether he and the reſt were preſent that day, they were all knit in a bond among them, which he would break: adding, in a paſſionate way of expreſſion, "O Mr. Sentleger, I had in you and Mr. "Parkhurſt a good judgment, and eſpecially in you; but "ye will not leave your old mumpſimus." To which Sentleger boldly replied, that he truſted they uſed no mumpſimus's but thoſe that were conſonant to the laws of God and the Prince. And with Shether, one of the buſieſt enemies the Archbiſhop had in this affair, the Archbiſhop ſo fatherly diſcourſed and argued, that Shether could not forbear weeping. He and Serles, two of the chief agents, were committed to cuſtody.

But Shether preſently diſpatcheth his ſervant to the Bi-

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ſhop of Wincheſter, declaring how he and Serles were in durance, and recommended their caſe to him. Wincheſter went into the council-chamber, probably to try his intereſt with the council to get them releaſed. But it ſeems he ſoon perceived how the King ſtood affected, and ſo there was nothing yet to be done: and therefore he told the ſervant, he could give him no anſwer as yet. A day or two after, at the ſervant's departing, he told him, "That his "maſter was a child for weeping to the Archbiſhop, when "he ſhould have anſwered; and that he ſhould not weep "for ſhame, but anſwer like a man; and that he ſhould "take a good heart, for he ſhould have friends. That he "would not forget him: but he muſt know of the council "firſt what to do; and ſo deſired the ſervant to have him "recommended to the prebendaries all in general; bidding "him tell them, that my Lord of Canterbury could not kill "them, and that therefore they ſhould bear their ſufferings; "for all he did was againſt himſelf, and that he ſhould ſee "what would come of it." Ford, a brother-in-law of Shether's, and a party, told the ſervant, "That he ſhould tell "his brother that he ſhould never recant; for if he did, he "would never be his friend while he lived, nor none ſhould "that he could let; and that my Lord of Wincheſter ſhould "be his friend."

Anno 1543. Shether in priſon ſends to Wincheſter.

But to return to the Archbiſhop's examination of them. When he aſked them what the reaſon was of theſe their doings; they pretended one one thing, and another another. Gardiner ſaid, that which moved him was, becauſe he obſerved ſuch jarrings among them, and ſo much unquietneſs about matters of religion; and that he thought it was by the Archbiſhop's ſufferance: which the Archbiſhop convinced him was falſe. Shether pretended that Baker, the Chancellor of the Augmentations, had willed him to mark the chief fautors of new opinions. Willoughby deſired Dr. Thornton, who was very great with the Archbiſhop, but ſecretly falſe to him, that he would let his Lordſhip know, that he never put up article againſt any man in his life; for that he was charged to have put up, or ready to have put up the articles. Thornton bad him ſtick to it, and not be afraid; for, ſaith he, I have ſpoken my mind to the council

Their reaſons which they pretended for what they did.

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therein as I am bound, and ſo be you, being the King's chaplain.

Anno 1543. Cockes and Huſſey commiſſioners, and his officers falſe.

But the Archbiſhop left the further diſcovery of this miſchief to the diligence of Cockes and Huſſey his officers: this was about Auguſt. They ſat ſix weeks, ſaith my manuſcript; but, being ſecret favourers of the papiſts, handled the matter ſo, that nothing would be diſcloſed and eſpied, but every thing colourably was hid. The Archbiſhop ſecretly obſerved this; but Morice his ſecretary wrote to Dr. Butts the King's phyſician, and Sir Anthony Denny of his bedchamber, That if the King ſent not ſome others to aſſiſt the Archbiſhop than thoſe that were with him, it was not poſſible any thing ſhould come to light; wiſhing that Dr. Legh, or ſome ſuch other ſtout man, that had been exerciſed in the King's eccleſiaſtical affairs in his viſitation, might be ſent to him. And Dr. Legh was ſoon diſpatched with inſtructions from the King into Kent, with the King's ring, which he delivered to the Archbiſhop on Allhallow-even. And with Dr. Legh, Dr. Rowland Taylor, another civilian, a bold and ſtirring man, was joined; who afterwards was burnt for his conſtancy in religion.

New commiſſioners ſent down.

Theſe new commiſſioners ſtartled the delinquents; and they began to be very uneaſy, and full of anger, as well as fear. One cried, "Thank my Lord's Grace; that is a way "to have quietneſs in Kent, to have Dr. Legh there." Of Dr. Taylor they ſaid, "he was a man of an evil judgment, "and notified for, and brought up in the ſame." And another, reflecting upon theſe men, ſaid, "I would all ambi- "tious knaves were hanged; I would all maintainers of "new opinions were hanged; I would all knaves that break "orders were hanged; I would all knaves that are againſt "the commonwealth were hanged."

The Regiſter falſe.

Huſſey the Regiſter, who had the examinations of theſe men, had private conferences with them; and let Serles and Sandwich (alias Gardiner) have the copies of their accuſations, before they were to be called before Legh, that they might the better know what anſwers to make.

The delinquents' chambers and cheſts ſearched.

But to proceed, to ſee what courſe Dr. Legh took. Immediately upon his coming, according to the King's advice, he gave commiſſion to about nine or ten of the Archbiſhop's

officers and gentlemen, ſuch as were tried men of wit and audacity, to go and ſearch the purſes, cheſts, and houſes of certain prebendaries and gentlemen, *viz.* ſuch as were deemed or ſuſpected to be of this confederacy, within the cathedral church and without; and what letters and writings they could find with them, to bring to the Archbiſhop and him. CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1543.

They all went about their work in the ſame hour; and, within four hours after, the whole conſpiracy was diſcovered, by finding of letters, ſome from the Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſome from Dr. London at Oxon, and from juſtices of the ſhire. In the chambers and cheſts of ſome gentlemen of the county were found letters ſerving to that purpoſe. And among the reſt there came to the Archbiſhop's hand two letters, one of Thornton, and the other of Dr. Barber; whom the Archbiſhop retained with him in houſehold for expedition of matters in ſuit before him, being his officer, and as a counſellor to him in the law when need required: both promoted by him; Thornton, who was ſuffragan of Dover, he made prebendary of his church, and whom he always ſet at his own meſs. The Archbiſhop taking them apart, ſhewed them their letters, and upbraided them with their falſeneſs and ingratitude. They fell down on their knees to the Archbiſhop, and with many tears begged his pardon, acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done. 121 The treachery of Thornton and Barber.

The Archbiſhop before them, caſting up his hands to heaven, applied himſelf to God, thanking him that he had, in the midſt of ſo many enemies and falſe friends, vouchſafed him one great friend and maſter, meaning the King, without whoſe protection, as he ſaid, he were not able to ſtand upright one day. He prayed God to make them good men, and bad them aſk God forgiveneſs, ſeeing he had never deſerved ſuch uſage at their hands. He added, that now he perceived there was no fidelity nor truth among men; and that he was brought to that point, that he feared his left hand would accuſe his right: but that he needed not to marvel at it, ſeeing Chriſt propheſied of ſuch a world to come in the latter days. He prayed God of his mercy to finiſh that time ſhortly: and ſo diſmiſſed them with gentle The Archbiſhop's diſcourſe to them. Mark xiii. 12. *The brother ſhall betray the brother to death, and*

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and comfortable words. And it was obſerved that there never after appeared, neither in his countenance nor his words, any remembrance thereof. But he thought fit no more to truſt them; and ſo diſcharged them of his ſervice. And ſo he did one Mr. Talbot, another falſe man, which was alſo of his counſel and chamber. But Dr. London took occaſion hence to ſay, that they could tell a ſhrewd tale, if they were examined; and that it was not for nought they were put out of ſervice: as though the reaſon were, that they ſhould no more have opportunity of knowing any of the Archbiſhop's doings or ſayings.

Anno 1543. *The father ſhall be ſon, and children ſhall riſe up againſt their parents, &c.*

The conſpirators are impriſoned.

All the foreſaid ſeized papers and writings were put into a cheſt, and brought up to Lambeth; the King being minded to peruſe them, and to puniſh the principals. In fine, divers of the chief of the knot were committed to priſon, where they remained till the next year, ſome more cloſely confined than others; all during the Archbiſhop's pleaſure. All that the Archbiſhop required of them was repentance and recantation, and an ingenuous confeſſion of their faults and falſeneſs to him. Abiding for ſome time under affliction, their ſpirits began to mollify; and then, by ſupplicatory letters to the Archbiſhop, they begged his pardon, made their confeſſions, and deſired their liberty.

122 Their releaſe.

About which time a parliament was at hand. Then great labour was made by their friends for a general pardon from the King, procuring him a ſubſidy, the eaſier to obtain it. Which indeed followed, and wiped away all puniſhment and correction for their fault. But without the King's indulgence they were like ſuddenly to have had their liberty by the Archbiſhop's interceſſion for them, being a man that delighted not in revenge.

The confeſſions and letters.

In the before-mentioned manuſcript volume, belonging to Benet College, whence I have extracted moſt of theſe relations, are remaining the interrogatories prepared for Dr. London, wrote by the Archbiſhop's own hand, together with the humble confeſſions and letters of Willoughby, Gardiner, Serles, Milles, Sentleger, and others concerned. Some of which I have tranſcribed into the Appendix. Gardiner's confeſſions ſeemed ſo penitent, ſtyling the Archbiſhop, that it made ſuch an impreſſion upon the

Numb. XXXI I.

Archbiſhop's heart, that when he ſaw him next, he told him, CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1548.
"Ye call me father; in good faith I will be a father to "you indeed." Yet this very man, ſo ingrateful he was, that ſoon after this kind reconciliation of the Archbiſhop to him, and (as it ſeems) his deliverance out of priſon, he and the reſt had freſh communications together again: inſomuch that the Archbiſhop was fain to enter upon a new trouble with them, putting them under reſtraint again, and interrogating them concerning their late communication. Unleſs this letter of Gardiner writ unto his Grace may admit of a more favourable interpretation.

"MOST honourable father; unadviſedly, as God ſhall "ſave me, I have offended your Grace; and I think not the "contrary, but that ſome back friend hath done me more "hurt and hindrance than I have at your Grace's hands de- "ſerved. For I know well in mine own conſcience I have "nothing ſo highly offended, as I do perceive that your "Grace is informed of me. In good faith I ſpeak it of my "conſcience, and before God, I would I were under ground. "For now have I loſt that, which I never thought to loſe "again: yea, that of which had I was as glad as ever I was "of benefit received in this world, as knoweth my Saviour "Chriſt Jeſus: who preſerve your Grace.

"Yours, Will. Gardiner."

The ends of the conſpirators.

But while theſe things were tranſacted at Canterbury, on the Archbiſhop's behalf, againſt theſe falſe accuſers, Dr London, one of the great incendiaries, was cenſured at Windſor. For he, and one Symons a lawyer, and Ockham, that laid traps for others, were catched at length themſelves. They were men that buſied themſelves in framing indictments upon the ſix Articles, againſt great numbers of thoſe that favoured or profeſſed the Goſpel, and in ſending them to court to Wincheſter; who was to prefer the complaints to the council. The King being more and more informed of their baſe conſpiracies, and diſliking their bloody diſpoſitions, commanded the council ſhould ſearch into the matters. And ſo London and his fellows, being examined before the 123
ſaid council, were in the end found to be perjured in deny-

BOOK I. Anno 1543.

ing, upon their oaths, what they had indeed done, and was proved manifeſtly to their faces. Hereupon they were adjudged perjured perſons, and appointed to ride through Windſor, Reading, and Newbery, where they had done moſt miſchief, with their faces towards the horſe-tail, and a paper upon their heads, declaring their crime; and to ſtand upon the pillory in each of thoſe towns. And that puniſhment they underwent, and then were ſent to the Fleet. London not long after died there, probably out of ſhame and ſorrow: this was the end of one of theſe conſpirators. German Gardiner was a year after hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the King's ſupremacy. And the Biſhop of Wincheſter after this never had favour or regard of the King more. And Heywood, another of the crew of the informers and witneſſes, was condemned for treaſon with Gardiner; but making a recantation, his life was ſpared.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The Archbiſhop falls into more Troubles.

AFTER this, the Archbiſhop received two terrible ſhocks more, if I am right in the placing them, as I think I am, though I leave Fox to follow Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, in his manuſcript declaration of the ſaid Archbiſhop. The former was a complaint that was made openly againſt him in parliament; and the latter, when the lords of the privy-council accuſed him unto the King, and required that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower.

The Archbiſhop accuſed before the Parliament. MS. Declaration of Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Sir John Goſtwick, a knight for Bedfordſhire, a man of great ſervice in his time, but papiſtical, ſtood up in the houſe, and laid to his charge his ſermons and lectures, both at Sandwich and Canterbury, containing, as he ſaid, manifeſt hereſy againſt the ſacrament of the altar. Though it was much they ſhould accuſe him in that point, ſeeing he then held a corporal preſence; but it diſpleaſed them that it was after the Lutheran way, rather than after theirs of tranſubſtantiation. But the King perceived eaſily this pro-

ceeded of malice, for that he was a ſtranger in Kent, and had neither heard the Archbiſhop preach nor read there. Knowing thereby that he was ſet on, and made an inſtrument to ſerve other men's purpoſes; the King marvellouſly ſtormed at the matter, calling Goſtwick openly *varlet*, and ſaid, "That he had played a villainous part, to abuſe in "open parliament the Primate of the realm, eſpecially "being in favour with his Prince as he was. What will they "do with him," ſaid he, "if I were gone?" Whereupon the King ſent word unto Goſtwick, by one of his privy-chamber, after this ſort; "Tell the varlet Goſtwick, that "if he do not acknowledge his fault unto my Lord of Can-"terbury, and ſo reconcile himſelf towards him that he "may become his good lord, I will ſoon both make him a "poor Goſtwick, and otherwiſe puniſh him, to the example "of others. He wondered," he ſaid, "he could hear my Lord "of Canterbury preaching out of Kent: and that if he 124 "had been a Kentiſh-man, he might have had ſome more "ſhadow to put up an accuſation againſt him." Now Goſtwick, hearing of this grievous threat, came with all poſſible ſpeed unto Lambeth, and there ſubmitted himſelf in ſuch ſorrowful caſe, that my Lord out of hand not only forgave all his offences, but alſo went directly unto the King for the obtaining of the King's favour; which he obtained very hardly, and upon condition that the King might hear no more of his meddling that way. This happened, I ſuppoſe, in the parliament that began in January, and continued till March 29, 1544. The Archbiſhop's palace at Canterbury was this year burnt, and therein his brother-in-law, and other men, according to Stow.

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1543.

The palace of Canterbury burnt.

I find no biſhops conſecrated in this year.

At length the confederacy of the papiſts in the privy-council (whereof I ſuſpect the Duke of Norfolk to be one, a great friend of Wincheſter's, by whoſe inſtigation this deſign was ſet on foot) came and accuſed him moſt grievouſly unto the King; "That he, with his learned men, had ſo "infected the whole realm with their unſavoury doctrine, "that three parts of the land were become abominable "heretics: and that it might prove dangerous to the King,

Anno 1544.

The council accuſe the Archbiſhop.

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

" being like to produce ſuch commotions and uproars as " were ſprung up in Germany. And therefore they deſired, " that the Archbiſhop might be committed unto the Tower, " until he might be examined." The King was very ſtrait in granting this. They told him, " That the Archbiſhop " being one of the privy-council, no man dared to object " matter againſt him, unleſs he were firſt committed to du- " rance: which being done, men would be bold to tell " the truth, and ſay their conſciences." Upon this perſuaſion of theirs, the King granted unto them that they ſhould call him the next day before them, and, as they ſaw cauſe, ſo to commit him to the Tower.

The King ſends privately for the Archbiſhop.

At midnight, about eleven of the clock, before the day he ſhould appear before the council, the King ſent Mr. Denny to my Lord at Lambeth, willing him incontinently to come over to Weſtminſter to him. The Archbiſhop was in bed, but roſe ſtraightway and repaired to the King, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. Being come, the King declared unto him what he had done, in giving liberty to the council to commit him to priſon: for that they bare him in hand, that he and his learned men had ſown ſuch doctrine in the realm, that all men almoſt were infected with hereſy; and that no man durſt bring matter againſt him, being at liberty, and one of the council. And therefore I have granted to their requeſt, ſaid the King; but whether I have done well or no, what ſay you, my Lord? The Archbiſhop firſt humbly thanked the King that it had pleaſed him to give him that warning before-hand: and that he was very well content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, ſo that he might be indifferently heard; as he doubted not but that his Majeſty would ſee him ſo to be uſed. Whereat the King cried out, " O Lord " God, what fond ſimplicity have you, ſo to permit yourſelf
125 " to be impriſoned, that every enemy of yours may take " advantage againſt you! Do not you know, that when " they have you once in priſon, three or four falſe knaves " will ſoon be procured to witneſs againſt you, and con- " demn you; which elſe, now being at liberty, dare not " once open their lips, or appear before your face? No, not " ſo, my Lord," ſaid the King, " I have better regard unto

"you than to permit your enemies ſo to overthrow you: "and therefore I will have you to-morrow come to the "council, which no doubt will ſend for you: and, when "they break this matter unto you, require them, that, being "one of them, you may have ſo much favour as they would "have themſelves; that is, to have your accuſers brought "before you. And if they ſtand with you, without regard "of your allegations, and will in no condition condeſcend "unto your requeſt, but will needs commit you to the "Tower, then appeal you from them to our perſon, and "give to them this my ring; (which he then delivered unto "the Archbiſhop;) by the which," ſaid the King, "they ſhall "well underſtand that I have taken your cauſe into my "hand from them. Which ring they well know, that I uſe "it for no other purpoſe, but to call matters from the coun-"cil into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." And with this good advice Cranmer, after moſt humble thanks, departed from the King's Majeſty.

Comes before the council.

The next morning, according to the King's monition, and his own expectation, the council ſent for him by eight of the clock in the morning. And when he came to the council-chamber-door, he was not permitted to enter into the council-chamber, but ſtood without among ſerving-men and lacquies above three quarters of an hour; many counſellors and others going in and out. The matter ſeemed ſtrange unto his ſecretary, who then attended upon him; which made him ſlip away to Dr. Butts, to whom he related the manner of the thing: who by and by came, and kept my Lord company. And yet, ere he was called into the council, Dr. Butts went to the King, and told him, that he had ſeen a ſtrange ſight. What is that? ſaid the King. Marry, ſaid he, my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a ſerving-man: for to my knowledge he hath ſtood among them this hour almoſt at the council-chamber-door. Have they ſerved my Lord ſo? "It is well enough," ſaid the King; "I ſhall talk with them by and by." Anon Cranmer was called into the council; there it was declared unto him, that a great complaint was made of him, both to the King and to them, That he, and others by his permiſſion, had infected the whole realm with hereſy: and therefore it was the

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

King's pleaſure that they ſhould commit him to the Tower, and there for his trial, to be examined. Cranmer required, as is before declared, with many, both reaſons and perſuaſions, that he might have his accuſers come there before them, before they uſed any further extremity againſt him. In fine, there was no entreaty could ſerve, but that he muſt needs depart to the Tower. "I am ſorry, my Lords," ſaid Cranmer, "that you drive me unto this exigent, to appeal "from you to the King's Majeſty; who by this token hath "reſumed this matter into his own hand, and diſchargeth
126 "you thereof:" and ſo delivered the King's ring unto them. By and by the Lord Ruſſel ſwore a great oath, and ſaid, "Did not I tell you, my Lords, what would come of "this matter? I know right well that the King would "never permit my Lord of Canterbury to have ſuch a ble- "miſh as to be impriſoned, unleſs it were for high-trea- "ſon." And ſo, as the manner was, when they had once received that ring, they left off their matter, and went all unto the King's perſon, both with his token, and the cauſe.

The King rebukes the council for Cranmer.

When they came unto his Highneſs, the King ſaid unto them, "Ah, my Lords, I thought that I had had a diſcreet "and wiſe council; but now I perceive that I am deceived. "How have you handled here my Lord of Canterbury? "What make ye of him? A ſlave? ſhutting him out of "the council-chamber among ſerving-men. Would ye be "ſo handled yourſelves?" And after ſuch taunting words as theſe ſpoken, the King added, "I would you ſhould well "underſtand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as "faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this "realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by "the faith I owe unto God;" and ſo laid his hand upon his breaſt. "And therefore who loveth me," ſaid he, "will "upon that account regard him." And with theſe words all, and eſpecially my Lord of Norfolk, anſwered and ſaid, "We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canter- "bury, that we requeſted to have him in durance: which "we only did, becauſe he might, after his trial, be ſet at "liberty to his greater glory." "Well," ſaid the King, "I "pray you uſe not my friends ſo. I perceive now well "enough how the world goeth among you. There re-

"maineth malice among you one to another; let it be "avoided out of hand, I would adviſe you." And ſo the King departed, and the Lords ſhook hands every man with the Archbiſhop: againſt whom never more after durſt any man ſpurn, during King Henry's life. And becauſe the King would have love always nouriſhed between the lords of the council and the Archbiſhop, he would ſend them divers times to dinner with him. And ſo he did after this reconciliation.

The King changes the Archbiſhop's arms.

Thus did the King interpoſe himſelf divers times between his Archbiſhop and his irreconcileable enemies the papiſts: and obſerving, by theſe eſſays againſt him, under what perils he was like to come hereafter for his religion, about this time it was, as I conjecture, that the King changed his coat of arms[e]. For unto the year 1543, he bore his paternal coat of three cranes ſable, as I find by a date ſet under his arms, yet remaining in a window in Lambeth-houſe. For it is to be noted, that the King, perceiving how much ado Cranmer would have in the defence of his religion, altered the three cranes, which were parcel of his anceſtors' arms, into three pelicans, declaring unto him, "That thoſe birds ſhould ſignify unto him, that he ought "to be ready, as the pelican is, to ſhed his blood for his "young ones, brought up in the faith of Chriſt. For," ſaid the King, "you are like to be taſted, if you ſtand to your "tackling at length." As in very deed many and ſundry times he was ſhouldered at, both in this King's reign, as you have heard, and under the two ſucceeding Princes.

CHAP. XXIX. 127

Occaſional Prayers and Suffrages.

OCCASIONAL prayers and ſuffrages, to be uſed throughout all churches, began now to be more uſual than formerly.

[e] Whereas it was conjectured there, that the King changed Archbiſhop Cranmer's coat of arms about 1544, it muſt have been ſeveral years before: for his new coat of the Pelicans may be ſeen in the frontiſpiece of the

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

For theſe common devotions were twice this year appointed by authority, as they had been once the laſt; which I look upon the Archbiſhop to be the great inſtrument in procuring: that he might by this means, by little and little, bring into uſe prayer in the Engliſh tongue, which he ſo much deſired: and that the people, by underſtanding part of their prayers, might be the more deſirous to have their whole ſervice rendered intelligible; whereby God might be ſerved with the more ſeriouſneſs and true devotion.

Prayers to be made againſt immoderate rain.

The laſt year there was a plentiful crop upon the ground: but when the time of harveſt drew near, there happened a great plague of rain. So in Auguſt letters were iſſued out from the King to the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould appoint certain prayers to be uſed for the ceaſing of the wet weather; and to write to the reſt of the province to do the like. But hear the King's letter.

Cranm. Regiſt.

"Moſt reverend father in God, right truſty, and right "entirely beloved, we greet you well. And foraſmuch "as there hath been now a late, and ſtill continueth, much "rain, and other unſeaſonable weather, whereby is like to "enſue great hurt and damage to the corn and fruits now "ripe upon the ground, unleſs it ſhall pleaſe God, of his "infinite goodneſs, to ſtretch forth his holy hand over us: "conſidering, by ſundry examples heretofore, that God, "at the contemplation of earneſt and devout prayers, often-"times extended his mercy and grace; and hath alſo "aſſuredly promiſed, that whenſoever we call upon him "for things meet for us, he will grant unto us the ſame: "we, having the governance and charge of his people com-"mitted unto us, have thought good to cauſe the ſame "to be exhorted by you, and other the prelates of this "our realm, with an earneſt repentant heart for their ini-"quities, to call unto God for mercy; and with devout "and humble prayer and ſupplication, every perſon, both "by himſelf apart, and alſo by Common Prayer, to beſeech "him to ſend unto us ſuch ſeaſonable and temperate weather,

great Engliſh Bible, printed 1540. And how long before that time, I know not. [*From the Errata and Emendations to the firſt Edition.*]

" to have in thoſe fruits and corn on the ground, which " hitherto he hath cauſed ſo plenteouſly to grow.

" For the which purpoſe we require you, and neverthelefs " command you, to ſend unto all your brethren, the bi- " ſhops within your province, to cauſe ſuch general roga- " tions and proceſſions to be made incontinently within " their dioceſes, as in caſe like heretofore hath been ac- " cuſtomed in this behalf accordingly.

" Yevon under our ſignet, at our manor of the Moor, the " 20th day of Auguſt, the xxxv year of our reign."

The Archbiſhop accordingly ſent his order, dated Auguſt 23, 1543, to Edmond Biſhop of London, that there might be prayers and ſupplications in his dioceſe every fourth and ſixth days of the week. And the like order was diſpatched to all the other biſhops in his province; " by their prayers, " as was accuſtomed, to implore God's mercy to avert his " wrath, that the people had juſtly deſerved. And not " to ceaſe their prayers and ſuffrages till further order from " him." 128

It is not ſo evident that theſe prayers were in the Engliſh tongue: but in the year following, *viz.* 1544, there were, without controverſy, certain ſuffrages drawn up in our mother-tongue by the Archbiſhop's means; which he intended to be univerſally obſerved every-where. Upon the Archbiſhop's pious motions, as it ſeems, the King iſſued out his letters to him, dated in June, for the publication of theſe prayers in Engliſh, to be from thenceforth continually uſed in the church; together with ſetting forth the King's injunctions, by preaching and good exhortation, that the people, who before did but ſlackly obſerve their devotions, for want of underſtanding the divine ſervice, might henceforth more frequently and more fervently reſort to religious worſhip.

Engliſh ſuffrages commanded to be uſed.

I ſhall not here ſet down the King's letter, as I tranſcribed it out of Archbiſhop Cranmer's regiſter, becauſe Biſhop Burnet hath printed it already in his firſt volume, among the Collections, pag. 264. It runs in ſuch a pious ſtrain, as though none but the Archbiſhop had been the ſuggeſter thereof: " That ſince at that time Chriſtendom was plagued

The contents of the King's letter to that intent. Cranm. Regiſt. fol. 48.

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

"with wars, hatred, and diſſenſions, and in no place was "peace and agreement: and ſince it was out of the power "of man to redreſs theſe miſeries, God alone being able "to reſtore peace, and unite men's hearts; therefore the "King was reſolved to have general proceſſions uſed in all "churches, with all reverence and devotion of the people. "And becauſe the not underſtanding the prayers and ſuf- "frages formerly uſed cauſed that the people came but "ſlackly to the proceſſions; therefore the King now had "publiſhed certain prayers in our native tongue: which "he, with his preſent letter, had ſent to the Archbiſhop, for "the ſpecial truſt and confidence he had of his godly "mind, and the earneſt deſire that was in him for the "ſetting forth of God's glory, and the true worſhipping "of his name. And that theſe prayers ſhould not be ob- "ſerved for a month or two, as his other injunctions had "been, but that they, together with the injunctions, ſhould "be earneſtly ſet forth by preaching, good exhortation, and "otherwiſe; in ſuch ſort as they might feel the godly taſte "thereof, and godly and joyouſly with thanks receive, em- "brace, and frequent the ſame. Commanding the Archbi- "ſhop, that he ſhould not only cauſe the ſame ſuffrages "to be uſed in his own dioceſe, but ſignify the King's "pleaſure in this regard to all other biſhops of his province. "And that he ſhould have a ſpecial reſpect hereunto; and "make report if any did not with good dexterity accom- "pliſh the ſame. It was given under the King's ſignet, "at his manor of St. James's, June 11, in the 36th of his "reign." I have not met with theſe ſuffrages; which if I had, I ſhould have been inclined to publiſh them here; and the rather, becauſe I believe they were of Cranmer's own compoſing. 129

According to this letter, the Archbiſhop diſperſed his letters to Edmond Biſhop of London, and the other biſhops, with a copy of the ſuffrages to be uſed: urging withal, the obſervation of all the King's injunctions heretofore promulgated for the confirming and eſtabliſhing of ſacred religion.

A proceſſion for the King's expedition.

About Auguſt this year, the King was upon going himſelf in perſon to invade France, againſt which nation he was

now in hoſtility; and had prepared a mighty army by land and ſea for that purpoſe. Now the Archbiſhop was again called upon by the privy counſellors to appoint proceſſions in the Engliſh tongue through the realm, for the King's good ſucceſs in this great expedition. The council's letter ran in this tenor.

The council's letter to the Archbiſhop. Regiſt. Cranm.

" After our right-hearty commendations to your good " Lordſhip: theſe ſhall be to ſignify to the ſame, that the " King's Highneſs having ſo provided for the ſafety of his " Grace's realm, as the great malice of his enemies ſhall, " by the grace of God, take ſmall effect: for the repulſing " of which, his Highneſs hath in a readineſs to ſet abroad, " at the furtheſt on Wedneſday next, ſuch a puiſſant navy " as hath not been ſeen aſſembled in the remembrance of " man: conſidering nevertheleſs that all victories and good " ſucceſſes come only at the direction and appointment of " God, following herein that trade of ſuch a chriſtian Prince, " as he is, hath deviſed to have proceſſions throughout the " realm in ſuch ſort as in like caſes hath heretofore laudably " been accuſtomed. Requiring your Lordſhip therefore to " take order incontinently, that from henceforth, through " your province, the ſaid proceſſions be kept continually " upon the accuſtomed days, and none otherwiſe; and ſung " or ſaid, as the number of the quoir ſhall ſerve for the " ſame, in the Engliſh tongue; to the intent that there " may be an uniformity in every place. Whereby it may " pleaſe God at all times to proſper his Majeſty in all his " affairs: and the rather, to have regard at this time unto " the uprightneſs of his Grace's quarrel, and to ſend his " Highneſs victorious ſucceſs of the ſame. And thus we " bid your Lordſhip moſt heartily well to fare. From Pet- " worth, the 10th day of Auguſt.

" Your Lordſhip's aſſured loving friends,

" W. Eſſex, St. Wynton, Ant. Brown, Will. Paget."

The copy of this letter the Archbiſhop diſpatched to the Biſhop of London; and, in a letter of his own, he firſt ſtirred him up to take care of making due proviſions for the religious performance of theſe prayers in his dioceſe, upon

BOOK I. Anno 1544. conſideration of the King's great wars by land and ſea, and his wars in France, in Scotland, and in the parts about Bulloign. Then he enjoined him, and all the biſhops in his province, every fourth and ſixth day, to retire to prayer and ſupplication to God; and that the people ſhould, as he wrote, *Concinna modulatione et una voce cunctipotentem Deum Sabaoth, omnis victoriæ largitorem unicum, ſancte et pie, non labiis, ſed corde puro adorent:* "In becoming har-
130 "mony, and with one voice, holily and piouſly, not with "the lips, but with a pure heart, adore the almighty God "of Sabaoth, the only giver of all victory."

Popery prevails. And in theſe ſmaller matters our Archbiſhop was fain now to be contented to buſy himſelf, ſince about this juncture Winton or his party had the aſcendant, and did all at court. Concerning theſe latter times of King Henry, when the popiſh biſhops carried all before them again; and the acts of parliament that were made, whereby the biſhops were empowered to call ſeſſions as oft as they would, to try thoſe that gave not due obedience to the ſuperſtitions of the church, and that upon pain of treaſon: thus John Bale complains, whoſe words may give us ſome light into the ſad condition of theſe times. "Still remaineth there foul-

Image of both churches.

"maſſes, of all abominations the principal; their prodigious "ſacrifices, their cenſings of idols, their boyiſh proceſſions, "their uncommanded worſhippings, and their confeſſions "in the ear, of all traitery the fountain; with many other "ſtrange obſervations, which the Scripture of God knoweth "not. Nothing is brought as yet to Chriſt's clear inſtitu-"tion and ſincere ordinance, but all remaineth ſtill as the "antichriſts left it. Nothing is tried by God's word, but "by the ancient authority of fathers. Now paſſeth all "under their title. Though the old biſhops of Rome were "of late years proved antichriſts, and their names razed "out of our books; yet muſt they thus properly, for old "acquaintance, be called ſtill our fathers. If it were naught "afore, I think it is now much worſe; for now are they "become laudable ceremonies, whereas beforetime they "were but ceremonies alone. Now are they become *neceſ-*"*ſary rites, godly conſtitutions, ſeemly uſages,* and *civil or-*"*dinances,* whereas afore they had no ſuch names. And he

" that diſobeyeth them ſhall not only be judged a felon,
" and worthy to be hanged, by their new-forged laws, but
" alſo condemned for a traitor againſt the King, though he
" never in his life hindered, but rather to his power hath
" forwarded, the common wealth. To put this, with ſuch-
" like, in execution, the biſhops have authority, every month
" in the year if they liſt, to call a ſeſſion, to hang and burn
" at their pleaſure. And this is ratified and confirmed by
" act of parliament, to ſtand the more in effect."

Gardiner and the biſhops now carry all.

Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, had, by his policy and intereſt, brought things thus backward again, and exalted the power of the biſhops, that of late years had been much eclipſed. And ſo he plainly told one Seton, a man of eminency in theſe times both for piety and learning in London, who met with troubles there, about the year 1541, for a ſermon preached at St. Anthony's againſt juſtification by works. This Seton being now it ſeems fallen into new troubles, and brought before the aforeſaid biſhop; when he was able no longer to withſtand the manifeſt truth, ſaid to him, " Mr. Seton, we know ye are learned, and
" plenteouſly endued with knowledge in the Scriptures; yet
" think not that ye ſhall overcome us. No, no, ſet your
" heart at reſt, and look never to have it ſaid, that ye have 131
" overcome the biſhops; for it ſhall not be ſo."

Biſhop of Landaff removed to York.

Robert Holgate, Biſhop of Landaff, was this year preferred to the ſee of York. His confirmation is mentioned in the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's regiſter: wherein is ſet down an oath, which he then took, of renunciation of the Pope, and acknowledgment of the King's ſupremacy, very full and large. Afterwards I find the ſame oath adminiſtered to Kitchin, elect of Landaff, and Ridley, elect of Rocheſter, and Farrar, of St. David's. But I think it not unworthy to be here ſet down as I find it, ſeeming to be a new form drawn up, to be henceforth taken by all biſhops. And this Archbiſhop of York the firſt that took it.

The Archbiſhop's oath. Cranm. Regiſt.

" I Robert Archbiſhop of York elect, having now the vail
" of darkneſs of the uſurped power, authority, and juriſdic-
" tion of the ſee and Biſhop of Rome, clearly taken away
" from mine eyes, do utterly teſtify and declare in my con-

BOOK I. Anno 1544.

" ſcience, that neither the ſee nor the Biſhop of Rome, nor
" any foreign poteſtate, hath, nor ought to have, any juriſ-
" diction, power, or authority within this realm, neither by
" God's law, nor by any juſt law or means. And though,
" by ſufferance and abuſions in time paſt, they aforeſaid
" have uſurped and vindicated a feigned and unlawful power
" and juriſdiction within this realm, which hath been ſup-
" ported till few years paſt; therefore, becauſe it might be
" deemed and thought thereby that I took or take it for
" juſt and good, I therefore do now clearly and frankly
" renounce, forſake, refuſe, and relinquiſh that pretended
" authority, power, and juriſdiction, both of the ſee and
" Biſhop of Rome, and of all other foreign powers: and
" that I ſhall never conſent or agree that the foreſaid ſee
" or Biſhop of Rome, or any of their ſucceſſors, ſhall prac-
" tiſe, exerciſe, or have any manner of authority, juriſdiction,
" or power within this realm, or any other the King's
" realms or dominions; nor any foreign poteſtate, of what
" ſtate, degree, or condition he be; but that I ſhall reſiſt
" the ſame to the uttermoſt of my power; and that I ſhall
" bear faith, troth, and true allegiance to the King's Majeſty,
" and to his heirs and ſucceſſors declared, or hereafter to
" be declared, by the authority of the act made in the
" ſeſſions of his parliament holden at Weſtminſter the
" 14th day of January, in the 35th year, and in the act
" made in the 28th year of the King's Majeſty's reign. And
" that I ſhall accept, repute, and take the King's Majeſty,
" his heirs and ſucceſſors, when they, or any of them, ſhall
" enjoy his place, to be the only ſupreme head in earth,
" under God, of the Church of England and Ireland, and
" all other his Highneſs' dominions. And that with my
" body, cunning, wit, and uttermoſt of my power, without
" guile, fraud, or other undue means, I ſhall obſerve, keep,
" maintain and defend all the King's Majeſty's ſtyles, titles,
" and rights, with the whole effects and contents of the
" acts provided for the ſame, and all other acts and ſtatutes
" made and to be made within the realm, in and for that
" purpoſe, and the derogation, extirpation, and extinguiſh-
" ment of the uſurped and pretended authority, power, and
132 " juriſdiction of the ſee and Biſhop of Rome, and all other

" foreign poteſtates as afore. And alſo as well his ſtatute CHAP.
" made in the ſaid 28th year, as his ſtatute made in the XXIX.
" parliament holden in the 35th year of the King's Majeſty's Anno 1544.
" reign, for eſtabliſhment and declaration of his Highneſs'
" ſucceſſion, and all acts and ſtatutes made and to be made
" in confirmation and corroboration of the King's Majeſty's
" power and ſupremacy in earth, of his Church of England
" and of Ireland, and all other his Grace's dominions; I
" ſhall alſo defend and maintain, with my body and goods,
" with all my wit and power. And thus I ſhall do againſt
" all manner of perſons, of what ſtate, dignity, degree, or
" condition ſoever they be; and in no wiſe do nor attempt,
" nor to my power ſuffer, or know to be done or attempt-
" ed, directly or indirectly, any thing or things privily or
" apertly to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation of
" any of the ſaid ſtatutes, or any part thereof, by any
" manner of means, or for or by any manner of pretence.
" And in caſe any oath hath been made by me to any
" perſon or perſons in maintenance, defence, or favour of
" the Biſhop of Rome, or his authority, juriſdiction, or
" power, or againſt any the ſtatutes aforeſaid, I repute the
" ſame as vain and adnichilate. I ſhall wholly obſerve and
" keep this oath. So help me God, and all ſaints, and the
" holy Evangeles."

And then, after this oath, followed the prayers before the benediction of the pall, and the ceremonies of delivering it.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbiſhop reformeth the Canon Law.

OUR Archbiſhop, ſeeing the great evil and inconvenience of canons and papal laws which were ſtill in force, and ſtudied much in the kingdom, had in his mind now a good while to get them ſuppreſſed, or to reduce them into a narrower compaſs, and to cull out of them a ſet of juſt and wholeſome laws, that ſhould ſerve for the government of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. And indeed there was great need

Anno 1545. The Archbiſhop ſets upon reforming the canon law.

BOOK L

Anno 1545.

of ſome reformation of theſe laws: for moſt of them extolled the Pope unmeaſurably, and made his power to be above that of Emperors and Kings. Some of them were, "That he "that acknowledged not himſelf to be under the Biſhop "of Rome, and that the Pope is ordained of God to have "the primacy over the world, is an heretic. That Princes' "laws, if they be againſt the canons and decrees of the Biſhop "of Rome, be of no force. That all the decrees of the Bi-"ſhop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually, as God's word "ſpoken by the mouth of Peter. That all kings, biſhops, "and noblemen, that believe or ſuffer the Biſhop of Rome's "decrees in any thing to be violated, are accurſed." That the ſee of Rome hath neither ſpot nor wrinkle: and abundance of the like, which the Archbiſhop himſelf drew out of the canon laws, and are ſet down by the Biſhop of Sarum in his hiſtory.

Part i. Among the Collections, p. 257.

133 Therefore, by the Archbiſhop's motion and advice, the King had an act paſſed the laſt year, *viz.* 1544, "That his "Majeſty ſhould have authority, during his life, to name "thirty-two perſons; that is to ſay, ſixteen ſpiritual, and "ſixteen temporal, to examine all canons, conſtitutions, and "ordinances, provincial and ſynodal, and to draw up ſuch "laws eccleſiaſtical as ſhould be thought by the King and "them convenient to be uſed in all ſpiritual courts." According to this act, though it ſeems this nomination happened ſome time before the making of the ſame, the King nominated ſeveral perſons to ſtudy and prepare a ſcheme of good laws for the church: who brought their buſineſs to a concluſion, and ſo it reſted for a time. The Archbiſhop being now to go down into Kent, to meet ſome commiſſioners at Sittingborn, went to Hampton-court to take his leave of the King: there he put him in mind of theſe eccleſiaſtical laws, and urged him to ratify them. So the King bad him diſpatch to him the names of the perſons, (which had been chiefly left to Cranmer's election,) and the book they had made. This care he, going out of town, left with Heth, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

An act concerning it.

The progreſs made by the Archbiſhop in this work.

So that theſe laws, by the great pains of the Archbiſhop and ſome learned men about him, were brought to that good perfection, that they wanted nothing but the confirma-

CHAP. XXX.

tion of the King. And there was a letter drawn up ready for that purpoſe for the King to ſign. It was directed to all archbiſhops, biſhops, abbots, clerks, dukes, marquiſes, earls, barons, knights, and gentlemen, and all others, of whatſoever degree, his ſubjects and liegemen: giving them to underſtand, "That in the room of the corrupt laws, "decrees, and ſtatutes, that proceeded from the Biſhops of "Rome, which were all aboliſhed, he had put forth by his "authority another ſet of eccleſiaſtical laws, which he re-"quired to be obſerved, under pain of his indignation." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix. But whatſoever the matter was, whether it were the King's other buſineſs, or the ſecret oppoſitions of Biſhop Gardiner and the papiſts, this letter was not ſigned by the King.

Anno 1545.

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I have ſeen the digeſt of theſe eccleſiaſtical laws in a manuſcript in folio, fairly written out by the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, with the title to each chapter prefixed, and the index of the chapters at the beginning, both of the Archbiſhop's own hand. In many places there be his own corrections and additions, and ſometimes a croſs by him ſtruck through divers lines. And ſo he proceeded a good way in the book. And where the Archbiſhop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to reviſe the reſt in the method he had begun. And in the title, *De Præſcriptionibus*, the greateſt part of the ſeventh chapter is Martyr's own writing, *viz.* beginning at this word *Rumpitur*, which is in pag. 248. of the printed book, line 23, and ſo to the end of the chapter. So that this manuſcript, I conjecture, was the firſt draught of theſe laws, prepared in the reign of King Henry, and reviſed in the reign of King Edward his ſucceſſor, when Peter Martyr was appointed by that King's letters to be one of thoſe that were to be employed in this work; who was much at this time with the Archbiſhop. In this draught were ſeveral chapters afterwards added, partly by Cranmer, and partly by Martyr. There was yet a latter and more perfect draught of theſe laws, as they were completed and finiſhed in King Edward's reign. This draught fell into the poſſeſſion of Archbiſhop Parker: from whence he publiſhed the book in the year 1571, intituling it, *Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſticarum, &c.* which was printed

The MSS. of theſe laws. Inter Fox. MSS.

Reformatio Legum Eccleſiaſt. Lond. 1640.

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BOOK I. Anno 1545.

again in the year 1640. Both theſe manuſcript draughts were diligently compared together by John Fox; and the main difference ſeemed to conſiſt in putting the latter into a new method, and placing the titles differently.

The Archbiſhop labours in this work under King Edward.

For in this matter Cranmer was much buſied in King Edward's reign alſo, being greatly deſirous to bring that good work to perfection. For he thought it greatly inconvenient, when the Pope's power was abrogated, that his laws ſhould remain in force; holding it highly neceſſary that the nation might have a body of wholeſome laws for the good adminiſtration of juſtice in the ſpiritual courts. Wherefore he procured, in the fifth year of that King, letters commiſſional to him, and ſeven more, diligently to ſet about the peruſal of the old church laws; and then to compile ſuch a body of laws as ſhould ſeem, in their judgments, moſt expedient to be practiſed in the eccleſiaſtical courts and juriſdictions: theſe ſeven were, Thomas Goodrick, Biſhop of Ely; Richard Cox, the King's Almoner; Peter Martyr, William May, Rowland Taylour, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick. But the matter was in effect wholly intruſted by the King to the Archbiſhop, who aſſociated to himſelf in the active part of this work Taylor, Martyr, and Haddon. The method they obſerved in managing this affair was, that after they had finiſhed a title, and drawn it up, it was then ſent to Dr. Haddon, who was a civilian, and an accurate latiniſt, to peruſe: and if any thing was leſs elegantly expreſſed, to correct it. So I find at the title *De Decimis*, theſe words writ by Cranmer; "This is finiſhed by us, but "muſt be overſeen again by Dr. Haddon." Thus, for inſtance, I obſerve theſe corrections by Haddon's pen in the chapter entitled, *De Commodis quæ perveniunt a Sacris ritibus*; inſtead of *Gratiarum actionis mulierum a partu*, he corrected it, *Levatarum puerperarum*: and in another place, *Cuicunque hoc Prærogativum eſt*, inſtead of *hoc Prærogativum*, he put, *hoc peculiare jus tribuitur, quod Prærogativum vocant*. But his corrections are very few, and but of words leſs proper: the work and words were mainly Cranmer's own. But all this great and long labour of the Archbiſhop came to no effect by reaſon of the King's untimely death, and, it may be, the ſecret oppoſition of papiſts.

CHAP. XXX.

Anno 1545.

At the ſame time that he, being at Hampton Court, dealt with the King concerning the reformation of the canon laws, he alſo gave him an account of a buſineſs his Majeſty had employed him in, and with him alſo Heth and Day, Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, and ſome other of his chaplains, and learned men; whom he had of late appointed, with the Archbiſhop, to peruſe certain books of ſervice, delivered by the King to them, wherein there were many ſuperſtitions fit to be amended. Which the Archbiſhop, in the name of the reſt, at this time acquainted the King with: as namely, the vigil, and ringing of bells all the night long upon Allhallow-night; and the covering of images in the church in the time of Lent, with the lifting the vail that covereth the croſs on Palm-Sunday, and kneeling to the croſs at the ſame time. He moved the King in his own name, and the name of the reſt, that theſe things might be aboliſhed, and the ſuperſtitions, and other enormities and abuſes of the ſame. And that becauſe all other vigils, which in the beginning of the church were godly uſed; yet for the manifold ſuperſtitions and abuſes, which did after grow by means of the ſame, were many years paſt taken away throughout Chriſtendom, and there remained nothing but the name of the vigil in the calendar, ſaving only upon Allhallow-day at night, he moved that it might be obſerved no more. And becauſe creeping to the croſs was a greater abuſe than any of the other, (for there the people ſaid, *Crucem tuam adoramus, Domine:* and the ordinal ſaith, *Procedant clerici ad crucem adorandum nudis pedibus:* and it followeth in the ſaid ordinal, *Ponatur crux ante aliquod altare, ubi a populo adoretur:* which by the Biſhop's book, intituled, *A neceſſary Inſtruction*, is againſt the ſecond commandment,) therefore he deſired of the King, that the creeping to the croſs might alſo ceaſe hereafter.

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The Archbiſhop employed in mending books of ſervice.

The King conſults with the Archbiſhop for the redreſs of certain ſuperſtitions.

Theſe ſuperſtitious uſages were allowed in the articles of religion put forth anno 1536, Cranmer then not having intereſt enough to procure the laying them aſide, or thinking it then not a fitting ſeaſon to attempt it, as being in vain to oppoſe what the King himſelf at that time approved of. But now the King liſtened to the Archbiſhop, and bad him confer with the Biſhop of Worceſter, and ſend to him

BOOK I. Anno 1545.

their thoughts, what courſe they would adviſe him to take for redreſs. The Archbiſhop accordingly conſulted with the ſaid Biſhop, who then went along with Cranmer in the reformation. The effect of which was, as the Archbiſhop wrote to the King ſoon after from Bekeſbourn, "That his "Majeſty ſhould ſend his letters to both the Archbiſhops to "reform theſe ſuperſtitions; and they to ſend in the King's "name to all the prelates within their reſpective provinces "to the ſame purpoſe." The Archbiſhop withal ſent to the King the minutes of a letter to be ſent to him, the ſaid Archbiſhop, to that intent. He alſo adviſed the King, that at the ſame time that this alteration was commanded to be made, he ſhould ſet forth ſome doctrine which ſhould declare the cauſe of the aboliſhing theſe uſages, for the ſatisfaction of the conſciences of the people. For he knew well, as he wrote, that the people would think the honour of Chriſt was taken away, when this honouring of the croſs was taken away: and therefore that they ſhould need ſome good inſtruction herein. He nominated the Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter, and ſome other his Grace's chaplains, for the preparing this: "and this," he ſaid, "would "make the people obey him without murmuring; nay, "be thankful to him for ſhewing them the truth: and it "would be a ſatisfaction to other nations, when they ſhould "ſee the King do nothing but by the authority of God's "word, and for the ſetting forth of God's honour, and not "the diminiſhing thereof." This letter of the Archbiſhop to the King is extant in the Paper-office, whence the Biſhop of Sarum extracted a copy.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 226.

136. The opportunity of Winchester's abſence taken.

Theſe things were agitated in the Biſhop of Winchester's abſence, whom the King had ſent ambaſſador this year, with the Biſhop of Weſtminſter, to Charles the Emperor, about the mediation of a peace between England and France. The Archbiſhop took this occaſion to move the King in theſe good purpoſes for a further reformation of abuſes in religion; towards the which the King appeared to be in ſo good a mind, Winchester being abſent, who, if he had been at home, would undoubtedly have done his endeavour to put a check to theſe attempts. But it muſt be attributed to his being abroad, that the King gave an ear to the Archbi-

ſhop, and appointed a ſet of more moderate biſhops and divines to prepare matter for his allowance and ratification. But Wincheſter, though at a diſtance, had information of theſe deſigns by his intelligencers; and by making the King believe that, if he ſuffered any innovations in religion to proceed, the Emperor would withdraw his mediation for a league; by theſe crafty means of this man, theſe good motions proceeded no further.

CHAP. XXX. Anno 1545.

So that there were two abuſes in religion which our Archbiſhop, by time and ſeaſonable inculcation, brought the King off from. He had a very great eſteem for images in churches, and for the worſhip uſed to the croſs: and many diſputations and diſcourſes happened between the King and the Archbiſhop concerning them. Once at the King's palace at Newhal in Eſſex, Canterbury and Wincheſter being alone with the King, a talk happened about images, and the arguments that were uſed for aboliſhing them were conſidered. The Archbiſhop, who built all his arguments upon the word of God, produced the ſecond commandment, and thence he raiſed his argument. But the King diſcuſſed it as a commandment relating only to the Jews, and not to us; as Wincheſter relates in one of his letters to the Duke of Somerſet; adding, (becauſe the reaſoning was ſo much to his own mind,) "That the King ſo diſcuſſed it, "that all the clerks in Chriſtendom could not amend it." And when, at another time, one had uſed arguments againſt the image of the Trinity, whether Cranmer, or ſome elſe, I know not, Wincheſter heard the King anſwer them too: ſo poſſeſſed was the King once with an opinion of retaining them; and yet at length, by the Archbiſhop's wiſe and moderate carriage and ſpeeches, the King was brought to another opinion, and to give his orders for the aboliſhing of a great many of them; namely, of ſuch as had been abuſed. But when he had done this, he would not forego the other, but commanded kneeling and creeping to the croſs. And groſs was the ſuperſtition that was committed in this blind devotion; which the King, by the Archbiſhop's means, being at length ſenſible of, was prevailed with that this alſo ſhould no more be uſed, as you heard before.

The Archbiſhop prevails with the King in two great points.

There was one thing more this careful Archbiſhop re-

BOOK I. commended to the King this year. He was troubled for his cathedral church of Canterbury, obſerving how the revenues of it were diminiſhed and made away daily by the prebendaries thereof, to ſatisfy the inſatiable greedineſs of the laity, and it may be their own too. And the courtiers and others were hard to be withſtood, when they were minded to rake from the church. The practice was, that when any were minded to get a portion of land from the church, they would firſt engage the King therein, and ſo the church was to make it over to him: and then by gift, or for ſome trifling conſideration, as a ſale, it was conveyed to them from the King. Nay, ſometimes they would uſe the King's name, without his knowledge.

Anno 1545. Seeks to redreſs alienation of the revenues of the cathedral.

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Cranmer had the honeſty and the courage to make complaint of this abuſe and injury done to the revenues of the cathedral. "That thoſe of the church, to their diſquiet-"ment, and alſo great charges, did alienate their lands "daily, as it was ſaid, by the King's commandment; but "he was ſure," he ſaid, "that others had gotten the beſt "lands, and not his Majeſty. Therefore he ſued, that when "his Majeſty was minded to have any of their lands, that "they might have ſome letters from him to declare his "pleaſure, without the which they were ſworn to make "no alienation: and that the ſame alienations might not be "made at other men's pleaſures, but only to his Majeſty's "uſe." By which means, it is likely, the prebendaries had more quiet poſſeſſion of their lands for the time to come.

Scripture and ſermons more common by the Archbiſhop's means.

By this time the Archbiſhop had compaſſed two very good things, in order to the furthering the common people in knowledge and true religion. The one was, that he brought in among the laity a more common uſe of the Scriptures; and the other, that ſermons were more frequently preached than had been before. But both theſe, to the grief of the Archbiſhop, were ſadly abuſed: for now the contending of preachers in their pulpits, one againſt another, grew more and more, and became moſt ſcandalous. So that few preached the word of God truly and ſincerely, but ran almoſt wholly upon matters controverted; and in that railing manner, that their expreſſions were very provoking. So that this came to the ſowing of diſcord among the

people, inſtead of promoting love, unity, and ſolid religion. The laity, on the other hand, ſome of them railed much on the biſhops, and ſpoke contemptibly of the prieſts, and taunted the preachers. The Scriptures were much read, but the effect of it appeared too much in their making uſe of it only for jangling and diſputation upon points of religion, and to taunt at the ignorance or error of prieſts. Others, on the other hand, to be even with the goſpellers, made it their buſineſs to derogate from the Scripture, to deal with it irreverently, and to rhyme and ſing, and make ſport with it in alehouſes and taverns. Theſe things came to King Henry's ears, which made him very earneſtly blame both the laity and ſpirituality for it, in a ſpeech which he made at the diſſolution of his parliament this year.

CHAP. XXX.
Anno 1545.
Vid. Herb. Hiſt. p. 600.

A Biſhop confirmed.

Anthony Kitchin, alias Dunſtan, D. D. was elected and confirmed Biſhop of Landaff, May 2. The Archbiſhop ſent his commiſſional letters, dated the ſame day, to Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter for his conſecration: but the conſecration is not entered in the regiſter. His oath to the King began thus: "I Anthony Kitchin, elect Biſhop of "Landaff, having now the vail of darkneſs of the uſurped "power, authority, and juriſdiction of the ſee and Biſhop of "Rome, clearly taken away from mine eyes, do utterly "teſtify and declare in my heart, that neither the ſee nor "the Biſhop of Rome, nor any foreign poteſtate, hath, or "ought to have, &c." as before.

Anthony Kitchin.
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Another proclamation was ſet out the next year, (which was the laſt iſſued out under this King,) prohibiting again Tindal's and Coverdale's Engliſh New Teſtament, or any other than what was permitted by parliament; and alſo the Engliſh books of Wickliff, Frith, &c. the King being vexed with the conteſts and clamours of the people one againſt another, while they diſputed ſo much of what they read, and practiſed ſo little.

Anno 1546. A proclamation againſt the Engliſh Teſtament.

A ſmall matter oftentimes creates great brabblings and contentions in fraternities. Such a ſmall thing now occurred in the Archbiſhop's church. Two of the prebends were mind-

He interprets a ſtatute of his church.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

He crowns King Edward.

OUR Archbiſhop, having loſt his old maſter, was not ſo ſorrowful but the hopefulneſs of the new one did as much revive and ſolace him; becauſe he concluded, that the matters requiſite for the reformation of the Church were like now to go on more roundly, and with leſs impediment. Anno 1546. Conceives great hopes of King Edward.

One of the very firſt things that was done in young King Edward the Sixth's reign, in relation to the Church, was, that the biſhops, who had the care of eccleſiaſtical matters, and the ſouls of men, ſhould be made to depend entirely upon the King and his council, and to be ſubject to ſuſpenſion from their office, and to have their whole epiſcopal power taken from them at his pleaſure; which might ſerve as a bridle in caſe they ſhould oppoſe the proceedings of a reformation. In this I ſuppoſe the Archbiſhop had his hand: for it was his judgment, that the exerciſe of all epiſcopal juriſdiction depended upon the Prince: and that, as he gave it, ſo he might reſtrain it at his pleaſure. And therefore he began this matter with himſelf, petitioning, "That as he "had exerciſed the authority of an Archbiſhop during the "reign of the former King; ſo that authority ending with "his life, it would pleaſe the preſent King Edward to com-"mit unto him that power again." For it ſeemed that he The Archbiſhop takes a commiſſion to execute his office.

BOOK II. would not act as Archbiſhop, till he had a new commiſſion from the new King for ſo doing. And that this was his
Anno 1546. judgment, appeared in the firſt words of that commiſſion granted to him; in the compoſing of which I make no queſ-
Cranm. Regiſt. tion he had his hand. *Quandoquidem omnis juris dicendi autoritas, atque etiam juriſdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Eccleſiaſtica dicitur, quam Secularis, a Regia poteſtate, velut a ſupremo capite, ac omnium Magiſtratuum infra regnum noſtrum fonte et ſcaturigine, primitus emanaverit,* &c. That is,
" Since all authority of exerciſing juriſdiction, and alſo all
142 " kind of juriſdicton, as well that which is called eccleſiaſti-
" cal, as ſecular, originally hath flowed from the King's
" power, as from the ſupreme head, and the fountain and
" ſource of all magiſtracy within our kingdom: we there-
" fore in this part yielding to your humble ſupplications,
" and conſulting for the good of our ſubjects, have deter-
" mined to commit our place to you, under the manner and
" form hereunder deſcribed." And the King then licenſeth him to ordain within his dioceſe, and to promote and preſent to eccleſiaſtical benefices; and to inſtitute and inveſt; and, if occaſion required, to deprive; to prove teſtaments, and the reſt of the buſineſs of his courts. And ſo all the reſt of his offices were reckoned. This was dated Feb. 7, 1546. But yet all theſe things were committed to him, with a power of revocation of the exerciſe of this authority reſerved in the King, *et durante beneplacito*. Thus a formal
Hiſt. Ref. P. ii. Coll. p. 90. commiſſion was made to him; I do not tranſcribe it, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum hath ſaved me that pains. And hence I find, that the Archbiſhop in ſome of his writings is ſtyled, *The Commiſſary of our dread Soveraign Lord King Edward.*

King Edward crowned by the Archbiſhop. One of the firſt exerciſes of his epiſcopal power was the coronation of young King Edward: which was celebrated February the 20th, at the abbey of Weſtminſter, the Archbiſhop aſſiſting now at his coronation, as he had done about nine years before at his chriſtening, when he ſtood his god-
C. C. C. C. Library. Miſcellan. B. father. The form and ſolemnity of it, and wherein the Archbiſhop bore ſo great a part, was in this manner, as I collect and tranſcribe out of a manuſcript in Benet College.

CHAP. I.

Anno 1546. The manner of the coronation.

Firſt, there was a goodly ſtage, richly hanged with cloth of gold and cloth of arras; and the ſteps from the choir contained two and twenty ſteps of height; and down to the high altar but fifteen ſteps, goodly carpeted, where the King's Grace ſhould tread with his nobles.

Secondly, The high altar richly garniſhed with divers and coſtly jewels and ornaments of much eſtimation and value. And alſo the tombs on each ſide the high altar richly hanged with fine gold arras.

Thirdly, In the midſt of the ſtage was a goodly thing made of ſeven ſteps of height, all round, where the King's Majeſty's chair-royal ſtood; and he ſat therein, after he was crowned, all the maſs-while.

Fourthly, At nine of the clock all Weſtminſter choir was in their copes, and three goodly croſſes before them: and after them other three goodly rich croſſes, and the King's chapel with his children, following all in ſcarlet, with ſurplices and copes on their backs. And after them ten biſhops in ſcarlet with their rochets, and rich copes on their backs, and their mitres on their heads, did ſet forth at the weſt door of Weſtminſter towards the King's palace, there to receive his Grace; and my Lord of Canterbury with his croſs before him alone, and his mitre on his head. And ſo paſſed forth in order, as before is ſaid. And within a certain ſpace after were certain blue cloths laid abroad in the church-floor againſt the King's coming, and ſo all the palace, even to York-place.

Then is deſcribed the ſetting forward to Weſtminſter 143
church to his coronation, unction, and confirmation.

After all the lords in order had kneeled down and kiſſed his Grace's right foot, and after held their hands between his Grace's hands, and kiſſed his Grace's left cheek, and ſo did their homage; then began a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt by my Lord of Canterbury, with good ſinging in the choir, and organs playing. There at offering-time his Grace offered to the altar a pound of gold, a loaf of bread, and a chalice of wine.

Then, after the levation of the maſs, there was read by my Lord Chancellor, in preſence of all the nobles, a general pardon granted by King Henry the Eighth, father to our

BOOK II. liege Lord the King, that all ſhall be pardoned that have offended before the 28th day of January laſt paſt.

Anno 1546. When the King's Majeſty, with his nobles, came to the place of the coronation, within a while after, his Grace was removed into a chair of crimſon velvet, and borne in the chair between two noblemen unto the north ſide of the ſtage, and ſhewed to the people; and theſe words ſpoken to the people by my Lord of Canterbury, in this manner, ſaying: "Sirs, here I preſent unto you King Edward, the "rightful inheritor to the crown of this realm. Wherefore "all ye, that be come this day to do your homage, ſervice, "and bounden duty, be ye willing to do the ſame?" To the which all the people cried with a loud voice, and ſaid, Yea, Yea, Yea; and cried, King Edward; and prayed, God ſave King Edward. And ſo to the ſouth ſide in like manner, and to the eaſt ſide, and to the weſt ſide.

After this, his Grace was borne again to the high altar in his chair, and there ſat bare-headed: and all his nobles and peers of the realm were about his Grace, and my Lord of Canterbury principal. And there made certain prayers and godly pſalms over his Grace; and the choir anſwered with goodly ſinging, the organs playing, and trumpets blowing.

Then, after a certain unction, bleſſing, and ſigning of his Grace, he was borne into a place by the high altar, where the Kings uſe always to kneel at the levation of the parliament-maſs. And there his Grace was made ready of new garments; and after a certain ſpace brought forth between two noblemen, and ſat before the high altar bare-headed. Then after a while his Grace was anointed in the breaſt, his ſoles of his feet, his elbows, his wriſts of his hands, and his crown of his head, with virtuous prayer ſaid by the Biſhop of Canterbury, and ſung by the choir.

Then anon after this, a goodly fair cloth of red tinſel gold was hung over his head: and my Lord of Canterbury, kneeling on his knees, and his Grace lying proſtrate afore the altar, anointed his back.

Then, after this, my Lord of Canterbury aroſe and ſtood up, and the fair cloth taken away. Then my Lord Protector, Duke of Somerſet, held the crown in his hand a certain

ſpace; and immediately after began *Te Deum*, with the organs going, the choir ſinging, and the trumpets playing in the battlements of the church. Then, immediately after that, was the crown ſet on the King's Majeſty's head by them two, [*viz.* Somerſet, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury.] And after that another crown; and ſo his Grace was crowned with three crowns. CHAP. I. Anno 1546. 144

The relation breaks off here abruptly. But what is wanting may be ſupplied by the order of the coronation, as Biſhop Burnet hath taken it out of the council-book, and given it us in his Hiſtory. Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 93.

At this coronation there was no ſermon, as I can find; but that was ſupplied by an excellent ſpeech which was made by the Archbiſhop. It was found among the ineſtimable collections of Archbiſhop Uſher; and though publiſhed of late years, yet I cannot but inſert it here, tending ſo much to illuſtrate the memory of this great and good Archbiſhop. The Archbiſhop's ſpeech at the coronation. Foxes and Firebrands, part 2.

"Moſt dread and royal Soveraign: the promiſes your "Highneſs hath made here, at your coronation, to forſake "the Devil and all his works, are not to be taken in the Bi- "ſhop of Rome's ſenſe, when you commit any thing diſtaſte- "ful to that ſee, to hit your Majeſty in the teeth, as Pope "Paul the Third, late Biſhop of Rome, ſent to your royal "father, ſaying, *Didſt thou not promiſe, at our permiſſion "of thy coronation, to forſake the Devil and all his works, "and doſt thou run to hereſy? For the breach of this thy "promiſe, knoweſt thou not, that it is in our power to diſ- "poſe of thy ſword and ſceptre to whom we pleaſe?* We, "your Majeſty's clergy, do humbly conceive that this "promiſe reacheth not at your Highneſs' ſword, ſpiritual or "temporal, or in the leaſt at your Highneſs ſwaying the "ſceptre of this your dominion, as you and your pre- "deceſſors have had them from God. Neither could your "anceſtors lawfully reſign up their crowns to the Biſhop of "Rome or his legates, according to their ancient oaths then "taken upon that ceremony.

"The Biſhops of Canterbury, for the moſt part, have "crowned your predeceſſors, and anointed them Kings of

BOOK II. Anno 1546.

"this land: yet it was not in their power to receive or "reject them, neither did it give them authority to prescribe "them conditions to take or to leave their crowns, although "the Bishops of Rome would encroach upon your pre- "decessors by their act and oil, that in the end they might "possess those bishops with an interest to dispose of their "crowns at their pleasure. But the wiser sort will look to "their claws, and clip them.

"The solemn rites of coronation have their ends and "utility; yet neither direct force or necessity: they be "good admonitions to put Kings in mind of their duty to "God, but no increasement of their dignity: for they be "God's anointed; not in respect of the oil which the bi- "shop useth, but in consideration of their power, which "is ordained; of the sword, which is authorized; of their "persons, which are elected of God, and endued with the "gifts of his spirit, for the better ruling and guiding of his "people.

"The oil, if added, is but a ceremony: if it be wanting, "that King is yet a perfect monarch notwithstanding, and "God's anointed, as well as if he was inoiled. Now for "the person or bishop that doth anoint a King, it is proper "to be done by the chiefest. But if they cannot, or will "not, any bishop may perform this ceremony.

"To condition with monarchs upon these ceremonies, "the Bishop of Rome (or other bishops owning his su- "premacy) hath no authority: but he may faithfully de- "clare what God requires at the hands of kings and rulers, "that is, religion and virtue. Therefore not from the Bi- "shop of Rome, but as a messenger from my Saviour Jesus "Christ, I shall most humbly admonish your royal Majesty "what things your Highness is to perform.

"Your Majesty is God's Vicegerent, and Christ's Vicar "within your own dominions, and to see, with your pre- "decessor Josias, God truly worshipped, and idolatry de- "stroyed; the tyranny of the Bishops of Rome banished "from your subjects, and images removed. These acts "be signs of a second Josias, who reformed the Church of "God in his days. You are to reward virtue, to revenge "sin, to justify the innocent, to relieve the poor, to procure

" peace, to repreſs violence, and to execute juſtice through- CHAP. I.
" out your realms. For precedents on thoſe Kings who
" performed not theſe things, the old law ſhews how the Anno 1546.
" Lord revenged his quarrel; and on thoſe Kings who
" fulfilled theſe things, he poured forth his bleſſings in
" abundance. For example, it is written of Joſiah, in the
" book of the Kings, thus; *Like unto him there was no*
" *King, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, according*
" *to all the law of Moſes; neither after him aroſe there any*
" *like him.* This was to that Prince a perpetual fame of
" dignity, to remain to the end of days.

" Being bound by my function to lay theſe things before
" your Royal Highneſs; the one as a reward, if you ful-
" fil; the other as a judgment from God, if you neglect
" them: yet I openly declare, before the living God, and
" before theſe nobles of the land, that I have no commiſſion
" to denounce your Majeſty deprived, if your Highneſs miſs
" in part, or in whole, of theſe performances: much leſs
" to draw up indentures between God and your Majeſty, or
" to ſay you forfeit your crown with a clauſe for the Bi-
" ſhop of Rome, as have been done by your Majeſty's pre-
" deceſſors, King John, and his ſon Henry of this land.
" The Almighty God of his mercy let the light of his
" countenance ſhine upon your Majeſty, grant you a proſ-
" perous and happy reign, defend you, and ſave you: and
" let your ſubjects ſay, Amen.

" God ſave the King."

I find no biſhop conſecrated this year.

CHAP. II. 146

A royal Viſitation.

BY theſe and other pious inſtigations of the Archbiſhop, who was of high eſteem with the King, he began early to think of the church, and to take care about rectifying the diſorders of its members. For about April there was a royal viſitation reſolved upon all England over, for the better

A royal viſitation on foot.

BOOK II. Anno 1546.

reformation of religion. And accordingly, in the beginning of May, letters were iſſued out from the King to the archbiſhops, that they and all their fellow-biſhops ſhould forbear their viſitations, as was uſually done in all royal and archiepiſcopal viſitations. And it was enjoined, that no miniſters ſhould preach in any churches but in their own.

Titus B. 2.

In a volume in the Cotton library, there be extant the King's letters to Robert Archbiſhop of York, relating to this viſitation; ſigned by our Archbiſhop, the Duke of Somerſet the Protector, and his brother Sir Thomas Seymour, the Lord Ruſſel, favourers of the reformation; the Lord St. Johns, Petres the Secretary, who went along with it; Gage, Controller of the Houſehold, and Baker, Chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, back-friends to it. I do not ſet down the letter itſelf, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum hath already publiſhed it in his Hiſtory.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 103.

Very worthy, ſober, and learned men were appointed for viſitors, both of the laity and clergy: and there was a book of injunctions prepared, whereby the King's viſitors were to govern their viſitation. The original of which book of injunctions is extant in Benet College library: there I have ſeen them, being ſigned by Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Duke of Somerſet, Sir Thomas Seymour, and divers others of the privy-council; but no biſhop, ſave Cranmer only; he being, I ſuppoſe, the only biſhop then a privy-counſellor; and now often appearing in the council for the better forwarding of religion. Theſe injunctions are printed in Biſhop Sparrow's Collection, and briefly epitomized in the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

Vol. ii. p. 28.

The viſitors.

The perſons nominated for this preſent employment were theſe, as I find them ſet down in a manuſcript, formerly belonging to Archbiſhop Parker, but now in the Benet College library: where you may obſerve the viſitors were divided into ſix ſets, and to each ſet were apportioned particular epiſcopal ſees, and a preacher and a regiſter, in this exact method following.

Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Viſitors.	*Added by Archbiſhop Parker.*	*Counties viſited.*
Dean of Weſtminſter.	Boſton.	York.
Sir John Herſeley, Kt.		Duryſme.
Nicholas Ridley, preacher.		Carlyll.
Edward Plankney, regiſter.		Cheſter.
Sir Anthony Coke, Kt.		
Sir John Godſalve, Kt. [f]		Weſtminſter.
Dr. Chriſtopher Neviſon.	The elder.	London.
John Goſnold.	A lawyer.	Norwich.
Dr. Madewe, preacher.		Ely.
Peter Lylly, regiſter.		
Sir John Hales, Kt.		
Sir John Maſon, Kt.		Rocheſter.
Sir Anthony Cope, Kt.		Canterbury.
Dr. Cave.	A lawyer.	Chicheſter.
Mr. Briggs, preacher.	Once of Pembroke.	Wincheſter.
Rafe Morice, regiſter.		
Dean of Paul's.	Dr. May.	Sariſbury.
Dean of Exeter.	Dr. Hains.	Exeter.
Sir Walter Buckler, Kt.		Bath.
Mr. Cotisford, preacher.		Briſtow.
John Redman, regiſter.	Of Haſlingfeld.	Gloceſter.
Dean of Lincoln.	Dr. Taylor.	Peterburgh.
Dr. Rowland Taylor.		Lincoln.
Mr. John Joſeph.	Once of Canterbury, a friar.	Oxford. Coventry.
John Old, regiſter.		Litchfeld.
Mr. Moriſon.	Once huſband to the Earl of Rutland's wife.	Worceſter.
Mr. Syddel.		Hereford.
Mr. Ferrowr, preacher.	After Ld. Biſhop of St. David's.	Landaff. St. David's.
George Conſtantine, regiſter.		Bangor.
Hue Rawlins, preacher in the Welch tongue.		St. Aſſe.

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[f] He belonged to the office of the ſignet, and was prothonotary.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

Where we may obſerve, that in every company of viſitors was joined one preacher, or more; whoſe buſineſs, in the reſpective circuits, was to preach to the people, to dehort them from the ſuperſtitious uſe of beads and ſuch-like things, and to learn them to worſhip God truly in heart and mind, and to obey the Prince.

The method of this viſitation.

The method which theſe commiſſioners uſed in their viſitation, as we collect from what was done at St. Paul's, London, was this. They ſummoned the biſhop, and the members of each cathedral; and firſt ſware them to renounce the Biſhop of Rome, and to the King's ſupremacy: and then, that they ſhould preſent all things in their church and dioceſe needful to be reformed. Then certain interrogatories and articles of inquiry were read to them by the Regiſter: to perform which, an oath was adminiſtered to them. After that, the printed Injunctions, and others not printed, with the book of Homilies, were delivered, both to the biſhop for his church, and the archdeacons for their reſpective archdeaconries; ſtrictly enjoining them to ſee them ſpeedily executed, reſerving other new injunctions to be miniſtered afterwards, as they ſhould ſee cauſe. Their next work was to examine the canons and prieſts, by virtue of their oaths which they had taken, concerning their lives and doctrines. What was diſcovered in other places concerning the vices of the clergy, we may conclude from what was found among the dignitaries of St. Paul's: for when the canons and prieſts belonging to this church were examined, one of them, named Painter, openly confeſſed that he had often carnally uſed a certain married man's wife, whom he would not name: and divers others, both of the canons and prieſts, confeſſed the ſame of themſelves.

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Fox.

There be remaining, in the archives of the church of Canterbury, the Injunctions of the King's viſitors to the Dean and Chapter there, bearing date September 22, an. 1. Edward VI. ſubſcribed by the viſitors' hands: which Injunctions do all relate to the particular ſtatutes of the church, and are of no other moment.

The Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.

There was now a book of Homilies prepared for preſent uſe, to be read in all churches, for the inſtruction of the people: and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe upon the New Teſtament,

in Engliſh, was to be ſet up in all churches, for the better inſtruction of prieſts in the ſenſe and knowledge of the Scriptures. And both theſe books, by the King's Injunctions aforementioned, were commanded to be taught and learned.

CHAP. III.

Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.

ARCHBISHOP Cranmer found it highly convenient to find out ſome means for the inſtruction of the people in true religion, till the church could be better ſupplied with learned prieſts and miniſters. For which purpoſe he reſolved upon having ſome good homilies or ſermons compoſed, to be read to the people; which ſhould in a plain manner teach the grounds and foundation of true religion, and deliver the people from popular errors and ſuperſtitions. When this was going in hand with, the Archbiſhop ſent his letters to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, to try if he could bring him to be willing to join in this buſineſs; ſhewing him, that it was no more than what was intended by the former King, and a convocation in the year 1542, wherein himſelf was a member, to make ſuch a ſtay of errors, as were then by ignorant preachers ſpread among the people. But this biſhop was not for Cranmer's turn; in his anſwer ſignifying to him, "That ſince that convocation the King his old "maſter's mind changed, and that God had afterwards 149
"given him the gift of pacification," (as he worded it,) meaning, that the King made a ſtop in his once intended reformation. He added, "that there was a convocation that "extinguiſhed thoſe devices, and this was ſtill in force: and "therefore, that now nothing more ought to be done in "church matters." And a copy of this letter he ſent to the Lord Protector, trying to perſuade him alſo to be of his mind.

The Archbiſhop anſwered theſe letters of Wincheſter: wherein he again required theſe homilies to be made, by

The Archbiſhop to Wincheſter concerning the Homilies.

BOOK II.

virtue of that convocation five years before; and defired Wincheſter to weigh things. But he replied, "It was true, they "communed then of ſuch things, but they took not effect at "that time; nor needed they to be put in execution now. "And that in his judgment it could not be done without a "new authority and command from the King's Majeſty." Then he uſed his politics, urging, "that it was not ſafe to "make new ſtirs in religion: that the Lord Protector did well "in putting out a proclamation to ſtop vain rumors; and "he thought it not beſt to enterpriſe any thing to tempt "the people with occaſion of tales, whereby to break the "proclamation. And as in a natural body," he ſaid, "reſt "without trouble did confirm and ſtrengthen; ſo it was in "a commonwealth, trouble travaileth, and bringeth things "to looſeneſs." Then he ſuggeſted the danger the Archbiſhop might involve himſelf in by making alterations: "That he was not certain of his life, (when the old order "was broken, and a new brought in by homilies,) that he "ſhould continue to ſee the new device executed: for it "was not done in a day; he wiſhed there were nothing "elſe to do now. He ſuggeſted, that a new order en-"gendered a new cauſe of puniſhment againſt them that "offend; and puniſhments were not pleaſant to them that "have the execution: and yet they muſt be, for nothing "may be contemned." There were two letters Wincheſter ſent to the Archbiſhop, in anſwer to as many from the Archbiſhop: in which he laboured to perſuade the Archbiſhop not to innovate any thing in religion during the King's minority; and particularly to forbear making homilies, and refuſing for himſelf to meddle therein. An imperfect part of one of theſe letters I have laid in the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it from the original.

Anno 1547. See his letters to the Protector, in Fox.

No. XXXV.

So, when it was perceived that Wincheſter would not be brought to comply and join in with the Archbiſhop and the reſt, they went about the compoſing the homilies themſelves. Cranmer had a great hand in them: and that homily of Salvation particularly ſeems to be of his own doing. This, while he was in compoſing it, was ſhewn to Wincheſter by the Archbiſhop; to which he made this objection: "That he would yield to him in this homily, if they

The Archbiſhop, &c. compoſe homilies.

CHAP. III. Anno 1547.

" could ſhew him any old writer that wrote how faith ex- " cluded charity in the office of juſtification; and ſaid that " it was againſt Scripture." Upon this Canterbury began to argue with him, and to ſhew him how faith excluded charity in the point of juſtifying. And Wincheſter denied his arguments. And, in fine, ſuch was his ſophiſtication, that the Archbiſhop at laſt told him, " He liked nothing, " unleſs he did it himſelf: and that he diſliked the homily for " that reaſon, becauſe he was not a counſellor."

Wincheſter in the Fleet

The council had now put this biſhop in the Fleet for his refractorineſs to the King's proceedings; where, if his complaint to the Lord Protector were true, he was ſomewhat ſtraitly handled: for he was allowed no friend or ſervant, no chaplain, barber, taylor, nor phyſician: a ſign he gave them high provocation. While he was here, the Archbiſhop ſent for him once or twice to diſcourſe with him, and to try to bring him to comply with their proceedings in reforming religion. He dealt very gently with him, and told him, " That he was a man, in his opinion, meet to be " called to the council again: but withal told him, that he " ſtood too much in obſtinacy; that it was perverſe frow- " ardneſs, and not any zeal for the truth:" and laboured to bring him to allow the book, which was now finiſhed, and the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus.

The Biſhop of Wincheſter's cenſure of the homily of Salvation.

The former he could not allow of, becauſe of the doctrine therein by Cranmer aſſerted of juſtification by faith without works: which Cranmer took pains to perſuade him about; telling him, his intent was hereby only to ſet out the freedom of God's mercy. But Wincheſter challenged him to ſhew Scripture for it, or any one ancient writer, that faith in juſtifying excludeth charity. This Wincheſter afterward declared at large to the Lord Protector; and added, that the Archbiſhop in that homily of Salvation had taken ſuch a matter in hand, and ſo handled it, as, if he were his extreme enemy, he would have wiſhed him to have taken that piece in hand, and ſo to have handled it as he did. He repreſented one of the Archbiſhop's arguments for faith excluding charity to be thus, out of that homily; *We be juſtified by faith without all works of the law: Charity is a work of the law:* Ergo, *We are juſtified without charity.* But

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

I warn the reader to conſult the homily itſelf before he paſs his judgment upon Cranmer's argument, as it is here repreſented by one that was none of his friend. In fine, he ſaid, "There were as many faults in that homily of "Salvation as he had been weeks in priſon, and that was "ſeven, beſides the matter, *viz.* making a trouble without "neceſſity."

And of the Archbiſhop for it.

In ſhort, he charged the Archbiſhop "for troubling the "world with ſuch a needleſs ſpeculation as this is; becauſe," he ſaid, "that in baptiſm we are juſtified, being infants, "before we can talk of the juſtification we ſtrive for. For "all men receive their juſtification in their infancy in bap-"tiſm: and if they fall after baptiſm, they muſt ariſe "again by the ſacrament of penance. And ſo this doctrine," he ſaid, "was to be ſent to the univerſities; where it is "meet to be talked and diſputed of, and not fit for ho-"milies." And, to diſparage further the Archbiſhop's judg-ment, he told the Protector, "That if my Lord of Canterbury "would needs travail in this matter, he ſhould never per-"ſuade that faith excluded charity in juſtification, unleſs he "borrowed priſons of the Protector; and then he might "percaſe have ſome to agree to it: as poor men kneel "at Rome when the Biſhop of Rome goeth by, or elſe are "knocked on the head with a halberd." And then he made ſome ſcoffing mention of the ſtrength of God's ſpirit
151 in the Archbiſhop, and his learning in his laws, ſo as to be able to overthrow with his breath all untruths, and eſtabliſh truths. I make no reflection upon all this unſeemly language of this Biſhop, but leave it to the reader to judge hereby of the learning and ſpirit that was in him. And could we have retrieved the Archbiſhop's own arguments and replies to theſe barkings of Wincheſter, they would have left to the world a full vindication of Cranmer and his doctrine.

Wincheſter's cenſure of Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.

As to Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, the ſaid Biſhop pretended, "He found divers things in it to condemn the work: and "that he agreed with them that ſaid, Eraſmus laid the eggs, "and Luther hatched them: and that of all the monſtrous "opinions that have riſen, evil men had a wondrous oc-"caſion miniſtered to them from that book." He alſo wrote to the Protector the particular objections he made againſt

it. He ſaid, "He might term it in one word *Abomination*, CHAP. III. Anno 1547.
"both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of
"Eraſmus's pen; and alſo for the arrogant ignorance of the
"tranſlator of it: conſidering that book was authorized by
"the King, a charge was laid upon the realm of twenty
"thouſand pounds, by enjoining every pariſh to buy one:
"whereof he had made an eſtimate by the probable number
"of buyers, and the price of the book. He charged the
"tranſlator with ignorance, both in Latin and Engliſh; a
"man," he ſaid, "far unmeet to meddle with ſuch a matter,
"and not without malice on his part.

"Finally, the matter he had to ſhew in both the books
"was in ſome part dangerous; and the concealment thereof
"a great fault, if he did not utter it. And that, he pre-
"tended, made him ſome while ago write to the council,
"declaring his mind in relation thereunto." For which he
was ſent to the Fleet.

His account of his commitment.

The true occaſion whereof, as I take it from his own letter, written with his own hand, which I have before me, was this. Upon the departure of the Lord Protector againſt the Scots, the King's viſitors began their viſitation. "Then, "as ſoon as the Biſhop heard of the viſitation, and the "books of Homilies and Injunctions were come to his "hands, he wrote to the council, truſting, upon ſuch ear-"neſt advertiſements as he made, they would incontinently "have ſent for him; and, upon knowledge of ſo evident "matter as he thought he had to ſhew, would have ſtaid "till the Protector's return. He ſaw," as he ſaid, "a deter-"mination to do all things ſuddenly at one time. Where-"unto though the Protector had agreed, yet of his wiſdom, "as the Biſhop conjectured, he had rather theſe matters "ſhould have tarried till his return, had he not been *preſſed* "*on both ſides*, (an expreſſion which the Protector in a letter "to him had uſed.) He reckoned, that if he could have "ſtaid this matter in his abſence, though by bringing him-"ſelf into extreme danger, beſides his duty to God and the "King, he ſhould have done the Protector a pleaſure, of "whom he had this opinion, that willingly and wittingly "he would neither break the act of parliament, nor com-"mand books to be bought by authority, that contained

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"ſuch doctrine as thoſe books did. Thus he had," he ſaid, "remembrance of his Grace in theſe his letters to the coun-"cil; but he chiefly made not his Grace, but God, his foun-"dation, with the preſervation of the late deceaſed King's "honour, and the ſurety of the King then being. His writ-"ing, he confeſſed, was vehement; but he would have none "offended with it, for he wrote it with a whole heart; and "if he could have written it with the blood of his heart, "he would have done it, to have ſtaid the thing till it had "been more maturely digeſted. He touched lively one "point in his letter to the council, and conſidered whether "the King might command againſt a common law, or an "act of parliament; and ſhewed the danger of it in the late "Lord Cardinal, and the Lord Typtoft before him, who "was executed on Tower-hill for acting againſt the laws "of the land, though it were by the King's commiſſion; "and by other precedents.

"Not long after theſe letters of the Biſhop to the coun-"cil, they ſent for him. When he came before them, he "came furniſhed with his trinkets, his ſleeves and boſom "truſſed full of books, to furniſh his former allegations. "He was heard very well, and gently. Then he ſhewed "matter that he thought would have moved them: for "there he ſhewed the two contrary books, [meaning the "Homilies, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe.] But the council "told him they were not moved: and added, that their "conſciences agreed not with his; uſing many good words "to bring him to conformity. After he had been aſide "from them, and was returned again, they entered a pre-"ciſe order with him, either to receive the Injunctions, or "to refuſe. In which caſe, they told him, that the Protec-"tor was privy to what was done there. The Biſhop an-"ſwered, That he would receive them as far as God's law "and the King's would bind him. And becauſe he ſaw "they drew to ſuch preciſeneſs, he told them, there were "three weeks of delay to the coming of the viſitors to him. "In the mean time he offered to go to Oxford, to abide the "diſcuſſionthere. That offer was not allowed. He de-"fired to go to his houſe at London, and have learned men "ſpeak with him there. That was not accepted. He en-

" tered then the allegation of the Goſpel, of the ſervant " that ſaid he would not do a thing, and yet did it: and " ſo, the Biſhop ſaid, it might be, that although he then ſaid " nay, as his conſcience ſerved him, yet he might change, " and was a man that might be tempted. But as his con- " ſcience was then, he thought that God's laws and the " King's letted him. Then they aſked him, if he had " ſpoken to any man of what he found in the books. To " which he anſwered truly, [acknowledging he had;] but " told the Lords, that he thought it hard, unleſs there were " a greater matter than this, to ſend him to priſon for de- " claring his mind beforehand, what he minded to do, be- " fore it had been by him done; who had all the mean time " to repent himſelf."

In the end, the council committed him to the Fleet. Of his behaviour under this cenſure, he hath theſe words; " That he had well digeſted it; and ſo all might be well, " he cared not what became of his body. That he departed " as quietly from them as ever man did, and had endured " with as little grudge. He had learned this leſſon in the " world, never to look backward, as St. Paul ſaith, *ne re-* " *member that is paſt.* That he would never grudge or com- " plain of any thing for himſelf."

To the Lord Protector, to whom he wrote all this account of himſelf, turning his diſcourſe, he ſaid, " That he " thought it very weighty to have theſe books recom- " mended to the realm in the King's name, by his (the Pro- " tector's) direction, ſince the King himſelf knew nothing " of them, and therefore nothing could be aſcribed to him: " and his Grace had been ſo occupied, as all men knew, " that he had no leiſure to peruſe them. And yet of ſuch " ſort were the books, according to the account he had be- " fore written; and that if no man had advertiſed the coun- " cil, as he had, it was becauſe they had not read them as " he had done." 153

In vindication of the learned author of the Paraphraſe, ſo bedaſhed by Wincheſter, I will here uſe the words of him that writ the Epiſtle Dedicatory before the tranſlated Paraphraſe on the Acts. " I cannot but judge, that whoſo are " prompt and haſty condemners of Eraſmus, or eager ad- Eraſmus vindicated.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

" verſaries unto his doctrine, do, under the name and co-
" lour of Eraſmus, rather utter their ſtomach and hatred
" againſt God's word, and the grace of the Goſpel, which
" Eraſmus for his part moſt diligently and moſt ſimply la-
" boureth to bring to light." And to ſuch as ſaid that his doctrine was ſcarcely ſincere, and that he did ſomewhat err, he anſwered, " That Eraſmus, foraſmuch as he was a man,
" and ſo eſteemed himſelf, would that his works ſhould
" none otherwiſe be read or accepted than the writings of
" other mortal men. And that, after his judgment, a little
" trip among ſo many notable good works for the interpre-
" tation of Scripture, and for the help of the ſimple, ſhould
" rather be borne withal, than ſo many good things to be
" either rejected or kept away from the hungry chriſtian
" reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing;
" and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of
" nothing, would have the ignorant to lack ſo much good
" edifying, as may be taken of Eraſmus."

Wincheſter's letter to Somerſet concerning theſe things.

Mention was made a little above of the Biſhop of Wincheſter's objections againſt the Paraphraſe of Eraſmus, ſent by him in a letter to the Lord Protector. This paper I have met with in Sir John Cotton's library; and being ſomewhat long, I have put it into the Appendix: wherein may be ſeen at large the Biſhop's quarrels, both againſt the Paraphraſe and the Homilies; labouring here to ſhew, that the book of Homilies and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe did contradict each other, and therefore could not both be received; and that there were errors in each, and ſo neither ought to be admitted. Moreover, he urged the danger of making alterations in religion contrary to the laws then in force; deſigning thereby, if he could over-perſuade the Protector, to enervate the King's late Injunctions: for the Papiſts, whoſe chief inſtrument was Wincheſter, ſaw it was time now to beſtir themſelves to overthrow theſe proceedings that were in hand, if it were poſſible.

Numb. XXXVI.

The Archbiſhop appoints a thankſgiving for a victory.

When this affair happened between the council and the Biſhop, for which they caſt him into the Fleet, Somerſet the Protector was abſent in an expedition againſt the Scots: by whoſe conduct, in the month of September, God bleſſed the King with a very glorious victory, in a battle fought near

Muſſelburrough. Which redounded much to the Protector's honour, wherein was more danger than he looked for, which gave him the greater occaſion to ſhew his valour: for there were but few loſt on the Engliſh ſide; but fifteen thouſand Scots reckoned to be ſlain, and two thouſand taken priſoners. For this victory a public thankſgiving was thought fit to be celebrated. And the Archbiſhop required of the Biſhop of London to procure a ſermon at St. Paul's, before the Mayor and Aldermen, and immediately after a proceſſion in Engliſh, and *Te Deum*. The Archbiſhop's letter (which will ſhew what the court thought of that good ſucceſs) was as followeth. CHAP. III. Anno 1547. 154

The Archbiſhop to the Biſhop of London. Cranm. Regiſt.

" AFTER our right hearty commendations: whereas it " hath pleaſed Almighty God to ſend the King's Majeſty " ſuch victory againſt the Scots, as was almoſt above the ex- " pectation of man, and ſuch as hath not been heard of in " any part of Chriſtendom this many years: in which vic- " tory above the number of 15000 Scots be ſlain, 2000 " taken priſoners; and among them many noblemen, and " others of good reputation; all their ordnance and bag- " gage of their camp alſo won from them: the King's Ma- " jeſty, with advice of his Highneſs' privy-council, preſently " attending upon his Majeſty's moſt royal perſon, well " knowing this, as all other goodneſs, to be gifts of God, " hath and ſo doth account it; and therefore rendereth " unto him the only glory and praiſe for the ſame: and ſo " hath willed me, not only in his Majeſty's cathedral " church, and other churches of my dioceſe, to give thanks " to Almighty God, but alſo to require, in his name, all " other biſhops in the province of Canterbury to do, or " cauſe to be done, ſemblably in their courſe. Which his " Majeſty's pleaſure I have thought good to ſignify unto " you: requiring you, not only to cauſe a ſermon to be " made in your cathedral church the next holy-day after " receipt hereof, declaring the goodneſs of God, and ex- " horting the people to faith and amendment of life; and " to give thanks to God for this victory; but alſo at the " ſame time, immediately after the ſermon, and in preſence " of the Mayor, Aldermen, and other the citizens of London,

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" to cauſe the proceſſion in Engliſh, and *Te Deum*, to be " openly and devoutly ſung. And that you do alſo cauſe " the like order to be given in every pariſh-church in your " dioceſe, upon ſome holy-day, when the pariſhioners ſhall " be there preſent, with as much ſpeed as you may; not " failing, as you tender his Majeſty's pleaſure. Thus fare " you heartily well. From Oatlands, the 18th day of De- " cember [s], the year of our Lord God 1547.

" Your loving friend,

" Tho. Cantuarien.

" The counſellors' pleaſure is, you ſhall ſee this executed " on Tueſday next, in St. Paul's in London. This be " given in haſte."

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CHAP. IV.

A Convocation.

A convocation in the firſt year of the King.

THE parliament now ſat: and a convocation was held November the 5th. Some account of what was done here I will in this place ſet down, as I extracted it out of the notes of ſome member, as I conceive, then preſent at it.

C. C. C. C. library. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Seſſion I. Nov. 5.

" John Taylor, Dean of Lincoln, choſen Prolocutor by " univerſal conſent."

Seſſ. II. Nov. 18.

" This day the Prolocutor was preſented to the Arch- " biſhop and Biſhops in the upper houſe."

Seſſ. III. Nov. 22.

" It was then agreed, that the Prolocutor, in the name of " the whole houſe, ſhould carry ſome petitions unto the " moſt reverend father in God the Archbiſhop, *viz.*

[s] It ſhould be September, I ſuppoſe.

" I. That provifion be made, that the eccleſiaſtical law " may be examined, and promulged, according to that ſta- " tute of parliament in the 35th year of Henry VIII.

" II. That, for certain urgent cauſes, the convocation of " this clergy may be taken and choſen into the lower houſe " of parliament, as anciently it was wont to be.

" III. That the works of the biſhops and others, who by " the command of the convocation have laboured in exa- " mining, reforming, and publiſhing the divine ſervice, may " be produced, and laid before the examination of this " houſe.

" IV. That the rigour of the ſtatute of paying the King " the firſt-fruits may be ſomewhat moderated in certain ur- " gent clauſes, and may be reformed, if poſſible."

The fourth Seſſion is omitted in the manuſcript, the writer probably being then abſent.

Seſſ. V. Nov. ult.

" This day Mr. Prolocutor exhibited, and cauſed to be " read publicly, a form of a certain ordinance, delivered by " the moſt reverend the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, for the " receiving of the body of our Lord under both kinds, *viz.* " of bread and wine. To which he himſelf ſubſcribed, and " ſome others, *viz.* Mr. Prolocutor; Mr. Cranmer, Arch- " deacon of Canterbury; Mr. May, Mr. Jenyngs, Mr. Wil- " liams, Wilſon, Carleton, &c."

Seſſ. VI. Decemb. 2. 156

" This ſeſſion, all this whole ſeſſion, in number ſixty-four, " by their mouths did approve the propoſition made the laſt " ſeſſion, of taking the Lord's body in both kinds, *nullo re-* " *clamante.*

" The ſame day with conſent were choſen Mr. Dr. Dray- " cot, Bellaſis, Dakyns, Jeffrey, Elize ap Rice, Oking, Pool, " and Ap Harry, to draw up a form of a ſtatute for paying " tithes in cities, &c."

This was a thing the clergy now were very intent upon. For I find in the Archbiſhop's reformation of the eccleſiaſti-

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

cal laws, there is a law made for paying tithes in cities, as was done in London.

Seſſ. VII. Decemb. 9.

" By common conſent were nominated and aſſigned Mr. " Rowland Merick, John ap Harry, John Williams, and " Elizeus Price, DD.LL. to obtain the following effects, *viz.* " That the petition made to have this houſe adjoined to the " lower houſe of parliament, may be granted. *Item*, That a " mitigation of the ſore penalty expreſſed in the ſtatutes " againſt the recuſants, for non-payment of the perpetual " tenths, may be alſo obtained.

" And the ſame day were likewiſe appointed, Mr. Dean " of Wincheſter, and Mr. Dr. Draycot, to accompany Mr. " Prolocutor to my Lord of Canterbury, to know a deter- " minate anſwer, what indemnity and impunity this houſe " ſhall have to treat of matters of religion, in caſes for- " bidden by the ſtatutes of this realm to treat in."

Seſſ. VIII. Dec. 17.

" This day was exhibited a certain propoſition under theſe " words, *viz.* That all ſuch canons, laws, ſtatutes, decrees, " uſages, and cuſtoms, heretofore made, had, or uſed, that " forbid any perſon to contract matrimony, or condemn ma- " trimony already contracted by any perſon, for any vow " or promiſe of prieſthood, chaſtity, or widowhood, ſhall " from henceforth ceaſe, be utterly void, and of none effect. " To which propoſition many ſubſcribed, partly in the af- " firmative, partly in the negative."

In the affirmative,	In the negative,
53 voices.	22 voices.

And here I will inſert a few words, which I take out of a book writ very near this time, and by one who was well acquainted with the affairs of this convocation. " The af- " firmants," ſaith he, " of this propoſition were almoſt treble " ſo many as were the negants. Amongſt which affirmants, " divers were then unmarried, and never afterwards did " take the liberty of marriage; as Dr. Taylor the Biſhop, " Dr. Benſon, Dr. Redman, Dr. Hugh Weſton, Mr. Wot-

Defence of Prieſts' Marriage, p. 268.

" ton, &c. Of them that denied it, notwithſtanding their " ſubſcriptions to the contrary, as few as they were, yet " ſome of them took upon them the liberty of marriage not " long after, as Dr. Oken, Mr. Rayner, Mr. Wilſon, &c."

Dr. Redman's judgment of prieſts' marriage.

This ſubſcription following was made by the hand of John Redman, S. T. P. in this very convocation, who, being abſent this ſeſſion, (for his name is not among the 53,) was deſired to declare his own ſenſe in this point under his own hand, being ſo learned a man, and in ſuch great credit univerſally for his ability in deciding queſtions of conſcience.

" I think that although the word of God do exhort and " counſel prieſts to live in chaſtity, out of the cumber of " the fleſh and the world, that thereby they may the more " wholly attend to their calling: yet the band of containing " from marriage doth only lie upon prieſts of this realm " by reaſon of canons and conſtitutions of the church, and " not by any precept of God's word; as in that they ſhould " be bound by reaſon of any vow, which, in as far as my " conſcience is, prieſts in this church of England do not " make: I think that it ſtandeth well with God's word, that " a man which hath been, or is but once married, being " otherwiſe accordingly qualified, may be made a prieſt. " And I think that foraſmuch as canons and rules made in " this behalf be neither univerſal nor everlaſting, but upon " conſideration may be altered and changed: therefore the " King's Majeſty, and the higher powers of the church, " may, upon ſuch reaſons as ſhall move them, take away " the clog of perpetual continency from the prieſts; and grant " that it may be lawful to ſuch as cannot, or will not, con- " tain, to marry one wife. And if ſhe die, then the ſaid prieſt " to marry no more, remaining ſtill in his miniſtration."

Some larger account of this memorable convocation, eſpecially as to ſome of theſe matters then under their hands, may be read in Biſhop Stillingfleet's Irenicum, publiſhed by him from a manuſcript volume once belonging to Archbiſhop Cranmer. Irenic. p. 387.

The Archbiſhop's influence on the parliament.

In this convocation the Archbiſhop bore the great ſway; and what things were agitated herein, were chiefly by his motion and direction: ſome whereof were turned into laws by the parliament, that was now ſitting, through his active-

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

neſs and influence. As particularly that repeal of the ſtatute of the ſix Articles, and of ſome other ſevere laws, decreeing divers things treaſon and felony, made in the former King's reign. For when the Archbiſhop in the convocation had made a ſpeech to the clergy, exhorting them to give themſelves to the ſtudy of the Scriptures, and to conſider what things in the church needed reformation, that ſo the church might be diſcharged of all popiſh traſh, not yet thrown out; ſome told him, that, as long as the ſix Articles remained, it was not ſafe for them to deliver their opinions. This he reported to the council: upon which they ordered this act of repeal.

Hiſt Ref. vol. i. p. 40.

The communion in both kinds eſtabliſhed. Fox.

By his means alſo another great thing, moved in the convocation, was now ratified, and made a law by this parliament: which was, for the adminiſtration of the communion under both kinds throughout the kingdom of England and Ireland. And upon this the King appointed certain grave and learned biſhops, and others, to aſſemble at Windſor-caſtle, there to treat and confer together; and to conclude upon and ſet forth one perfect and uniform order of communion, according to the rules of Scripture, and the uſe of the primitive church. And this being framed, it was enjoined to be uſed throughout the realm by a proclamation, and all required to receive it with due reverence.

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The Archbiſhop's queries concerning the maſs.

, I meet with a writing of the Archbiſhop, without date, conſiſting of queries concerning the maſs, in order to the aboliſhing it, and changing it into a communion. Which I know not where ſo well to place as here, now the convocation was employed upon this matter: for it ſeems to have been drawn up by the Archbiſhop on purpoſe to be laid before the conſideration of this houſe. The queries were theſe.

"What or wherein John, faſting, giving alms, being bap-
"tized, or receiving the ſacrament of the altar in England,
"doth profit and avail Thomas, dwelling in Italy, and not
"knowing what John in England doth?

"Whether it profit them that be in heaven, and where-
"in?

"Whether it lieth in the faſter, giver of alms, receiver of
"the ſacrament, him that is baptized, to defraud any mem-
"ber of Chriſt's body of the benefit of faſting, alms-deeds,

" baptiſm, or receiving of the ſacrament; and to apply the " ſame benefit to one perſon more than to another.

" What thing is the preſentation of the body and blood " of Chriſt in the maſs, which you call the oblation and ſa- " crifice of Chriſt? And wherein ſtandeth it in act, geſture, " or word; and in what act, geſture, or word?

" Is there any rite or prayer, and expreſſed in the Scrip- " ture, which Chriſt uſed or commanded at the firſt inſtitu- " tion of the maſs, which we be now bound to uſe; and " what the ſame be?

" Whether in the primitive church there were any prieſts " that lived by ſaying of maſs, mattens, and even-ſong, and " praying for ſouls, only? And where any ſuch ſtate of " prieſthood be allowed in the Scriptures, or be meet to be " allowed now?

" For what cauſe were it not expedient nor convenient to " have the whole maſs in the Engliſh tongue?

" Wherein conſiſteth the maſs by Chriſt's inſtitution?

" What time the accuſtomed order began firſt in the " church, that the prieſts alone ſhould receive the ſacra- " ment?

" Whether it be convenient that the ſame cuſtom continue " ſtill within this realm?

" Whether it be convenient that maſſes ſatisfactory ſhould " continue; that is to ſay, prieſts hired to ſing for ſouls de- " parted?

" Whether the Goſpel ought to be taught at the time of " the maſs to the underſtanding of the people being pre- " ſent?

" Whether in the maſs it were convenient to uſe ſuch " ſpeech as the people may underſtand?"

The Archbiſhop aſſiſts at the funeral of the French King.

To proceed to ſome other things wherein our Archbiſhop was this year concerned. In June the church of St. Paul's was hanged with black, and a ſumptuous hearſe ſet up in the choir, and a *Dirige* there ſung for the French King, who deceaſed the March precedent. And on the next day the Archbiſhop, aſſiſted with eight biſhops more, all in rich mitres, and their other pontificals, did ſing a maſs of requiem; and the Biſhop of Rocheſter preached a funeral ſermon. 159 Stow.

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The Marquis of Northampton's divorce committed to the Archbiſhop.

A nice matter was now put by the council to the Archbiſhop, having ſome other biſhops and learned men joined with him, to the number of ten. The caſe was, "Whether "a man divorced from his wife for her adultery might not "lawfully marry again?" This was propounded upon the account of a great man in thoſe times, namely, the brother of Queen Katherine Par, Marquis of Northampton; who had gotten a divorce from his wife, the daughter of Bourchier Earl of Eſſex, for adultery. The canon law would not allow marrying again upon a divorce, making divorce to be only a ſeparation from bed and board, and not a diſſolving the knot of marriage. This was a great queſtion depending among the civilians: and it being committed to the determination of our Archbiſhop, and ſome other delegates, (though the Marquis ſtaid not for their reſolution, but in this interval married Elizabeth, daughter of the Lord Brook,) he ſearched ſo diligently into the Scriptures firſt, and then into the opinions of fathers and doctors, that his collections ſwelled into a volume, yet remaining in the hands of a learned biſhop of this realm; the ſum whereof is digeſted by the Biſhop of Sarum. Cranmer ſeemed to allow of marriage in the innocent perſon.

Biſhop of Wigorn. Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. p. 56.

Proceſſions forbid by his means.

He was a means alſo to the council of forbidding proceſſions: wherein the people carried candles on Candlemas-day, aſhes on Aſh-Wedneſday, palms on Palm-Sunday; becauſe he ſaw they were uſed ſo much to ſuperſtition, and looked like feſtivals to the Heathen gods. So that this year on Candlemas-day, the old cuſtom of bearing candles in the church, and, on Aſh-Wedneſday following, giving aſhes in the church, was left off through the whole city of London.

Stow.

Examines the offices of the church.

He was a member of a committee this winter, appointed to examine all the offices of the church, and to conſider where they needed reformation, and accordingly to reform them. Of this commiſſion were moſt of the biſhops, and ſeveral others of the moſt learned divines in the nation. And a new office for the communion was by them prepared, and by authority ſet forth, as was obſerved before; and received all over England.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1547.

CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop's Catechiſm.

THIS year the Archbiſhop put forth a very uſeful Catechiſm, intituled, *A ſhort Inſtruction to Chriſtian Religion, for the ſingular Profit of Children and young People.* This Catechiſm went not by way of queſtion and anſwer, but contained an eaſy expoſition of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the two Sacraments. The 160 firſt and ſecond Commandments were put together as one, and the whole recital of the ſecond omitted, according to the uſe in thoſe times: but that Commandment is explained under the firſt. The ſubſtance of this book is grave, ſerious, and ſound doctrine. It is ſaid in the title page "to "be overſeen and corrected by the Archbiſhop." Indeed it was a catechiſm wrote originally in the German language, for the uſe of the younger ſort in Norinberg; tranſlated into Latin by Juſtus Jonas, junior, who now was entertained by the Archbiſhop in his family, and thence turned into our vulgar tongue by the ſaid Archbiſhop, or his ſpecial order. But it is certain, ſo great a hand he had therein, that in the Archbiſhop's firſt book of the Sacrament, he ſaid, that it was "tranſlated by himſelf, and ſet forth." Biſhop Gardiner, in his book againſt the Archbiſhop, takes advantage of two things in this Catechiſm againſt him, as though he himſelf, when he put it forth, was of the opinion of the corporal preſence. The one was a picture that ſtood before the book, where was an altar with candles lighted, and the prieſt appareled after the old ſort, putting the wafer into the communicant's mouth. The other is an expreſſion or two uſed ſomewhere in the book, "That with our bodily mouths "we receive the body and blood of Chriſt:" and, "that in "the ſacrament we receive truly the body and blood of "Chriſt:" and, "this we muſt believe, if we will be counted "chriſtian men." But to both Cranmer, in his next book againſt Gardiner, made anſwer, "That as for the picture, it "was that was ſet before the Dutch edition of the book, and "ſo none of his doing; but that he afterwards cauſed the po-

The Archbiſhop puts forth a Catechiſm.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

"piſh picture to be altered into a picture repreſenting Chriſt "eating his laſt ſupper with his diſciples. As for the expreſ- "ſions," he ſaid, "he taught, that we in the ſacrament do re- "ceive the body and blood of Chriſt ſpiritually; and, that "the words *really* and *ſubſtantially* were not uſed, but *truly*." And in his anſwer to Dr. Richard Smith's preface, wrote againſt the ſaid Archbiſhop, who it ſeems had twitted him alſo with this Catechiſm, he ſpake largely of theſe his expreſſions in his own vindication.

And a book againſt Unwritten Verities.

There was another book of the Archbiſhop's againſt Unwritten Verities, which I do by conjecture place here, as put forth under this year, or near this time: which I ſuppoſe Dr. Smith nibbled at in his book of Traditions, which this year he recanted. The book was in Latin, and conſiſted only of allegations out of the Bible and ancient writers. In Queen Mary's days the book was again publiſhed by an Engliſh exile, naming himſelf E. P. The title it now bore was, *A Confutation of Unwritten Verities, by divers Authorities, diligently and truly gathered out of the Holy Scripture and Ancient Fathers; by Tho. Cranmer, late Archbiſhop, and burned at Oxford for the Defence of the true Doctrine of our Saviour. Tranſlated and ſet forth by E. P.* Before it is a preface of the tranſlator to his countrymen and brethren in England. In it he lamented the woful ſtate of things in England, by the reſtoring of popery, and the perſecution of proteſtants there; and ſhewed what a kind of man the chief biſhop then in England, *viz.* Cardinal Pool, was, who in the
161 laſt King's reign went from prince to prince, to excite them to make war againſt his own prince and country.

This treatiſe is but a bare collection of places of holy Scripture, and ancient fathers, to prove, "That the canon of "the Bible is a true, and ſound, and perfect doctrine, con- "taining all things neceſſary to ſalvation: that neither the "writing of the old fathers, without the word of God, nor "general councils, nor the oracles of angels, nor apparitions "from the dead, nor cuſtoms, can be ſufficient in religion "to eſtabliſh doctrine, or maintain new articles of faith." Then reaſons are given againſt unwritten verities, and the places of holy Scripture, and other writers, which the Papiſts bring to maintain unwritten verities, are anſwered. At laſt the

objections of the Papiſts are confuted, in a concluding chapter. Which laſt part was not writ by the Archbiſhop, but by the tranſlator. For relating here the ſtory of the holy maid of Kent, he ſaith, ſhe was examined by Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury. And at laſt he ſaith, "I have plainly and fully anſwered to all that I remember "the Papiſts do, or can allege by writing, preaching, or "reaſoning, for the defence of their unwritten verities; on "which they build ſo many deteſtable idolatries and he-"reſies. But yet, if any be able to anſwer ſo plainly and "truly to the Scriptures, authorities, and reaſons rehearſed "by me, as I have done to theirs, and to prove their "doctrines by as plain teſtimonies and reaſons as I have "done mine, I ſhall not only acknowledge my ignorance "and error, but I ſhall gladly return into England, recant "my hereſies, &c." Hence it is plain, that the concluſion of the book, as well as the preface, was writ by the tranſlator. CHAP. V. Anno 1547.

I will add one paſſage taken out of this book, about the middle, whereby it may be ſeen what a clergy was now in England. Having quoted the canons of the Apoſtles, *Let not a biſhop or deacon put away his wife, &c.* he makes a heavy complaint againſt the frequent practice of beaſtly ſins in the prieſts, adultery, ſodomy, &c. and that they never were puniſhed. "And in my memory," as he proceeds, "which is above thirty years, and alſo by the information "of others, that be twenty years elder than I, I could "never learn that one prieſt was puniſhed." Can. 2.

This is ſome account of the care he took for the church in general as metropolitan. But he had a particular care of his own dioceſe, now his power was not checked, as it was in the former reign, eſpecially of the city of Canterbury; which had been formerly the backwardeſt in religion of any other place of his dioceſe. He ſupplied this city with ſtore of excellent learned preachers, Turner, the two Ridleys, Becon, Beſely, and John Joſeph, who this year went along with the King's viſitors, as one of their preachers. Theſe converted not a few to ſincere religion; as may appear by thoſe numbers of Canterbury that in Queen Mary's reign ſuffered the torment of fire for their profeſſion of the Goſpel. His care of Canterbury.

BOOK II. Anno 1547. But in that reign all the preachers fled, ſo that there was ſcarce one remaining in the city: which was looked upon as a particular ſign of God's diſpleaſure againſt that place, becauſe the profeſſors there, and others, reformed not themſelves according to thoſe opportunities of grace, which God had put into their hands. And ſo I find in a letter to them, wrote by ſome eminent perſon in priſon in Queen Mary's reign: "Alas! how few faithful ſervants hath the "Lord of life in theſe troubleſome days within Canterbury, "to whom above all other people, in compariſon of multi- "tude, he hath ſent moſt plenteouſly his word, in the mouths "of moſt excellent preachers. But even as the people were "negligent, hard-hearted, nothing willing to take the "lively word unto their defence againſt the world, the "devil, and the fleſh——even ſo hath he permitted the "ſame preachers to be diſperſed, that not one of them "ſhould be a comfortable example to ſuch an unkind "people."

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Fox's MSS.

CHAP. VI.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Univerſity.

The Archbiſhop's influence upon the univerſity.

THE Archbiſhop was a great patron of all ſolid learning, being a very learned man himſelf. And knowing very well how much the *libertas philoſophandi*, and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting of the groſs errors and frauds of popery, which could ſubſiſt only in the thick darkneſs of ignorance; theſe things made him always caſt a favourable aſpect upon the univerſities, and eſpecially that of Cambridge, whereof he himſelf was once a member: which the governors, and the reſt of the gremials, very well knew, and therefore did frequently apply to him, as often as they had need of the favour of the court or parliament. Roger Aſcham, Fellow of St. John's College, and one of the florideſt wits of this univerſity, and who ſuc-

ceeded Sir John Cheke in reading the Greek lecture, ſaid of him in a letter he ſent him, (wherein he ſtyled him *Literarum decus et ornamentum*,) "That he was the man "who was accuſtomed to expreſs great joy at the good "progreſs of learning, ſuch was his ſingular good-will "towards it; and when it went otherwiſe than well with it, "he alone could apply a remedy; ſuch was his ſway and "authority." And ſo much was he the known Mecænas of learning, that according to the public encouragement or prejudice it received, ſo the vulgar accounted the praiſe or diſpraiſe thereof to redound upon Cranmer. So that if learning were diſcountenanced, it was eſteemed to caſt ſome diſparagement upon him; if it flouriſhed, it was a ſign that Cranmer prevailed at court. For to that purpoſe do thoſe words of the ſaid Aſcham to the Archbiſhop, in another letter, ſeem to tend: *Nulla hoc tempore literis vel inſperata clades, vel expectata commoditas accidere poteſt, cujus tu non aut author, ad magnam commendationem, aut particeps ad aliquam reprehenſionem, voce ac ſermone omnium jactatus eris.*

CHAP. VI. Anno 1547.

In this year 1547, and in the month of October, there fell out an accident in St. John's College in Cambridge, which made thoſe of that college that favoured learning and religion (as that houſe was the chief nurſery thereof in that univerſity) judge it highly neceſſary to apply themſelves to the Archbiſhop, to divert a ſtorm from them. The caſe was this; a French lad of this college, cizer to one Mr. Stafford there, had one night, in hatred to the maſs, ſecretly cut the ſtring, whereby the pix hung above the altar in the chapel. The like to which was indeed done in other places of the nation by ſome zealous perſons, who began this year, without any warrant, to pull down crucifixes and images out of the churches: as was particularly done in St. Martin's, Ironmonger-lane, London. This affront to the popiſh ſervice made a great noiſe in the college: and the ſober party among them feared the ill effect it might have upon the whole college, either to its diſparagement or prejudice, when the news of it ſhould come to court; eſpecially by the means of ſuch who ſtomached much the decay and downfal of ſuperſtition, and endeavoured what in them lay to obſcure and eclipſe the riſing light of

Some of St. John's College apply to him upon the apprehenſion of a danger.

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the Goſpel. Therefore, after the matter had been taken into examination by themſelves, quietly and without tumult, they thought fit, by conſent, to acquaint the Archbiſhop with it in a letter; which one of their members, Thomas Lever, a learned and grave man, carried; who likewiſe ſhould inform him of all circumſtances: and ſo committed both the cauſe and perſon to his Grace's judgment and cenſure. But withal letting him know, that the youth was well learned, and before this had carried himſelf quietly and modeſtly; and that Mr. Stafford, who was a great ſtudent, could not tell how to be without him: but however, ſuch was his prudence, that he was willing to leave his ſcholar and his fault to the Archbiſhop's diſcretion. By which meſſage they warily avoided the odium of this action, as though they had countenanced any violent or illegal methods for the removal of ſuperſtition, before it were done by public authority; and likewiſe reſcued their ſcholar from expulſion, or too rigorous puniſhment, which ſome in the college would have been apt to inflict upon him, had not the matter been thus prudently removed from them.

Offended with ſome of this college, and why.

Let me here inſert another matter that happened the year after in the ſame college; whereat divers took occaſion ſo to repreſent it to our Archbiſhop, as to create in him, as much as they could, an ill opinion of the better ſort of the members thereof. About November or December, in the year 1548, ſome of the college got this queſtion to be diſputed in the chapel concerning the maſs, *Ipſane cœna dominica fuerit, necne?* It was handled with great learning by two learned fellows of the houſe, Thomas Lever and Roger Hutchinſon. The noiſe of this ſoon ſpread in the univerſity; and many were much diſpleaſed at it. At laſt Aſcham, being a very fit perſon to undertake it, was prevailed with by the reſt to bring this queſtion out of the private walls of the college, into the public ſchools: yet, as was pretended, with this mind and meaning, not dogmatically to aſſert any thing, but modeſtly and freely to learn from learned men what could be fetched out of the holy Scriptures to defend the maſs, which had taken up, not only the chiefeſt place in religion, and men's conſciences, but took away in effect all the uſe and benefit of the faithful miniſtry of the word and

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ſacraments from chriſtians. This buſineſs they ſet about with quietneſs; they conferred their common ſtudies together, propounded to themſelves the canonical Scriptures, by the authority whereof they wiſhed the whole might be decided: they took alſo along with them, concerning this matter, the ancient canons of the early church, the councils of fathers, the decrees of popes, the judgments of doctors, the great plenty of queſtioniſts, all the modern authors, both German and Roman. But this deſign of theirs was not only the ſubject of talk in the univerſity, but noted in the public ſermons; and ſuch labour there was among ſome in oppoſition to it, that Dr. Madew, then Vicechancellor, was prevailed with by his letters to forbid the diſputation. They obeyed, but took it hardly that they might not as well diſpute in favour of the queſtion, as others might preach as much as they would againſt it. But it ended not here; for their adverſaries induſtriouſly carried the report hereof to our prelate, and did ſo blacken the buſineſs by their ſlanders, and loud and tragical clamours, that he became ſomewhat offended with the undertakers. Theſe on the other hand, no queſtion, applied themſelves to him with their juſt defence: and not only to him, but to others, and particularly to Mr. Cecyl, one formerly their colleague, who was now Maſter of Requeſts to the Protector, letting him know the whole matter; that he might upon occaſion repreſent the cauſe the more favourably to the Archbiſhop. And Aſcham himſelf was their ſcribe; whoſe epiſtle, penned in a handſome Latin ſtyle, being not extant among his printed epiſtles, and being ſubſervient to the hiſtory of the univerſity in thoſe times, I have thought worthy to be inſerted among the originals. In this letter he charged the other party as well with malice as ignorance: for this their queſtion was very agreeable to Thomas Aquinas, who proved that the maſs exceeded the Lord's ſupper in many prerogatives, and much differed from it by many notes; as, women, children, baſtards, maimed perſons, were not allowed to partake of the maſs, but they were received to the holy ſupper. So that ſhould any ſay (as he proceeds in his letter) that the maſs and the ſupper were the ſame, they might exclaim againſt them much more. Their adverſaries had charged

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them with being too raſh, in not ſtaying for what reformation the ſtate ſhould make: but he ſaid, that all Cambridge wanted rather ſpurs to put them forward, than a bridle to keep them back. But though their diſpute were prohibited, yet their ſtudies upon the ſame argument had in a manner increaſed; having now written a juſt treatiſe of the maſs, which they intended ſhortly to preſent to the Protector; and waited only for Cecyl's and Cheke's advice therein. But I muſt beg pardon of the reader for this excurſion.

The ill condition and low eſtate of the univerſity.

And as I have given an inſtance or two of the private addreſs of a particular college to him in a particular caſe, ſo I will ſubjoin another more public of the univerſity in general. In the year above ſaid, being the firſt year of the King, the univerſity laboured under the fears of the encroachments of the town upon their privileges, and likewiſe under great ſuſpicions of being ſpoiled of its revenues, or at leaſt of having them much diminiſhed; ſhe having obſerved how
165 thoſe of her ſiſter, the church, were daily invaded by ſecular hands. Theſe fears put Cambridge now in a decaying ſtate, and the ſtudies of good literature began to be but little minded. Add alſo hereunto, that eccleſiaſtical preferments, which formerly were the peculiar rewards of academics, were now ordinarily enjoyed by mere unlearned laymen.

Hiſt. Reform. Part ii. p. 8.

So the Earl of Hartford held a deanery, a treaſurerſhip of a cathedral church, and four of the beſt prebends; and his ſon three hundred pounds a year out of a biſhoprick. And learned men were ſeldom taken notice of, or had honours conferred on them; and if they obtained any rewards, they were but ſmall. Nor were ſcholars now in any repute or value: ſo that neither poor nor rich abode long at their ſtudies in the univerſity, to attain to any conſiderable degrees of learning. The poor could not, becauſe the encouragements there were ſcarce capable to maintain them; and the richer ſort would not, chooſing rather to follow ſome other courſe, becauſe of the obſcure and neglected condition learning then lay under. The grammar ſchools alſo became diſuſed, parents chooſing any other calling for their children, rather than to bring them up to letters: as Roger Aſcham, a man that well knew the ſtate of the univerſity, complains in a letter to the Marquis of Northampton. This was the

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cauſe that the ſaid Aſcham penſively thus writ unto our Archbiſhop not long after. "That the univerſity was then "in ſo depreſſed and drooping a condition, that very few "had hope of coming thither at all, and fewer had any "comfort to make long tarrying when they were there: "and that abroad it retained not ſo much as the ſhadow of "its ancient dignity."

An addreſs of the univerſity to the Archbiſhop.

At this low ebb the univerſity now was, when King Edward the Sixth came to the ſceptre. But there being a parliament this year in the month of November, the chief officers thereof thought it adviſable however to prevent it, if they could, from ſinking lower, and to keep at leaſt what they had, by getting their ancient privileges confirmed by that parliament. And for this purpoſe they writ their earneſt letters to the Archbiſhop: John Madew their Vicechancellor, the bearer, urging to him, "not only that it was a The ſum thereof. "thing uſual at the beginning of Princes' reigns, to ſhew "that favour to the univerſity to have their privileges re-"newed by parliament; but chiefly, that the favour his "Grace ſhould do to it would be a true piece of ſervice to "the religion which he had ſuch a tender care of. That "every one knew how much it concerned the common-"wealth that account ſhould be made of learning; but how "much it concerned the pure religion, (as they ſtyled that "of the reformation,) he alone did conſider above all others. "That he knew how that about five hundred years paſt, or "more, the knowledge of letters, by the fault of Kings, "who ought to have cheriſhed it, began to withdraw itſelf "from men, and to hide itſelf in darkneſs. In which dark "times, ſo involved in ignorance, that notable wild boar out "of the wood ſpoiled the vineyard of Chriſt above meaſure: "not only treading down the kings of the earth, and con-"ferring upon himſelf the empire of the world, but ſo in-"vaded and broke into the holy ſeat and temple of conſci-"ence, that now there were ſcarce any manners of men, "any courſe of life, any rite of ceremonies, any ſacrament 166 "of the church, any footſtep of Chriſt, which were not ei-"their laid waſte by his thunder, or defiled by his breath: "or, to ſpeak in milder, but more ſignificant terms with St. "Paul, which were not moſt foully corrupted and adulte-

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"rated by the wiſdom of human will-worſhip. That it was "this night of diſcipline, and want of knowledge, which "robbed us of God's word, and advanced the empire of "man's doctrine to that arbitrary height, that, inſtead of the "true worſhip of God, the right uſing of things divine, a "holy and pure courſe of life; hypocriſy, idolatry, and "adultery were moſt cunningly conveyed and brought in. "That they did the more willingly mention this peſt of ig-"norance, conceiving great hope that the honour of learning "would be reſtored anew, now when all things tended in a "wonderful manner to the illuſtrating of true religion, "which good learning did neceſſarily accompany. And "that ſince God had now raiſed him up on purpoſe for the "reſtoring of the Goſpel, and had ſo long reſerved him for "that end, they doubted not but he would give all his pains "and authority to preſerve the welfare of learning. And "that ſomewhat for this reaſon, becauſe at that time there "could happen no calamity or advantage thereunto, but "every man would be apt either to charge him with the "blame of the one, or attribute to him the praiſe of the "other." This eloquent letter, indited by the pen of Aſcham, then the univerſity orator, having ſome remarkable paſſages of the ſtate of the univerſity at that time, and of the great ſway the Archbiſhop then carried in the public, and the marvellous good-will he was eſteemed to bear towards learning, I have therefore placed in the Appendix, though printed before.

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The ſucceſs of the univerſity's addreſs to him and others.

This favour of having their privileges confirmed, ſued for in the forementioned letter, the univerſity then got, partly by the means of their cordial patron the Archbiſhop, and partly by the interceſſion and friendſhip of Queen Katherine Par, a great favourer of learning and pure religion, of Wriotheſly Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir William Paget; to all whom at that time they addreſſed their letters: whether it were out of fear of the difficulty of getting the thing done, or to take this opportunity to obtain the countenance of the great men of the court.

Another addreſs to him againſt the townſmen.

Some time after, upon another occaſion, the heads of the univerſity made another application to their patron the

Archbiſhop; which was, to befriend them at court againſt the townſmen, their old enemies, who were now wreſting from them one of their ancient undoubted privileges; namely, the uſe of the priſons of the Tollbooth and caſtle. The occaſion was this: in the time of Sturbridge fair, the proctors, upon great complaints made to them, going their rounds one night, had taken certain evil perſons in houſes of ſin, and had brought them to the Tollbooth, in order to the commitment of them there. But having ſent to the Mayor for the keys, he abſolutely refuſed to part with them. So they were fain to carry their priſoners to the caſtle, where they left them in cuſtody. But the Mayor's ſon, after an hour or two, let them all out, to return, if they pleaſed, to their former lewdneſs; to the breach of law, and affront of the magiſtrate. Upon this the univerſity ſent their letters to the Archbiſhop, making certain of their grave members the bearers, to relate the matter more fully; earneſtly requiring that ſuch inſolence might be puniſhed: and that the King and his council would make ſuch men feel what it was to violate laws, and to cheriſh impunity, and to break their oaths, which they had taken to maintain the univerſity privileges. They urged to him, "how ſerviceable and ready "their univerſity had been to him in his pious labours and "counſels, in eſtabliſhing the true doctrine in the church; "and what fit and worthy men they had ſent him for his aſ-"ſiſtance in that good work. In like manner they required "and expected of him, that their dignity might be main-"tained and preſerved by his aid and authority. That the "univerſity was then but in a low condition, and that "abroad it ſcarcely retained the ſhadow of its former glory. "But if at home, and within itſelf, the bonds and ſinews of "its ſafety ſhould thus be cut, as not to have a power to "reſtrain vice by impriſonment, what could the kingdom, "religion, and the King's Majeſty hope for any more from "that univerſity? They inculcated, how learning and the "true religion riſe and fall together; and that if it went "otherwiſe than well with the one, the other would feel "the ſmart of it. And truly," ſay they, "no remarkable "damage can light upon the ſtudies of learning, which by "the ſame motion draws not along with it the true religion

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"into the ſame cataſtrophe." And theſe conſiderations they made uſe of, to excite his Grace to aſſiſt them in vindicating their privileges, and in having that groſs infringement of them puniſhed. Upon the ſame occaſion they wrote their letters alſo to Sir William Paget, a great friend of theirs, and eminent patron of good learning. What the iſſue of theſe applications was, I find not; but may conclude, they received a ſucceſs proportionable to the good will and authority of thoſe to whom they were made.

Roger Aſcham's application to him for a diſpenſation for eating fleſh.

And as the whole body of the univerſity knew what favour our prelate bore to it, ſo every ſingle ingenious member confided in him, and applied to him in their needs. Roger Aſcham, the univerſity orator, whom I had occaſion to mention before, was a man of a weak conſtitution, and had contracted more frailty by reaſon of a long ague that then hung about him, and his complexion became melancholy by the relicts of that ſtubborn diſtemper. He had alſo in his nature a great averſeneſs to the fiſh-diet. Upon theſe reaſons he addreſſed his letters to the Archbiſhop with an humble ſuit, very handſomely penned, that he might be diſpenſed with as to abſtinence from fleſh-meats, Lent and fiſh-days, being then ſtrictly obſerved in the colleges. And this licence he deſired might be not only temporary, but perpetual, as long as he lived; which was ſomewhat extraordinary. But to incline the Archbiſhop to yield to his ſuit, he told him, "That it was not to pamper his fleſh, nor "out of an affectation of doing that which was unuſual, or "againſt common cuſtom, but only for the preſerving his "health, and that he might the more freely purſue his "ſtudies." He added, "That the air of Cambridge was
168 "naturally cold and moiſt, and ſo the fiſh-diet the more "unwholeſome. He deſired therefore, that by his authority "he might no longer be tied by that tradition, which for-"bad the uſe of certain meats at certain times." He ſaid, "That thoſe who granted this liberty to none but ſuch as "laboured under a deſperate diſeaſe, did like them who "never repaired their houſes but when they were juſt ready "to fall down by age. Thrifty houſekeepers did other-"wiſe: ſo did ſkilful phyſicians, who did not uſe to pre-"ſcribe their phyſic when it was too late, but always put a

" ſtop to beginnings. That they who never would impart " the uſing of this liberty (of eating fleſh) to any, but when " all health was deſpaired of, knew not what good a pru- " dent foreſight did in all commonwealths, and did too in- " ſolently abuſe a good thing beſtowed upon us by God, " when little or no uſe at all could be made of it. Nay, " that ſuch a good was no good at all, being external, but " in that reſpect only, as there might ſome uſe be made of " it. That we ought not therefore unprofitably to abuſe " food to diſeaſes that are deſperate, but to accommodate it " to the preſervation of health. And ſo did St. Paul com- " mand, *Therefore I exhort you to take ſome food, for this " is for your health.*" Then he ſubjoins a paſſage of Herodotus in his Euterpe, concerning the Egyptian prieſts, from whom iſſued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always converſant in learned ſtudies. Theſe, ſaith that author, religiouſly tied themſelves ever to abſtain from all eating of fiſh. " No doubt for this only cauſe," ſaith Aſcham; " *Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præſtantia, ullo " frigido ſucco, quem eſus piſcium ingeneraret, extingueretur.* " That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality " in them, might not be quenched by ſome cold juice, " which the eating of fiſh might engender. And that it " was ſomewhat unjuſt," he adds, " that when ſo many " kinds of ſuperſtition flowed in ſuch a plentiful meaſure " from the Egyptians, as might eaſily be proved, and thence " derived themſelves, firſt to the Greeks, then to the Ro- " mans, and afterwards to our times, through that ſink " of popery, that that ſingle worthy counſel and remedy of " thoſe moſt learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and " ſpreading of learning, ſhould be debarred us to follow; " and that by ſuch as were either unlearned themſelves, " or ſuperſtitious men: whereby the beſt wits received " ſo great prejudice and damage. That none knew better " than his Lordſhip whence this cuſtom aroſe, by whom " cheriſhed, and by what kind of men brought down to " us. And, laſtly, how unwholeſome and unfit all eating of " fiſh was in the ſpring-time. And that he might obtain " this favour, he would uſe it without giving offence, or

BOOK II. "making any common ſpeech of it, with quietneſs and "ſilence, with abſtinence and thankſgiving."

Anno 1547. Favourably granted by the Archbiſhop.

This letter he got his friend Poinet, the Archbiſhop's chaplain, (the ſame I ſuppoſe who after was Biſhop of Wincheſter,) to put into his Grace's hand, and to further his requeſt what he could. The iſſue whereof was to his heart's deſire: for though the Archbiſhop knew him not, nor was eaſily drawn to diſpenſe with the church's ancient diſcipline and rites; yet he received his ſuit with all hu-
169 manity; and ſuch he found to be the modeſty and ingenuity of the man, and what he requeſted to be grounded upon ſuch reaſonable and juſt cauſes, that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out of his power to grant a licence of that latitude, to diſcharge a perſon for all time to come from the obligation of keeping Lent, or to avert the cenſure he might incur if he ſhould have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of law rather than religion, he put himſelf to the trouble of procuring the King's licence under the Privy Seal for this man: and when he had done that, conſidering an academic's poverty, he releaſed him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himſelf: and ſo conveyed it to him by Dr. Tayler, the Maſter of his college.

The Archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent.

And indeed the Archbiſhop's opinion concerning Lent made way for his more ready yielding to Aſcham's requeſt: for he held the keeping of Lent as founded in a poſitive law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it neceſſary that ſo the people ſhould be taught and inſtructed. As appears by his articles of viſitation in the ſecond year of King Edward: one whereof ran thus; "That inquiry ſhould be "made, whether the curates had declared, and to their wit "and power had perſuaded the people, that the manner and "kind of faſting in Lent, and other days in the year, was "but a mere poſitive law: and that therefore all perſons, "having juſt cauſe of ſickneſs, or other neceſſity, or being "licenſed by the King's Majeſty, may moderately eat all "kind of meat, without grudge or ſcruple of conſcience."

Aſcham acquaints him with the

The ſame Aſcham, knowing well how the Archbiſhop's mind ſtood affected to Cambridge, his old nurſe, and how

well he wiſhed it for the ſake of religion, acquainted him with the ſtate of the univerſity about the beginning of King Edward's reign, and the courſe of the ſtudies that were then uſed. "That there were very many began to affect the ſtudy "of divinity." [A new ſtudy, it ſeems, then; the Pope's laws and the ſchoolmen having before employed the heads of almoſt all.] "That the doctrines of original ſin and "predeſtination were much canvaſſed: but many went "rather according to Pighius, highly applauding him, than "according to St. Auguſtin, though he exceeded all others "that either went before, or followed after him, for the "excellency of his wit and learning, and the greatneſs of "his induſtry and opportunities. That others among them "made the reading of God's word their daily exerciſe: and "for the helping their underſtandings in the ſenſe of it, "they made uſe of, and adhered to, the judgment of St. "Auguſtin chiefly; and ſtudied hard the tongues. The "knowledge of languages began to be affected: and ſuch "as ſtudied them were reckoned the beſt maſters; as qualify-"ing them beſt for teaching of others, or underſtanding "themſelves. That for oratory, they plied Plato and Ari-"ſtotle; from whoſe fountains among the Greeks, *loquens "illa prudentia*, (as he ſtyled oratory,) *that ſpeaking prudence* "might be fetched. And to theſe among the Latins they "added Cicero. They converſed alſo in Herodotus, Thu-"cydides, and Xenophon, the three lights of chronology, "truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought a great "luſtre to their other ſtudies. The Greek poets, which "they took delight in, were Homer, Sophocles, and Euripi-"des; the one the fountain, the two others the ſtreams, "of all eloquence and learned poetry: which, they were "of opinion, did more largely water their other ſtudies "than Terence or Virgil; which in ſome former years "were chiefly read." Thus was the method of univerſity ſtudies altered (ſo much for the better) from reading the ſchoolmen, and metaphyſical niceties, the Pope's canons and decretals, to converſe in politer and more manly learning, which tended ſo much to ſolid knowledge, and preparation of men's minds to the entertainment of the Goſpel.

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preſent ſtate of the univerſity, as to their ſtudies. Epiſtol. libro 2.

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BOOK II.

Anno 1547. Sir John Cheke, the Archbiſhop's dear friend, the prime inſtrument of politer ſtudies there.

The great ſetter on foot of this ingenuous learning in the univerſity was Sir John Cheke, of St. John's College, now preferred to be the King's tutor; a perſon for whom the Archbiſhop had a very tender love and affectionate kindneſs. For ſo Aſcham writ to him in his former letter: "That "many had addicted themſelves to this courſe of ſtudy by "the aid and conduct, example and counſel, of that excellent "man: and that they bore the better his going from "them to the court, who had brought them on in ſo good "a courſe, becauſe they knew their diſprofit was abun-"dantly recompenſed by the profit and ſafety that would "accrue to the whole commonwealth by him." Applying that of Plato to him, *Plurimum reipublicæ intereſſe, ut unus aliquis exiſtat ſemper præſtans excellenſque vir, ad cujus virtutis imitationem, cæteri voluntate, induſtria, ſtudio, et ſpe erecti, totos ſeſe effingant et accommodent.*

The impediments of the univerſity's flouriſhing ſtate laid before him.

Afterwards he acquainted the moſt reverend perſon, to whom he wrote, with thoſe things which proved great hindrances to the flouriſhing eſtate of the univerſity; that by his counſel and authority, if poſſible, they might be redreſſed. And they were two. "The one was, that they "wanted elderly men, very few ſuch remaining among "them, by whoſe example the younger ſort might be ex-"cited to ſtudy, and by whoſe authority the manners of "the reſt might be rightly formed and faſhioned. The "other impediment was occaſioned by ſuch as were ad-"mitted: who were for the moſt part only the ſons of rich "men, and ſuch as never intended to purſue their ſtudies to "that degree as to arrive at any eminent proficiency and "perfection in learning, but only the better to qualify "themſelves for ſome places in the ſtate, by a ſlighter and "more ſuperficial knowledge. The injury accruing thence "to the univerſity was double; both becauſe, by this means, "all hope of ripe and completed learning was immaturely "cut off in the very bud; and alſo all the expectations of "the poorer ſort, whoſe whole time was ſpent in good "ſtudies, was eluded by theſe drones occupying thoſe places "and preferments which more properly belonged unto "them: for parts, learning, poverty, and election, were of

" no ſtrength at home, where favour and countenance, and " the letters of noblemen, and ſuch-like extraordinary and " illegal courſes from abroad, bore all the ſway." CHAP. VI. Anno 1547.

CHAP. VII. 171

Dr. Smith and others recant.

AND now, before I conclude this year, let me paſs from more public matters, and preſent the reader with two or three paſſages, wherein the Archbiſhop had to do with private men.

May the 15th, Richard Smith, D. D. Maſter of Whitting- ton College, and reader of divinity in Oxford, a hot turbulent man, made his recantation at Paul's Croſs, convinced and moved thereunto by the pains of the Archbiſhop. What his errors were, that he had publicly vented in the univerſity, and in his writings, may be known by the words of his recantation, which were theſe: Dr. Smith recants at Paul's Croſs.

" I do confeſs and acknowledge, that the authority, as " well of the Biſhop of Rome, whoſe authority is juſtly and " lawfully aboliſhed in this realm, as of other biſhops, and " others called the miniſters of the church, conſiſteth in the " diſpenſation and miniſtration of God's word, and not in " making laws, ordinances, and decrees over the people, " beſides God's word, without the conſent and authority of " the prince and people. I ſay and affirm, that within this " realm of England, and other the King's dominions, there " is no law, decree, ordinance, or conſtitution eccleſiaſtical, " in force, and available by any man's authority, but only " by the King's Majeſty's authority, or of his parliament."

This man had wrote two books in favour of popiſh doctrine; and thoſe he alſo now diſclaimed, *viz.* A book of traditions, and another of the ſacrifice of the maſs. In the former of which he maintained, "That Chriſt and his Apoſtles " taught and left to the church many things without writ- " ing; which," he aſſerted, " were ſtedfaſtly to be believed, " and obediently fulfilled, under pain of damnation." In the His books.

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other book he maintained, "that Chriſt was not a prieſt "after the order of Melchizedeck, when he offered himſelf "upon the croſs for our ſins, but after the order of Aaron: "and that when Chriſt did offer his body to his Father, "after the order of Melchizedek, to appeaſe his wrath, it "was to be underſtood not of the ſacrifice of the croſs, but "of the ſacrifice that he made at his maundy, in form of "bread and wine." In which book were other errors. He that is minded to ſee his recantation of theſe his books, may have it in the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it out of an old book made by Becon, intituled, *Reports of certain Men.* This recantation he not long after made at Oxon, *viz.* in Auguſt following: where he alſo proteſted openly, "That "he would abide in the ſincere and pure doctrine of Chriſt's "Goſpel, all human trifling traditions ſet apart, even unto "death, though it ſhould coſt him his life." And this recantation he alſo printed, for further ſatisfaction to the world.

Num. XXXIX.

Gardiner offended with this recantation.

Biſhop Gardiner, who was now at Wincheſter, was very uneaſy at the news of this recantation, which ſome took care to bring down to him. He ſignified to the Protector, "That Smith was a man with whom he had no familiarity, "nor cared for his acquaintance: that he had not ſeen "him in three years, nor talked with him in ſeven. He "was greatly diſpleaſed with the firſt words of his recanta- "tion, (which yet were but the words of Scripture,) *Omnis "homo mendax:* making all the doctors in the church (as "he inferred) to be liars with himſelf: how it argued his "pride; for he that ſought for ſuch company in lying, had "ſmall humility; and that he would hide himſelf by that "number: that his depraving of man's nature in that ſort "was not the ſetting out of the authority of Scripture." He ſaid, "he neither liked his tractation, nor yet his retractation. "That he was mad to ſay in his book of Unwritten Verities, "that biſhops in this realm could make laws, wherein," he ſaid, "he lied loudly." About this time Chadſey, Standiſh, Yong, Oglethorp, and divers others, recanted, (whoſe recantations Fox had by him to ſhew,) as well as Smith, whom we have now before us.

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Pſal. cxvi. 11.

Other univerſity-men recant.

After this recantation he carried not himſelf according to

it; but favoured the old errors: and in the year 1549. offered ſome affront unto Archbiſhop Cranmer, oppoſing him in the doctrine of the lawfulneſs of prieſts' marriage, and endeavoured to make a rout in Oxford, to the endangering Peter Martyr's life: and printed a book the ſame year againſt him, *De Votis Monaſticis*. Whereupon incurring, as he apprehended, ſome danger, he fled into Scotland. But weary of being there, and willing to have his peace made in England, he wrote two letters to the Archbiſhop from thence; profeſſing that he would out of hand, by open writing in the Latin tongue, revoke all that erroneous doctrine which he had before taught and publiſhed, and ſet forth the pure doctrine of Chriſt: and, for a proof hereof, he would ſtraight after his return into England ſet forth a book in Latin, in defence of the moſt lawful marriage of prieſts. In the year 1550, he wrote certain treatiſes againſt Peter Martyr, printed at Lovain: and the ſame year came out his book againſt the Archbiſhop's treatiſe of the ſacrament.

CHAP. VII. Anno 1547. Smith affronts the Archbiſhop.

This man was of a moſt inconſtant, as well as turbulent ſpirit: for in the reign of Queen Mary he turned to the religion then profeſſed; and was great with Biſhop Boner in thoſe times, but greatly deſpiſed for his fickleneſs. He once attempted to diſcourſe with Hawks in Boner's houſe in London; Hawks threw in his diſh his recantation. To which when he ſaid it was no recantation, but a declaration; the other gave him this rub: "To be ſhort, I will know, whether "you will recant any more ere ever I talk with you, or "believe you?" and ſo departed from him. We ſhall hear of him again in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when he again complied, and ſubmitted himſelf to Archbiſhop Parker: and laſt of all returned to his old opinions, and fled to Lovain.

His inconſtancy.

Paſs we from this man to another of the ſame ſtrain, with whom the Archbiſhop had to do. As the popiſh clergy in the former King's reign had made all the rudeſt and eagereſt oppoſition they dared againſt the ſteps that were then made towards a reformation, ſo they ceaſed not to do in this King's; nay, and more, hoping to ſhelter themſelves under a

The Archbiſhop's admonition to the Vicar of Stepney.

BOOK II. Anno 1547. Foxii MSS. 173

milder government. One inſtance of this appeared in what was done by the *quondam* Abbot of Tower-hill, London: who, for ſome recompenſe of the loſs of his abbey, was made Vicar of Stepney-church; ſucceeding, I ſuppoſe, Mr. Hierom, burnt to death in the year 1540, with Dr. Barnes and Garret. He being a bold man, and addicted to the old ſuperſtition, would commonly diſturb the preachers in his church, when he liked not their doctrine, by cauſing the bells to be rung when they were at the ſermon; and ſometimes beginning to ſing in the choir before the ſermon were half done; and ſometimes by challenging the preacher in the pulpit: for he was a ſtrong, ſtout, popiſh prelate. Whom therefore the godly-diſpoſed of the pariſh were weary of, and eſpecially ſome of the eminenteſt men at Limehurſt, whoſe names were Driver, Ive, Poynter, March, and others. But they durſt not meddle with him, until one Underhil, of the band of Gentlemen-Penſioners, of a good family, and well reſpected at court, came to live at Limehurſt. He, being the King's ſervant, took upon him to reprehend this Abbot for theſe and ſuch-like his doings: and by his authority carried him unto Croyden to the Archbiſhop there, the perſons above named going along as witneſſes. In fine, the mild Archbiſhop ſent him away with a gentle rebuke, and bade him to do no more ſo. This lenity offended Underhil, who ſaid, "My Lord, methinks you are "too gentle unto ſo ſtout a Papiſt." To which Cranmer replied, "Well, we have no law to puniſh them by." "No "law, my Lord?" ſaid the other. "If I had your authority, "I would be ſo bold to unvicar him, or miniſter ſome ſharp "puniſhment upon him, and ſuch other. If ever it come to "their turn, they will ſhew you no ſuch favour." "Well," ſaid the good Archbiſhop, "if God ſo provide, we muſt "abide it." "Surely," replied the other again, "God will "never con you thanks for this, but rather take the ſword "from ſuch as will not uſe it upon his enemies." And ſo they parted. And this indeed was the conſtant behaviour of the Archbiſhop towards Papiſts, and ſuch as were his enemies. For which he was now, and at other times, taxed by men of hotter ſpirits: but his opinion was, that clemency

and goodneſs, as it was more agreeable to the Goſpel, which he laboured to adorn, ſo was more likely to obtain the ends he deſired, than rigour and auſterity. CHAP. VII. Anno 1547.

The Archbiſhop did one thing more this year of good conducement to the promoting true religion, and expoſing falſe: and that was in countenancing and licenſing an earneſt preacher in the ſouth-weſt parts, named Thomas Hancock, a maſter of arts, whoſe mouth had been ſtopped by a ſtrict inhibition from preaching in the former King's reign. The Archbiſhop ſaw well what a uſeful man he had been in thoſe parts of England where he frequented, having been a very diligent preacher of the Goſpel, and declaimer againſt papal abuſes, in the dioceſes of two bigoted biſhops, Gardiner of Wincheſter, and Capon of Sarum. In this firſt year of the King, many zealous preachers of the Goſpel, without ſtaying for public orders from above, earneſtly ſet forth the evangelical doctrine, in confutation of the ſacrifice of the maſs, and the corporal preſence in the ſacrament, and ſuch like. And of the laity there were great numbers every where, eſpecially in populous towns, of ſuch as did now more openly ſhew their heads, and their good inclinations to the *new learning*, as it was then called. In South- 174
ampton, of the dioceſe of Wincheſter; in Saliſbury, Pool, and Dorſet, of the dioceſe of Sarum; did this Hancock chiefly converſe and officiate in the latter end of King Henry: when he was ſuſpended *a celebratione divinorum*, Foxii MSS. by Dr. Raynold, Commiſſary under Dr. Steward, then Chancellor to Biſhop Gardiner, upon pretence of the breach of the act of ſix Articles; becauſe he had taught, out of the ninth to the Hebrews, "That our Saviour Chriſt entered "once into the holy place, by the which he obtained unto "us everlaſting redemption. That he once ſuffered, and "that his body was once offered, to take away the "ſins of many people. And that one only oblation ſufficed "for the ſins of the whole world." And though all this was but mere Scripture, yet they found it to contradict their notions, and therefore they thought convenient to ſuſpend him. But as theſe biſhops did what they could to ſtifle all preaching of God's word, ſo the Archbiſhop's principle was to encourage and ſend forth preachers. So

The Archbiſhop licenſeth an eminent preacher.

BOOK II.

Hancock, notwithſtanding his former ſuſpenſion, obtained a licence from our Archbiſhop to preach.

Anno 1547. Who preacheth againſt the errors and ſuperſtitions of the church. Foxii MSS.

Now to follow this preacher a little after his licence obtained. At Chriſt-Church Twinham, in the county of Southampton, where he was born, (as I take it from his own narration,) he preached out of the ſixteenth chapter of St. John, *The Holy Ghoſt ſhall reprove the world of ſin, of righteouſneſs, &c. becauſe I go to the Father.* The prieſt being then at maſs, Hancock declared unto the people, "That that the prieſt held over his head, they did ſee with "their bodily eyes; but our Saviour Chriſt doth here "ſay plainly, that we ſhall ſee him no more. Then you," ſaith he, "that do kneel unto it, pray unto it, and honour "it as God, do make an idol of it, and yourſelves do com-"mit moſt horrible idolatry." Whereat the Vicar, Mr. Smith, ſitting in his chair, in the face of the pulpit, ſpake theſe words; "Mr. Hancock, you have done well until "now; and now have you played an ill cow's part, which, "when ſhe hath given a good meſs of milk, overthroweth "all with her foot, and ſo all is loſt." And with theſe words he got him out of the church.

Is bound to anſwer for his ſermon at the aſſizes.

Alſo, in this firſt year of the King, the ſame perſon preached in St. Thomas church at Saliſbury, Dr. Oking, Chancellor to Biſhop Capon, and Dr. Steward, Chancellor to Biſhop Gardiner, being preſent, with divers others of the clergy and laity. His place was, *Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted out.* Whence he inveighed againſt the ſuperſtitious ceremonies, holy bread, holy water, images, copes, veſtments, &c: and at laſt againſt the idol of the altar, proving it to be an idol, and no God, by the firſt of St. John's Goſpel, *No man hath ſeen God at any time;* with other places of the Old Teſtament. But "that the prieſt held over his head, they did "ſee, kneeled before it, honoured it; and ſo made an idol "of it: and therefore they were moſt horrible idolaters." Whereat the doctors, and certain of the clergy, went out of the church. Hancock, ſeeing them departing, charged them, "They were not of God, becauſe they refuſed to "hear the word of God." But when the ſermon was ended, Thomas Chaffen the Mayor, ſet on, as is likely, by

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1547.

some of the clergy, came to him, laying to his charge the breach of a proclamation, lately set forth by the Lord Protector, "That no nick-names should be given unto the sa- "crament, as *Round Robin*, or *Jack in the box*." Whereto he replied, "That it was no sacrament, but an idol, as they "used it." But, for all this excuse, the Mayor had committed him to jail, had not six honest men been bound for his appearance the next assizes, to make his answer: as Dr. Jeffery about this time had committed two to prison for the like cause. 175

How far the reformation had proceeded.

So that now, if we look back upon this first year of the King, we may perceive how busy and diligent our Archbishop was in redressing abuses, and restoring the church to its true state of christian piety and devotion; by procuring a royal visitation over England for inspection into the manners and abilities of the clergy, and for taking away of superstitions; by getting a book of plain Homilies to teach the common people, (in the composing whereof he himself had a very great hand,) and Erasmus his Paraphrase in English upon the New Testament, for the better furnishing the clergy and others with a sound and sober understanding of the Scriptures; and by encouraging preachers, and such-like means. So that if you would particularly know in what forwardness the Archbishop had already put religion, taking in his endeavours in the last King's reign hitherto, I recommend to your reading his homily or sermon *Of Good Works*: shewing out of what abundance of superstitions the church was now emerged. "Briefly, to pass over the un- "godly and counterfeit religion, [he means, of monks and "friars,] let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical su- "perstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady-psalters and "rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St. Bernard's Verses, of St. "Agathe's Letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory, of "stations and jubilees, of fained relics, or hallowed beads, "bells, bread, water, psalms, candles, fire, and such other. "Of superstitious fastings, of fraternities or brotherhoods, "of pardons, with such-like merchandize: which were so "esteemed or abused, to the great prejudice of God's glory "and commandments, that they were made most high and "most holy things; whereby to obtain to the everlasting Part 2.

BOOK II. Anno 1547.

" life, or remiſſion of ſins. Yea alſo vain inventions, un-
" fruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees, and con-
" ceits of Rome; wherein ſuch were advanced, that nothing
" was thought comparable in authority, wiſdom, learning,
" and godlineſs unto them. So that the laws of Rome, as
" they ſaid, were to be received of all men, as the four
" Evangeliſts: to the which all the laws of princes muſt
" give place. And the laws of God alſo partly were left
" off, and leſs eſteemed, that the ſaid laws, decrees, and
" councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be
" more duly kept, and had in greater reverence. Thus were
" the people, through ignorance, ſo blinded with the godly
" ſhew and appearance of thoſe things, that they thought
" the keeping of them to be more holineſs, more perfect
" ſervice and honouring of God, and more pleaſing to God,
" than the keeping of God's commandments. Such have
" been the corrupt inclinations of man, ever ſuperſtitiouſly
" given to make new honouring of God of his own head;
176 " and then to have more affection and devotion to keep
" that, than to ſearch out God's holy commandments, and
" to keep them. And furthermore, to take God's com-
" mandments for man's commandments, and man's com-
" mandments for God's commandments, yea, and for the
" higheſt and moſt perfect and holieſt of all God's com-
" mandments. And ſo was all confuſed, that ſcant well-
" learned men, and but a ſmall number of them, knew, or
" at the leaſt would know, and durſt affirm the truth, to
" ſeparate or ſever God's commandments from the com-
" mandments of men. Whereupon did grow ſuch error,
" ſuperſtition, and idolatry, vain religion, overthwart judg-
" ment, great contention, with all ungodly living."

A Biſhop conſecrated.

Ridley conſecrated Biſhop. Cranm. Regiſt. p. 221.

September the 5th, being Sunday, Nicolas Ridley, D. D. Prebend of Canterbury, was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter by Henry Biſhop of Lincoln, aſſiſted by John Suffragan of Bedford, and Thomas Suffragan of Sidon, in the chapel belonging to the houſe of May, Dean of St. Paul's. He was conſecrated according to the old cuſtom of the church, by the unction of holy chriſm, as well as impoſi-

tion of hands. Preſent, among others, John Whytwel, the Archbiſhop's Almoner; Rich. Tayler, M. A. Nic. Bullingham, Gregory Tod, and Tho. Bernard, his chaplains. CHAP. VII. Anno 1547.

CHAP. VIII.

The Church's Goods embezzled. New Opinions broached.

AS the reformation of abuſes in religion went forward under ſuch a King, and ſuch an Archbiſhop, ſo there wanted not for evils accompanying it, as there do commonly the beſt things; the profaneneſs of ſome, and the covetouſneſs of others, giving occaſion thereunto. Sacred places, ſet apart for divine worſhip, were now greatly profaned; and ſo probably had been before by ill cuſtom: for in many churches, cathedral as well as other, and eſpecially in London, many frays, quarrels, riots, blood-ſheddings were committed. They uſed alſo commonly to bring horſes and mules into and through churches, and ſhooting off handguns: "making the ſame, which were properly appointed "to God's ſervice and common-prayer, like a ſtable or com- "mon inn, or rather a den or ſink of all unchriſtineſs;" as it was expreſſed in a proclamation which the King ſet forth about this time, as I ſuppoſe, (for I am left to conjecture for the date,) by reaſon of the inſolency of great numbers uſing the ſaid evil demeanors, and daily more and more increaſing: "therein forbidding any ſuch quarrelling, ſhoot- "ing, or bringing horſes and mules into or through the "churches, or by any other means irreverently to uſe the "churches, upon pain of his Majeſty's indignation, and im- "priſonment." For it was not thought fit that, when divine worſhip was now reforming, the places for the ſaid worſhip ſhould remain unreformed. Anno 1548. Churches profaned. Cotton Lib. Titus B. 2.

177

Beſide the profanation of churches, there prevailed now another evil, relating alſo to churches, *viz.* That the utenſils and ornaments of theſe ſacred places were ſpoiled, embezzled, and made away, partly by the church-wardens, and partly by other pariſhioners. Whether the cauſe were, that Church ornaments embezzled.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

they would do that themſelves, which they imagined would ere long be done by others, *viz.* robbing the churches: which, it may be, thoſe that bore an ill-will to the reformation might give out, to render it the more odious. But certain it is, that it now became more or leſs practiſed all the nation over, to ſell or take away chalices, croſſes of ſilver, bells, and other ornaments. For the ſtopping of this, in the month of April, the Protector, and the lords of the council, writ to our Archbiſhop this letter, upon the information and complaint, as it is likely, of the ſaid Archbiſhop himſelf, in whoſe dioceſe eſpecially this ſacrilege prevailed.

The council's letter to the Archbiſhop thereupon. Cranm. Regiſt.

"AFTER our right hearty commendations. Whereas "we are informed that the church-wardens and parochians "of divers pariſhes do alienate and ſell away their chalices, "croſſes of ſilver, bells, and other ornaments of the church: "which were not given for that purpoſe, to be alienated at "their pleaſure; but either to be uſed to the intent they "were at firſt given, or to ſome other neceſſary and con- "venient ſervice of the church. Therefore this is to will "and require you immediately, upon the ſight hereof, to "give ſtrait charge and commandment, on the King's Ma- "jeſty's behalf, to every pariſh-church within your dioceſe, "that they do in no wiſe ſell, give, or otherwiſe alienate "any bells, or other ornaments, or jewels, belonging unto "their pariſh-church, upon pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure, "as they will anſwer to the contrary at their peril. Thus "fare you well. From Weſtminſter, the laſt day of April "1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerſet.	Will. Seint-John.	J. Ruſſell.
"H. Arundel.	Tho. Cheyney.	Will. Paget.
"Tho. Smith.	A. Denny.	Will. Herbert.

"Joh. Baker."

It is not an improbable conjecture, that the Archbiſhop procured this letter to arm church-wardens with an anſwer to ſuch greedy courtiers and gentlemen, as uſed often to reſort to them; and in their own, or the council's name,

required theſe goods of their churches to be yielded up to them; and threatened them if they did not. CHAP. VIII. Anno 1548.

The next month the council ſent the Archbiſhop a form of prayer, to be uſed by himſelf and thoſe of his dioceſe. Wherein God was implored to grant the nation peace and victory over her enemies: for now all things round about appeared in a poſture of war; and preparation of arms were making: which cauſed the King alſo to raiſe forces. And, for a bleſſing upon them, the privy-council ſent to the Archbiſhop, together with the form, an order for the ſpeedy uſing of it. The tenor of the letter follows. A form of prayer ſent to the Archbiſhop.

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"AFTER our hearty commendations to your good Lord-
"ſhip. Hearing tell of great preparations made of foreign
"Princes, and otherwiſe being enforced, for the procure-
"ment and continuance of peace, to make preparation of
"war: foraſmuch as all power and aid valuable cometh of
"God; the which he granteth, as he hath promiſed by his
"holy word, by nothing ſo much as by hearty prayers of
"good men: the which is alſo of more efficacy, made of
"an whole congregation together, gathered in his holy
"name: therefore this is to will and require you to give
"advertiſement and commandments to all the curates in
"your dioceſe, that every Sunday and holy-day, in their
"common-prayer, they make devout and hearty interceſ-
"ſions to Almighty God for victory and peace. And to the
"intent that you ſhould not be in doubts what ſort and
"manner thereof we do like, we have ſent unto you one:
"which we would that you and they ſhould follow, and
"read it inſtead of one of the collects of the King's Ma-
"jeſty's proceſſion. Thus we pray you not fail to do with
"all ſpeed, and bid you farewell. From Weſtminſter, the
"6th of May, 1548.

"Your loving friends,

"E. Somerſet. R. Rich, Canc. W. Seint-John.
"J. Ruſſel. Th. Cheyney."

With the council's letter. Cranm. Regiſt.

Now that the liberty of the Goſpel began to be allowed, divers falſe opinions and unſound doctrines began to be vented with it; of which public cognizance began now to

New opinions broached.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

be taken. As, "that the elect sinned not, and that they "could not sin. That they that be regenerate never fall "away from godly love. That the elect have a right to "take so much of the things of the world as may supply "their necessities." And there were some that openly preached these doctrines, and set forth and published books to the same tenor.

Cranm. Regist.

Several of these heretics, in the month of April, were convented before the Archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Thomas Smith; Richard Cox, Hugh Latimer, doctors of divinity; William May, Dean of St. Paul's; William Cook, Richard Lyel, doctors of law; and others the King's commissioners. Then did one John Champneys, of Stratford on the Bow, abjure. He taught, and wrote, and defended; "1. That a "man, after he is regenerate in Christ, cannot sin. 2. That "the outward man might sin, but the inward man could "not. 3. That the Gospel hath been so much persecuted "and hated ever since the Apostles' times, that no man "might be suffered openly to follow it. 4. That godly "love falleth never away from them which be regenerate "in Christ: wherefore they cannot do contrary to the "commandments of Christ. 5. That that was the most "principal of our marked men's doctrine, that make the "people believe that there was no such spirit given unto "men, whereby they should remain righteous, and always "in Christ. Which is [as he wrote and asserted] a most de-"vilish error. 6. That God doth permit to all his elect
179 "people their bodily necessities of all earthly things."

Champneys revokes six articles.

All these he revoked: granting or confessing now, "1. "That a man, after he is regenerate in Christ, may sin, "being destitute of his spirit. 2. That the inner man doth "sin, when the outward man sinneth actually with the con-"sent of the mind. 3. That divers times, sithence the "Apostles' times, to follow the doctrine of Christ hath been "suffered openly. 4. That godly love falleth from them "that be regenerate in Christ, being destitute of the spirit: "and that then they may do contrary to the commands of "Christ. 5. That it is no erroneous doctrine, which he af-"firmed in his book to be a devilish error, and our marked "men's doctrine, *viz.* To make the people believe that

" there was no ſuch ſpirit given unto man, whereby he " ſhould remain righteous always in Chriſt. But I confeſs, " [ſaith the abjurer,] that a man, having the ſpirit, may af- " terwards fall, and not be righteous. 6. That God doth " not permit to all his elect people their bodily neceſſities " of all worldly things to be taken, but by a law and order " approved by the civil policy: to which by me now ſpo- " ken I mean, ne underſtand any other ſenſe than hath been " here opened;" to uſe again his very words in his abjuration. And ſo, touching the holy Goſpel with his hand, before the King's commiſſioners, he abjured, promiſing, " That he ſhould never hold, teach, or believe the ſaid errors, " or damned opinions above rehearſed." And ſo ſubſcribed his name.

And abjures.

Then the Archbiſhop in his own name, and in the name of the other commiſſioners, gave him his oath. " 1. That he " ſhould not by any means hereafter teach or preach to the " people, nor ſet forth any kind of books, in print or other- " wiſe, nor cauſe to be printed or ſet forth any ſuch books, " that ſhould contain any manner of doctrine, without a ſpe- " cial licence thereunto of the King's Majeſty, or ſome of " his Grace's privy-council firſt had and obtained. 2. That " the ſaid Champneys, with all ſpeed convenient, and with " all his diligence, procure as many of his books, as are " paſſed forth in his name, to be called in again, and utterly " deſtroyed, as much as in him ſhould lie. 3. That he " ſhould the Sunday following attend at Paul's Croſs upon " the preacher, all the time of the ſermon, and there peni- " tently ſtand before the preacher with a faggot on his " ſhoulder." And then he had two ſureties bound in five hundred pounds, that he ſhould perform his penance. This was done April 27.

Other hereſies vented.

There were other hereſies alſo now vented abroad, as the denial of the Trinity, and of the deity of the Holy Ghoſt: and the aſſertion, That Jeſus Chriſt was a mere man, and not true God, becauſe he had the accidents of human nature; ſuch as hungering and thirſting, and being viſible: and that the benefit men receive by Jeſus Chriſt was the bringing them to the true knowledge of God. There was one John Aſsheton, a prieſt, that preached theſe doctrines: who on the 28th of December was ſummoned to Lambeth,

Cranm. Regiſt.

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

to appear there before the Archbiſhop. Where John Whitwel, the Archbiſhop's Almoner, and Thomas Langley, both prieſts, and his Grace's chaplains, exhibited a ſchedule of divers hereſies and damned opinions againſt the ſaid Aſsheton: which are recited in the abjuration which he made. The tenor whereof is as followeth.

180 Aſsheton's recantation.

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you, moſt learned "father in God, Thomas, Archbiſhop, Primate, and Metro- "politan of all England, Commiſſary of our moſt dread ſo- "vereign Lord, and excellent Prince, Edward VI. by the "grace of God, &c. I John Aſsheton, prieſt, of my pure "heart, free-will, voluntary and ſincere knowledge, confeſs "and openly recognize, that in times paſt I thought, be- "lieved, ſaid, heard, and affirmed theſe errors, hereſies, and "damnable opinions following; that is to ſay, 1. That the "Trinity of perſons was eſtabliſhed by the confeſſion of "Athanaſius, declared by a pſalm, *Quicunque vult*, &c. "and that the Holy Ghoſt is not God, but only a certain "power of the Father. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt, that was con- "ceived of the Virgin Mary, was a holy Prophet, and eſ- "pecially beloved of God the Father; but that he was not "the true and living God: foraſmuch as he was ſeen, and "lived, hungered and thirſted. 3. That this only is the "fruit of Jeſus Chriſt's paſſion; that whereas we were "ſtrangers from God, and had no knowledge of his Teſta- "ment, it pleaſed God by Chriſt to bring us to the ac- "knowledging of his holy power by the Teſtament.

"Wherefore I the ſaid John Aſsheton, deteſting and ab- "horring all and every my ſaid errors, hereſies, and damned "opinions, willingly, and with all my power, affecting here- "after firmly to believe in the true and perfect faith of "Chriſt and his holy church, purpoſing to follow the true "and ſincere doctrine of holy church with a pure and free "heart, voluntarily mind, will, and intend utterly to for- "ſake, relinquiſh, renounce, and deſpiſe the ſaid deteſtable "errors, hereſies, and abominable opinions: granting and "confeſſing now, 1. That the bleſſed Trinity conſiſteth in "three diſtinct Perſons, and one Godhead; as God the Fa- "ther, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, coequal in "power and might. 2. That Jeſus Chriſt is both God and "[illegible] his holy nature eternally begotten of his Fa-

" ther, of his own ſubſtance; and in his humanity was con-
" ceived by the Holy Ghoſt incarnate, and for our redemp-
" tion, being very God, became man. 3. That by the death
" of Jeſus Chriſt we be not only made partakers of the
" Teſtament, and ſo diſpoſed to the knowledge of his godly
" will and power, but alſo that we have full redemption and
" remiſſion of our ſins in his blood." Then he ſubſcribed his hand to this confeſſion before the Archbiſhop, exhibiting it for his act; and, lifting up his hand, beſeeched his Grace to deal mercifully and graciouſly with him; and touching the Goſpel, gave his faith that he would faithfully and humbly obey the commands of the holy mother-church, and whatſoever penance the ſaid moſt reverend father ſhould lay upon him.

Other errors ſtill.

To theſe erroneous doctrines we muſt add others, that now alſo ſpread themſelves: as, that Chriſt took not fleſh of the Virgin: that the baptiſm of infants was not profitable. Of which error one Michael Thombe of London, butcher, recanted the year following, *viz.* 1549, May 11, having been then convented before the Archbiſhop at Lambeth.

" I Michael Thombe of London, bocher, of my pure 181
" heart and free-will, voluntarily and ſincerely acknowledge
" and confeſs, and openly recognize, that in times paſt I
" thought, believed, ſaid, heard, and affirmed, theſe errors
" and hereſies, and damnable opinions following: that is to
" ſay, That Chriſt took no fleſh of our Lady; and that the
" baptiſm of infants is not profitable, becauſe it goeth be-
" fore faith. Wherefore I, the ſaid Michael Thombe, de-
" teſting and abhorring all and every ſuch my ſaid errors,
" hereſies, and damned opinions; and with all my power
" affecting hereafter firmly to believe in the true and per-
" fect faith of Chriſt, and of the holy church, purpoſing to
" follow the true and ſincere doctrine of holy church with
" a pure and free heart, voluntarily mind, will, and intend,
" utterly to forſake, relinquiſh, renounce, and deſpiſe the
" ſaid deteſtable errors, hereſies, and damnable opinions;
" granting and confeſſing now, That Chriſt took fleſh of the
" Virgin Mary; and that the baptiſm of infants is profit-
" able and neceſſary." And by this ſubmiſſion and penance doing, Thombe eſcaped.

BOOK II.

Anno 1548. Joan Bocher's hereſy.

But another of the ſame opinion, more obſtinate, came to a ſadder end, and was burnt; namely, Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent. Her opinion is in the inſtrument drawn up againſt her in the Archbiſhop's regiſter: which ran thus; "That you believe that the Word was made fleſh in the "Virgin's belly; but that Chriſt took fleſh of the Virgin "you believe not, becauſe the fleſh of the Virgin, being the "outward man, was ſinfully gotten, and born in ſin. But "the Word, by the conſent of the inward man of the Vir-"gin, was made fleſh." This ſhe ſtood perverſely in. So the Archbiſhop himſelf excommunicated her judicially; the ſentence being read by him, April 1549, in St. Mary's chapel, within the cathedral church of Paul's, Sir Thomas Smith, William Cook, Dean of the Arches, Hugh Latimer, Richard Lyell, LL. D. the King's commiſſioners, aſſiſting. She was committed afterwards to the ſecular arm; and certified ſo to be by an inſtrument made by the commiſſioners to the King. After ſhe was condemned, ſhe was a ſevennight in the Lord Chancellor Rich his houſe; and every day the Archbiſhop and Biſhop Ridley came and reaſoned with her, that, if poſſible they might, ſave her from the fire: but nothing would do. I will here produce Latimer's cenſure of her, who well knew her caſe, being one of the commiſſioners that ſat upon her. "She would ſay," ſaith he in his ſermon on St. John Evangeliſt's day, "that our "Saviour was not very man, nor had received fleſh of his "mother Mary: and yet ſhe could ſhew no reaſon why "ſhe ſhould believe ſo. Her opinion was this; The Son of "God, ſaid ſhe, penetrated through her as through a glaſs, "taking no ſubſtance of her. This fooliſh woman denied "the common creed, *Natus ex Maria Virgine*, and ſaid "that our Saviour had a fantaſtical body."

Latimer's cenſure of her.

George van Paris.

A Dutchman, an Arian, named George van Paris, denying Chriſt to be true God, came to a like end with Joan, namely, that of burning to death, being condemned for hereſy; that was in the year 1551. But though I make ſome anticipation in my hiſtory, yet I do it that I may lay theſe hereſies here together, that ſtarted up, or rather ſhewed themſelves more viſibly, in this reign.

CHAP. IX. 182

The Archbiſhop viſits.

THE Archbiſhop in this year held a viſitation in divers places throughout his dioceſe: wherein inquiry was to be made concerning the behaviour both of the prieſts and the people, in eighty-ſix articles. Whereby may be ſeen the Archbiſhop's conſcientious care and ſolicitude for the abrogating of ſuperſtition, and the promoting of true religion: that he might reduce the clergy to learning, ſobriety, and diligence in their vocation; and the people to loyalty and obedience to the King, and the ſincere worſhipping of God. Anno 1548. The Archbiſhop viſits his dioceſe.

Concerning the prieſts, he ordered inquiry to be made; His arucles for the clergy.
" Whether they preached four times a year againſt the
" uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome, and in behalf of
" the King's power and authority within his own realms.
" Whether, in their common prayers, they uſed not the col-
" lects made for the King, and mentioned not his Majeſty's
" name in the ſame. Whether they had deſtroyed and
" taken away out of the churches all images and ſhrines,
" tables, candleſticks, trindals, or rolls of wax, and all other
" monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and ſuperſtition;
" and moved their pariſhioners to do the ſame in their own
" houſes. Inquiries were made concerning their due ad-
" miniſtration of the ſacraments; concerning their preach-
" ing God's word once at leaſt in a quarter; and then ex-
" horting their pariſhioners to works commanded by Scrip-
" ture, and not to works deviſed by men's fancies, as wear-
" ing and praying upon beads, and ſuch like. Concerning
" the plain reciting the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten
" Commandments in Engliſh, immediately after the Goſpel,
" as often as there were no ſermon. Concerning the exa-
" mining of every one that came to confeſſion in Lent, whe-
" ther they were able to ſay the Creed, the Lord's Prayer,
" and Ten Commandments, in Engliſh. Concerning the
" having learned curates, to be procured by ſuch as were
" abſent from their benefices. Concerning having the whole

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

" Bible of the largeſt volume in every church, and Eraſ-
" mus's Paraphraſe in Engliſh. Concerning teaching the
" people of the nature of the faſt of Lent, and other days in
" the year, that it was but a mere poſitive law. Concerning
" reſidence upon benefices, and keeping hoſpitality. Con-
" cerning finding a ſcholar in the univerſities, or ſome gram-
" mar-ſchool, incumbent on ſuch prieſts as had an hundred
" pounds a year. Concerning moving the pariſhioners to
" pray rather in Engliſh, than in a tongue unknown, and
" not to put their truſt in ſaying over a number of beads.
" Concerning having the New Teſtament in Latin and Eng-
" liſh, and Eraſmus's Paraphraſe, which all prieſts under the
" degree of bachelors in divinity were examined about.
" Concerning putting out of the church-books the name of
" Papa, and the name and ſervice of Thomas Becket, and
" the prayers that had rubrics, containing pardons and in-
" dulgences." And many the like articles: which may
183 be ſeen by him that will have recourſe to them, as they are
printed in Biſhop Sparrow's Collections.

And for the laity.

Thoſe articles that related to the laity were, " Concern-
" ing the letters or hinderers of the Word of God read in
" Engliſh, or preached ſincerely. Concerning ſuch as went
" out of the church in time of the Litany, or common-
" prayer, or ſermon. Concerning ringing bells at the ſame
" time. Concerning ſuch as abuſed the ceremonies, as caſt-
" ing holy-water upon their beds, bearing about them
" holy-bread, St. John's Goſpel; keeping of private holy-
" days, as taylors, bakers, brewers, ſmiths, ſhoemakers, &c.
" did. Concerning the miſbeſtowing of money ariſing from
" cattle, or other moveable ſtocks of the church, as for
" finding of lights, torches, tapers, or lamps, and not em-
" ployed to the poor man's cheſt. Concerning abuſing
" prieſts and miniſters. Concerning praying upon the Eng-
" liſh Primer, ſet forth by the King, and not the Latin, for
" ſuch as underſtand not Latin. Concerning keeping the
" Church-holy-day, and the Dedication-day, any otherwiſe,
" or at any other time, than was appointed. Concerning
" communing and jangling in the church at the time of
" reading the common-prayer or homilies, or when there
" was preaching. Concerning maintenance of error and

" hereſy. Concerning common ſwearers, drunkards, blaſ- CHAP.
" phemers, adulterers, bawds. Inquiries were alſo to be IX.
" made after ſuch as were common brawlers, ſlanderers; Anno 1548.
" ſuch as uſed charms, ſorceries, inchantments, and witch-
" craft; ſuch as contemned their own pariſh-church, and
" went elſewhere. Concerning marrying within the de-
" grees prohibited, and without aſking the banns. Con-
" cerning the honeſt diſcharge of wills and teſtaments, in
" ſuch as were executors or adminiſtrators. Concerning ſuch
" as contemned married prieſts, and refuſed to receive the
" communion and other ſacraments at their hands. Con-
" cerning ſuch as kept in their own houſes images, tables,
" pictures, painting, or monuments of fained miracles un-
" defaced, &c."

In this year alſo the Archbiſhop, with the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, granted the patronage, rectory, &c. of Riceborough Monachorum, in the county of Bucks, to the Lord Windſor, for fourſcore and nineteen years: and, in exchange, the ſaid Lord granted to the Archbiſhop the advowſon, patronage, and nomination of Midley in Kent, for the ſame duration of years.

An exchange made between the Archbiſhop and the Lord Windſor.

September the 9th, being Sunday, Robert Farrar, D. D. was conſecrated Biſhop of St. David's, by Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, endued with his pontificals, and aſſiſted by Henry Biſhop of Lincoln, and Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, at Chertſey in the dioceſe of Winton, in the Archbiſhop's houſe there. Then certain hymns, pſalms, and prayers being recited, together with a portion of Scripture read in the vulgar tongue out of St. Paul's Epiſtles, and the Goſpel of St. Matthew, the Archbiſhop celebrated the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt. There communicated the reverend fathers, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, Thomas Biſhop of Weſtminſter, Henry Biſhop of Lincoln, Nicolas Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Farrar the new Biſhop; together with William May, Dean of St. Paul's; Simon Hains, Dean of Exon; Thomas Robertſon, and John Redman, profeſſors of divinity, and others. The Archbiſhop then diſtributed the communion in Engliſh words. This Biſhop (as it is writ in the margin of the regiſter) was the firſt that was conſecrated upon the bare nomination of the King, accord-

Biſhop of St. David's conſecrated. Cranm. Regiſt. fol. 327.

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CHAP. IX. Anno 1548.

left the forming the draught: for it ran in the old popiſh form, and ſo the King's ſupremacy not ſufficiently acknowledged therein; though he profeſſed to viſit in the King's name and authority. This theſe two, in combination with his own ingrateful regiſter, George Conſtantine, whom he had preferred, took their advantage of; not only to diſobey the ſaid commiſſion, but to accuſe the poor Biſhop of a *præmunire*: for which he was fain to go down from London, whither they had before brought him up, to anſwer at the aſſizes of Carmarthen. And when, by reaſon of the moleſtations they gave him, and their detaining him in London, he could not be ſo exact in paying in the tenths, and firſt-fruits, and ſubſidies, due from the clergy of his dioceſe; they took hold of this as another crime to lay to his charge. And 185
hereupon, in fine, he was kept in priſon a long time, and ſo remained when Queen Mary entered upon the government: upon which occaſion he fell into the hands of the Pope's butchers: who at laſt, for maintaining the truth, ſent him into his dioceſe, and burnt him at a ſtake. And thus theſe men became the inſtruments of his death.

The Archbiſhop ſwayed by Farrar's enemies.

In their vexatious ſuits againſt this good Biſhop, undertaken the better to conceal their own faults, our Archbiſhop ſeemed to be engaged, giving too much credit to the ill reports that Farrar's enemies raiſed againſt him, in a great heap of frivolous and malicious articles, exhibited to the King's council: who appointed Sir John Maſon and Dr. Wotton to examine them; though, I ſuppoſe, our pious Archbiſhop afterwards ſaw through this malice, and forbore any further to give influence to thoſe that proſecuted this honeſt man: underſtanding by letters, which that afflicted man ſent, both to him, and Biſhop Goodrick, Lord Chancellor, his unjuſt vexations wrought by his adverſaries. One whereof, I mean his regiſter, remained regiſter to that very popiſh Biſhop that ſucceeded him; nay, and was aſſiſtant at his trial and condemnation. In ſhort, hear what one writes that lived nearer thoſe times, and might therefore be preſumed to know more of theſe matters.

Sutcliff's Anſwer to Parſon's Threefold Converſ. of England.

"This was a conſpiracy of his enemies againſt him, and "of wicked fellows who had robbed the church, kept "concubines, falſified records, and committed many other

BOOK II. Anno 1548.

"groſs abuſes." To conclude, I find, by a private letter written to John Fox, that theſe men, knowing how they had wronged the good Biſhop, came to him before his death, and aſked him forgiveneſs; and he, like a good chriſtian, forgave them, and was reconciled to them.

CHAP. X.

The Archbiſhop anſwers the Rebels' Articles.

Anno 1549. Rebellion in Devon.

THE commons this year brake out into a dangerous rebellion; and though they were once or twice appeaſed, and ſcattered in ſome places, yet they made inſurrections in others: and chiefly in Devon, where they were very formidable for their numbers. The reaſon they pretended was double. The one was, the oppreſſion of the gentry in enclofing of their commons from them: the other, the laying aſide the old religion; which, becauſe it was old, and the way their forefathers worſhipped God, they were very fond of. The Lord Ruſſel, Lord Privy Seal, who was ſent againſt them, offering to receive their complaints, the rebels ſent them to him, drawn up under fifteen articles: as before they had ſent their demands in ſeven articles, and a proteſtation that they were the King's body and goods. In anſwer to which the King ſent a meſſage to them, that may be ſeen in Fox. They ſent alſo a ſupplication to the King: to the which an anſwer was made by the King's learned counſel.

The Archbiſhop anſwers the rebels' articles.

I ſhall take notice only of the fifteen articles, unto which our Archbiſhop drew up an excellent anſwer at good length: for no man was thought ſo fit as he to open and unravel theſe men's requeſts, and to unfold the unreaſonableneſs of them; and to ſhew what real miſchief they would pluck down upon themſelves and the nation, ſhould all the decrees of our forefathers, and the ſix Articles, be revived again: and what great injury religion would receive, ſhould the Latin maſſes and images, and the worſhipping the ſacrament, and purgatory, and abbeys, be reſtored; and Cardinal Pole

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come home, and the Engliſh Bible be called in, and ſuch-like things, which their demands conſiſted of. This anſwer of the Archbiſhop I judge worthy preſerving; (and therefore, though ſomewhat long, I have laid in the Appendix;) becauſe it will ſhew his wiſdom, learning, and the knowledge of the ſtate of the kingdom that he was furniſhed with. I met with theſe writings in the manuſcript library of Benet College, being the rough draught of them, all under the Archbiſhop's own hand. He charged them with ignorance in putting up ſuch articles: and concluded it not to be their own minds to have them granted, had they underſtood them, but that they were indeed deviſed by ſome prieſts, and rank papiſts and traitors to the realm; which he would not ſo much as think of them. So that he gently told them, that he muſt uſe the ſame expreſſion to them, that Chriſt did to James and John, "They aſked "they wot not what."

Num. XL.

The Archbiſhop wrote this anſwer after the rout at Exeter given them by the Lord Ruſſel, and the taking priſoners divers of their captains and prieſts, and between the condemnation and execution of Humphrey Arundel, and Bray, Mayor of Bodmin; whom he prayed God to make penitent before their deaths, to which they were adjudged. For which two the rebels, in one of their articles, had required ſafe conduct to make their grievances known to the King: as they had, in another article, demanded two divines of the ſame popiſh ſtamp, to be ſent to them to preach, namely, Moreman and Criſpin; who both ſeemed now, being prieſts of that country, to be under reſtraint upon ſuſpicion: men, as the Archbiſhop told them, ignorant of God's word, but of notable craft, wilfulneſs, and diſſimulation, and ſuch as would poiſon them, inſtead of feeding them. Of Criſpin I find little, but that he was once Proctor of the Univerſity of Oxon, and doctor of the faculty of phyſick, and of Oriel College. Moreman was beneficed in Cornwal in King Henry's time, and ſeemed to go along with that King in his ſteps of reformation, and was obſerved to be the firſt that taught his pariſhioners the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments in Engliſh; yet ſhewing himſelf in the next King's reign a

Some account thereof.

Criſpin.

Moreman.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

zealot for the old ſuperſtitions. Hence we perceive the reaſon why the Archbiſhop charged him to be a man full of craft and hypocriſy. In Queen Mary's time he was, for his popiſh merits, preferred to be Dean of Exeter, and was coadjutor to the Biſhop of that dioceſe, (probably then ſuperannuated,) and died in that Queen's reign. Beſides theſe two, there was another clergyman the rebels ſpent another article in ſpeaking for, namely, Cardinal Pole: whom they would have ſent for home, and to be preferred to be of the privy council. But Cranmer told them his judgment; firſt, in general, of cardinals, that they never did good to this realm, but always hurt: and then in particular of this Cardinal, that he had read once a virulent book of his writing againſt King Henry, exciting the Pope, the Emperor, the French King, and all other princes, to invade this realm: and therefore that he was ſo far from deſerving to be called home, and to live in England, that he deſerved not to live at all. In fine, in this excellent compoſition of the Archbiſhop, his deſign was, to expoſe the abuſes and corruptions of popery, and to convince the nation what need there was that ſuch matters ſhould be aboliſhed, as the Pope's decrees, ſolitary maſſes, Latin ſervice, hanging the hoſt over the altar, ſacrament in one kind, holy bread, and holy water, palms, aſhes, images, the old ſervice-book, praying for ſouls in purgatory: and to vindicate the Engliſh ſervice, the uſe of the holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and other matters relating to the reformation, made in King Edward's time. Which he doth all along with that ſtrain of happy perſpicuity and eaſineſs, that one ſhall ſcarcely meet with elſewhere; mixed every where with great gravity, ſerioufneſs, and compaſſion.

Cardinal Pole.

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The Archbiſhop procures ſermons to be made againſt the rebellion.

The Archbiſhop thought it highly convenient, in theſe commotions round about, to do his endeavour to keep thoſe people, that were ſtill and quiet as yet, in their duty. And for this purpoſe had ſermons compoſed, to be now read by the curates to the people in their churches, to preſerve them in their obedience, and to ſet out the evil and miſchief of the preſent diſturbances. I find in the ſame volume where Cranmer's anſwers aforeſaid are, a ſermon againſt the ſeditions ariſing now every where, with the Archbiſhop's

Miſcell. D.

interlinings, and marginal notes and corrections. This ſermon was firſt wrote in Latin by Peter Martyr, (as a note of Archbiſhop Parker's hand teſtifieth,) at Archbiſhop Cranmer's requeſt to the ſaid learned man, no queſtion; and ſo by his order tranſlated into Engliſh, and printed, I ſuppoſe, for the common uſe in thoſe times. It begins thus:

CHAP. X. Anno 1549.

Peter Martyr's ſermon upon this occaſion.

[redacted]w of this preſent time, dear be-
[redacted]riſt, if I ſhould be more led thereby
[redacted]al to my country, would move me
[redacted]ce than to ſpeak: for the great evils
[redacted] are to be bewailed with tears and
[redacted]th words. And hereunto I might
[redacted]mple of Job, who, when he came
[redacted]ry, he lying upon a dunghill, and
[redacted]ing upon the ground by him for the
[redacted] for great ſorrow, not one of them
[redacted]o ſpeak a word to another. If
[redacted]te of Job, like a hard and ſharp bit,
[redacted]rom ſpeaking; and the lamentable
[redacted]aid theſe three men, being of ſpeech
[redacted] they could not utter their words;
[redacted] have a much more cauſe to be ſtill,
[redacted] For there was the piteous lamen-
[redacted]t one man, or one houſehold, and that
[redacted]poral and worldly ſubſtance; but we
[redacted] a whole realm, and that moſt noble,
[redacted]n that ſtate, that all other realms en-
[redacted]l feared our force, is now ſo troubled,
[redacted] and deformed, and that by ſedition
[redacted]f ſuch as be members of the ſame, that 188
[redacted]tempted to the utter ruin and ſubverſion
[redacted]des this, the everlaſting puniſhment of
[redacted]as well the authors and procurers of
[redacted] all others that join themſelves unto

[redacted]on of Peter Martyr's, there is another
[redacted]him under his own hand, on the ſame
[redacted]it ſeems to be tranſlated into Engliſh,
[redacted]s; thus beginning:

Tantum voluit Deus vim charitatis et amoris magnitu-

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

dinem, inter populum et magiſtratum intercedere, ut per Hieremiam admonuerit plebem Iſraeliticam, quod pro Rege Nebuchadnezzar orarent, qui eorum rempublicam everterat, illoſque adhuc captivitate Babylonica premebat.

Dominus tametſi voluit ſuos, inſtar columbarum, ſimplices degere, idem nihilominus admonuit, ut ſerpentum prudentiam imitarentur, qua ſuas actiones literarum ſacrarum præceptis regerent et moderarentur, caverentque ne aliena conſilia, ut Papiſtarum vel ſeditioſorum, ſe in tranſverſum auferrent.

Si potuiſſetis (quod eſt prudentium) in longinquum proſpicere, omnino vidiſſetis cæteros hoſtes (uti nunc res ipſa declarat) fretos veſtris tumultibus in veſtrum regnum arma ſumpturos, et auſuros impune, qui nunquam, ſi in officio manſiſſetis, tentaſſent, &c.

The French take occaſion at this rebellion.

This laſt paragraph reſpected the French King, who, taking occaſion from theſe broils at home, brake out into open hoſtility againſt the kingdom, recalling his ambaſſador, and on a ſudden brought his ſhips againſt the iſles of Jerſey and Guernſey, with an intent to have conquered them. But, by the valour of the inhabitants, and ſome of the King's ſhips, he was beaten off with great loſs. This was in the month of Auguſt.

Bucer's diſcourſe againſt the ſedition.

Martin Bucer alſo wrote a diſcourſe againſt this ſedition, as well as Martyr. Both of them were now, I ſuppoſe, under the Archbiſhop's roof, entertained by him: and he thought it convenient that theſe learned foreigners ſhould give ſome public teſtimony of their diſlike of theſe doings. Bucer's diſcourſe, ſubjoined to Martyr's, began in this tenor:

Quæ dici poſſunt ad ſedandos animos plebis, et ab omni conatu ſeditioſo abſterrendos (quod ad rem ipſam attinet) inſcripta ſunt omnia, in reverendiſſimi D. N. M. Ven. Collegæ noſtri Pet. Martyris Schedis, ut noſtra adjectione nulla ſit opus, tamen ut conſenſum ſpiritus teſtemur, hæc ſubjecta libuit annotare, &c.

The Archbiſhop's prayer, compoſed for this occaſion.

An office of faſting was compoſed for this rebellion, which, being allayed in the weſt, grew more formidable in Norfolk and Yorkſhire. For I find a prayer compoſed by the Archbiſhop, with theſe words preceding; *The Exhortation to Penance, or the Supplication, may end with*

this or ſome other-like prayer. And then the prayer followeth: Anno 1549.

" O LORD, whoſe goodneſs far exceedeth our naughti-
" neſs, and whoſe mercy paſſeth all meaſure, we confeſs thy
" judgment to be moſt juſt, and that we worthily have de-
" ſerved this rod wherewith thou haſt now beaten us. We
" have offended the Lord God: we have lived wickedly:
" we have gone out of the way: we have not heard thy 189
" prophets which thou haſt ſent unto us, to teach us thy
" word, nor have done as thou haſt commanded us:
" wherefore we be moſt worthy to ſuffer all theſe plagues.
" Thou haſt done juſtly, and we be worthy to be con-
" founded. But we provoke unto thy goodneſs; we
" appeal unto thy mercy; we humble ourſelves; we know-
" ledge our faults. We turn to thee, O Lord, with our
" whole hearts, in praying, in faſting, in lamenting and
" ſorrowing for our offences. Have mercy upon us, caſt us
" not away according to our deſerts; but hear us, and de-
" liver us with ſpeed, and call us to thee again, according
" to thy mercy: that we with one conſent, and one mind,
" may evermore glorify thee, world without end. Amen."

After this follow ſome rude draughts, written by Archbiſhop's Cranmer's own hand, for the compoſing, as I ſuppoſe, of an homily, or homilies, to be uſed for the office aforeſaid: which may be read in the Appendix. Num. XLI.

CHAP. XI.

Biſhop Boner deprived.

ON the eighth of September, a commiſſion was iſſued out from the King to our Archbiſhop, together with Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, Petre and Smith, the two ſecretaries, and Dr. May, Dean of Paul's, to examine Boner, Biſhop of London, for ſeveral matters of contempt of the King's order. The witneſſes againſt him were William Latimer and John Hoper. After the patience of ſeven ſeſſions at The Archbiſhop deprives Boner.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

Lambeth, in all which he carried himſelf diſdainfully, making excuſes and proteſtations, firſt againſt Sir Thomas Smith, and then againſt them all, and appealing to the King, the Archbiſhop, in the name of the reſt, declared him obſtinate, and pronounced a ſentence of deprivation againſt him: and committed him to the Marſhalſea for his extraordinary rudeneſs to the King's commiſſioners; and there he abode all this King's reign. I will only mention ſomewhat of his behaviour towards the good Archbiſhop.

Diſcourſe between the Archbiſhop and him concerning his book.

At his firſt appearance before the commiſſioners, which was on the tenth of September, when they told him the reaſon of their commiſſion, *viz.* "To call him to account for a ſermon lately by him made at Paul's Croſs; "for that he did not publiſh to the people the article he "was commanded to preach upon, that is, of the King's "authority during his minority:" he after a bold ſcoffing manner gave no direct anſwer to this, but turned his ſpeech to the Archbiſhop, ſwearing, "That he wiſhed "one thing were had in more reverence than it was, "namely, the bleſſed maſs," as he ſtyled it: and telling the Archbiſhop withal, "That he had written very well "of the ſacrament: but he marvelled he did not more "honour it." The Archbiſhop, perceiving his groſs ignorance concerning his book, by his commending that which was contrary to his opinion, ſaid to Boner, "That "if he thought it well, it was becauſe he underſtood it not." Boner after his rude manner replied, "He thought he
190 "underſtood it better than he that wrote it." To which the Archbiſhop ſubjoined, "That truly he would make "a child of ten years old underſtand as much as he. But "what is that," ſaid he, "to our preſent matter?"

Concerning the ſacrament.

At this firſt ſeſſion, when Boner had ſaid, "That he "perceived the cauſe of his preſent trouble was, for that in "the ſermon made at Paul's Croſs, before mentioned, "he had aſſerted the true preſence of the body and blood "of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar;" the Archbiſhop ſaid, "That he ſpake much of a preſence in the ſacrament; "but he aſked him, What preſence is there, and what "preſence he meant?" Boner then in heat ſaid, "My

"Lord, I ſay and believe, that there is the very true pre- "ſence of the body and blood of Chriſt. What, and how "do you believe?" ſaid he to the Archbiſhop. Then the Archbiſhop, not minding to anſwer his queſtion at this time, aſked him further, "Whether Chriſt were there, "face, noſe, mouth, eyes, arms, and lips, with other li- "neaments of his body?" At which Boner ſhook his head, and ſaid, "He was right ſorry to hear his Grace ſpeak thoſe "words, and urged the Archbiſhop to ſhew his mind." But the Archbiſhop wiſely waved it, ſaying, "That their "being there at that time was not to diſpute of thoſe "matters, but to proſecute their commiſſion againſt him."

Chargeth the Archbiſhop concerning the preachers he allowed.

At another of theſe ſeſſions, ſtaying at the chamber-door where the commiſſioners ſat, perceiving ſome of the Archbiſhop's gentlemen ſtanding by, he applied himſelf to them, requiring and charging them, in God's behalf, and in his name, "That where they ſhould chance to ſee and "hear corrupt and erroneous preachers againſt the bleſſed ſa- "crament of the altar, they ſhould tell their lord and maſter "of the ſame, and of theſe his ſayings alſo to them, as "they were chriſtian men, and ſhould anſwer before God "for the contrary." And being committed by the delegates to the under-marſhal, and going away, he turned again, and told the Archbiſhop, "That he was ſorry that he, "being a biſhop, ſhould be ſo handled at his hands; but "more ſorry that he ſuffered abominable heretics to "practiſe as they did in London and elſewhere, infecting "and diſquieting the King's liege people. And therefore "he required him, as he would anſwer to God and the "King, that he would henceforth abſtain thus to do. And "if he did not," he ſaid, "he would accuſe him before "God and the King's Majeſty. Anſwer to it," added he, "as well as you can." And ſo departed.

The Archbiſhop's anſwers to Boner's declaration.

When Boner, after the ſentence of deprivation, made a ſolemn declaration there againſt their proceedings, ſaying, "That he came compelled, and not of his own free will, "being brought as a priſoner:" and ſo appealed again from them to the King. The Archbiſhop anſwered his declaration; and told him, "That whereas he ſaid, he came "coacted, or elſe he would not have appeared: he mar-

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

"velled at him, for that he would thereby make them "and the audience to believe, that becauſe he was a "priſoner, he ought not therefore to anſwer. Which if "it were true, were enough to confound the whole ſtate "of the realm: for I dare ſay," ſaid the Archbiſhop, "that "of the greateſt priſoners and rebels that ever the keeper "there hath had under him, he cannot ſhew me one that
191 "hath uſed ſuch defence as you have here done." To which Boner ſaid, "That if his keeper were learned in the "laws, he could ſhew him his mind therein." The Archbiſhop ſaid, "that he had read over all the laws as well as he, "but to another end and purpoſe than he did; and yet he "could find no ſuch privilege in this matter." He was deprived in the beginning of October, and the ſee remained void for ſome months till the next year, when Ridley was tranſlated thither, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

Papiſts inſiſt upon the invalidity of the laws made in the King's minority.

Indeed this was the moſt plauſible pretence the Papiſts had, and which they made much uſe of, (which Boner and Gardiner had cunningly invented;) *viz.* "That though the "King were to be obeyed, and all were bound to ſubmit "to his laws, yet not to the orders and placits of his coun-"ſellors, who made what innovations they pleaſed in his "name, and were none of his laws: and that therefore "things ſhould remain in the ſtate wherein the former King "left them, till the King, now a child, came to years of "diſcretion to make laws himſelf." This the rebels in Devon made uſe of: and this alſo the Lady Mary urged very boldly to the lords of the council, for her incompliance with the communion-book, and for continuance of the uſe of the maſs; telling them in a letter, "That ſhe was "reſolved to remain obedient to her father's laws, till the "King her brother ſhould have perfect years of diſcretion "to order that power that God had given him." Which

No. XLII. letter, whereof I have the original, may be ſeen in the Appendix. For the ſatisfying therefore of the people in this, the preachers were fain to do their endeavours in the pulpits: ſhewing them, that thoſe that were in office under the King, were by the word of God to be obeyed as the King

Lat. Serm. fol. 25. himſelf. "There be ſome men that ſay, (as Latimer in one "of his ſermons in theſe days,) when the King's Majeſty

" himſelf commandeth me ſo to do, then I will do it, not " afore. This is a wicked ſaying, and damnable: for we " may not ſo be excuſed. Scripture is plain in it, and " ſheweth us that we ought to obey his officers, having " authority from the King, as well as unto the King him- " ſelf. Therefore this excuſe will not, nor cannot ſerve " afore God. Yet let the magiſtrates take heed to their " office and duty."

CHAP. XI. Anno 1549.

This year the Archbiſhop celebrated a great ordination, conſiſting of ſuch chiefly as ſhewed themſelves favourers of the King's proceedings, to be ſent abroad to preach the Goſpel, and to ſerve in the miniſtry of the church. At this ordination Biſhop Ridley alſo aſſiſted the Archbiſhop. The old popiſh order of conferring of holy orders was yet in force, the new office as yet not being prepared and eſtabliſhed: but this ordination nevertheleſs was celebrated after that order that was ſoon after eſtabliſhed. At this ordination great favour was ſhewn, and connivance to ſuch who, otherwiſe being well qualified for piety and learning, ſcrupled wearing the habits uſed by the popiſh prieſts. I meet with two famous men now ordained: the one was Robert Drakes, who was Deacon to Dr. Tayler, Parſon of Hadley, at the commandment of Archbiſhop Cranmer, afterwards Parſon of Thunderſley in Eſſex, and in the year 1556 burnt to death in Smithfield for his conſtant profeſſion of Chriſt's religion. The other was Thomas Samp- 192 ſon, Parſon of Bread-ſtreet, London, and ſucceſſively Dean of Chicheſter and Chriſt's Church, Oxon: who in a letter of his, written to Secretary Cecyl in Queen Elizabeth's reign, ſaid, " That at his ordination he excepted againſt the " apparel; and by the Archbiſhop, and Biſhop Ridley, he " was nevertheleſs permitted and admitted."

An ordination of prieſts and deacons.

All the divine offices were now reformed, but only that for ordination of miniſters. Therefore, for the doing of this, the council appointed twelve learned men, conſiſting half of biſhops, and half of other inferior divines; whoſe names I do not meet with, excepting Hethe, Biſhop of Worceſter: who, becauſe he would not aſſiſt in this work, was ſent to priſon. The chief of them no doubt was the Archbiſhop. After mature deliberation, this office was agreed upon, and

The office of ordination reformed.

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finiſhed: and Ponet was the firſt biſhop conſecrated after this new form. And that I ſuppoſe may be the reaſon, that it is ſet down at length in the Archbiſhop's regiſter in that manner as it is there to be ſeen: as we ſhall ſee under the next year.

The Archbiſhop viſits ſome vacant churches. St. David's.

Upon the vacancy of cathedral churches the Archbiſhop uſed to viſit. So now the church of St. David's being vacant, upon the remove of Barlow to Bath and Wells, the Archbiſhop iſſued out a commiſſion to Eliſeus Price to viſit that church.

Gloceſter.

And upon the vacancy of Gloceſter by the death of Wakeman, there was a commiſſion to J. Williams, LL. D. and prebendary there, to be his commiſſary, and to viſit that church, and to be keeper of the ſpiritualties of the city and dioceſe of Gloceſter, in this third year of the King.

Norwich.

This year alſo the church of Norwich being become vacant by the reſignation of Repps, the Archbiſhop granted a commiſſion to John, Biſhop Suffragan of Thetford, and Dean of the church of the Holy Trinity, Norwich, to be his deputy and commiſſary for viſitation and juriſdiction. But, ſomewhat before this, he conſtituted Roland Taylor, LL. D. and William Wakefeld, D. D. to be keepers of the ſpiritualties of Norwich: from whoſe juriſdiction he proteſted not to derogate by thoſe his commiſſional letters to the Suffragan, nor to withdraw from them any authority of juriſdiction. This was dated February 15.

London.

Alſo the church of London being vacant by the deprivation and deſtitution of Boner, the Archbiſhop conſtituted Gabriel Donne, Reſidentiary of St. Paul's, to be his official, and keeper of the ſpiritualties, to exerciſe all manner of epiſcopal juriſdiction in the ſaid city and dioceſe.

A new Dean of the Arches.

This year he made Griffin Leyſon, LL. D. Dean of the Arches.

CHAP. XII.

Duke of Somerſet's Troubles. The Common Prayer ratified.

WHEN moſt of the council had combined together, in the month of October, againſt the protector of the King's perſon, the Duke of Somerſet, and had withdrawn themſelves to Ely-houſe, the King then being at Hampton Court, and ſuddenly conveyed by the ſaid Duke to Windſor, upon the fear of tumult; then I find the Archbiſhop, and but two privy-counſellors more, with the King and the Protector there. Being here, the good Archbiſhop, though he would not forſake his friend the Duke, nor the King his maſter, yet he did what lay in him to appeaſe and pacify theſe heats. And ſo he, with the Lord Paget and Secretary Smith, in their own and the King's name, wrote an earneſt letter to the ſeparating counſellors, and ſent it by Sir Philip Hoby: wherein, as appears by their anſwer, "they were charged "by the Archbiſhop with creating much care and ſorrow to "the King, and that he thought they had not that care that "beſeemed them of pacifying the preſent uproars, and for "the preſervation of the ſtate from danger: that they forgat "the benefits they had received from the King's father, nor "were mindful of their duty of allegiance: that their doings "beſpake wilfulneſs; and that the Protector meant nothing "but the ſafety and protection of the King in what he had "done; and that he had that conſideration of his duty to "God, that the promiſe and oath he made required." They were adviſed to do as they would be done unto: and mention was made of cruelty more than once, charging them obliquely therewith. And in fine he wrote, that he, and thoſe with him, knew more than they did, to whom they writ. Probably he meant, that he knew that this anger againſt the Duke aroſe from the private malice of ſome of them, or their hatred of the reformation, notwithſtanding all the fair pretences of their care of the King, and the Protector's miſgovernment. Anno 1549. The Archbiſhop writes to the Lords at Ely-houſe. 193

This letter the Lords from Ely-houſe anſwered, charging Their anſwer.

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and commanding the Archbiſhop, and thoſe with him, to have a continual earneſt watch of the King's perſon, and that he be not removed from Windſor-caſtle, as they would anſwer the ſame at their utmoſt perils. They wondered much, they ſaid, that they would ſuffer the King's royal perſon to remain in the guard of the Duke's men, and that ſtrangers ſhould be armed with the King's armour, and be neareſt about his perſon: for, it ſeems, many of the King's ſervants, in this fear, were removed away. They adviſed the Archbiſhop and the Lord Paget to come over to their ſide, and to leave the poor Duke alone. Upon this the Archbiſhop and the others wrote a ſecond letter, dated October the 10th: wherein they aſſured the Lords, that they could, whenſoever they pleaſed to require it, give ſuch very good reaſons for their ſo often mentioning cruelty in their other letter, as, they queſtioned not, they would be well ſatisfied with. And ſo, upon the Lords' propounding a meeting with the King and them, they accorded thereunto, in great prudence willing, for peace and quietneſs in that dangerous time, ſo to do. Theſe letters are recorded in the Hiſtory of the Reformation.

Vol. ii. Collect. p. 187, 188.

The Archbiſhop gets the Common Prayer-Book confirmed.

The Common Prayer-Book, and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, by the great care and ſtudy of the Archbiſhop, was now finiſhed, and ſettled by act of parliament: which would not down with a great many. But upon the taking up of the Duke of Somerſet in the month of October, and laying him in the Tower, it was generally ſaid that now the old Latin ſervice ſhould come in again, the common
194 opinion being, that the Common Prayer was peculiarly of his procuring. And that there were ſuch deſigns among Somerſet's enemies, who were generally favourers of the old religion, it is not improbable. The good Archbiſhop thought it now time to interpoſe in this thing, and to obtain from the privy-council ſomewhat to confirm the book of Common Prayer. So there was in December 25, a general letter drawn up to all the biſhops of England: letting them underſtand, "That there was no intention of bringing in again Latin ſervice, conjured bread and water, nor any ſuch abrogated ceremonies: and that the aboliſhing of theſe, and the ſetting forth of

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" the book of Common Prayer, was done by the whole " ſtate of the realm. That the book was grounded upon " the holy Scripture, and was agreeable to the order of the " primitive church, and much to the edifying of the ſubject: " and therefore that the changing of that for the old Latin " ſervice would be a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, " darkneſs to light, and a preparation to bring in papiſtry " and ſuperſtition again. The biſhops therefore were bid " with all ſpeed to command their deans and prebendaries, " and all parſons, vicars, and curates, to bring to ſuch places " as the biſhops ſhould appoint, all antiphoners, miſſals, &c. " and all other books of ſervice: and that they be defaced " and aboliſhed, that they be no let to that godly and uni- " form order ſet forth. And to commit to ward any ſtub- " born and diſobedient perſons that brought not the ſaid " books, and to certify the council of their miſbehaviour. " That they ſhould make ſearch, if any of theſe ſuperſtitious " books were withdrawn or hid. That whereas there were " ſome perſons who refuſed to contribute to the buying of " bread and wine for the communion, according to the " order of the book, whereby many times the holy com- " munion was fain to be omitted; to convent ſuch perſons " before them, and admoniſh them: and if they refuſed " to do accordingly, to puniſh them by ſuſpenſion, excom- " munication, or other cenſure." This was ſigned by the Archbiſhop and the Lord Chancellor Rich, and four more.

CHAP. XIII.

The Archbiſhop entertains learned Foreigners.

THE Archbiſhop had now in his family ſeveral learned men. Some he ſent for from beyond ſea, and ſome in pity he entertained, being exiles for religion. Among the former ſort was Martin Bucer, a man of great learning and moderation, and who bore a great part in the reformation of Germany. While he and the reſt abode under his roof, the Archbiſhop ſtill employed them, ſometimes in learned con-

The Archbiſhop harbours learned ſtrangers.

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ferences and conſultations held with them, ſometimes in writing their judgment upon ſome ſubjects in divinity. Here Bucer wrote to the Lady Elizabeth a letter, bearing date the 6th of the calends of September, commending her ſtudy in piety and learning, and exciting her to proceed therein: incited ſo to do, I make no doubt, by the Archbiſhop, whom Bucer in that letter makes mention of, and ſtyleth *Patrem ſuum, et benigniſſimum hoſpitem.* Hence alſo he wrote another letter to the Marquis of Northampton (who was a patron of learning, and a profeſſor of religion) in the behalf of Sleidan, who was promiſed a penſion by the King, to enable him to write the hiſtory of the progreſs of religion, beginning at Luther. A part of the letter, tranſlated into Engliſh, ran thus.

MSS. C.C.C.C. Miſcellan. A. 195

" Therefore, if we ſhould not take care that this ſo great " act of divine goodneſs towards us [*viz.* the reformation " began in the year 1517] ſhould be moſt diligently written " and conſecrated to poſterity, we ſhould lie under the " crime of the neglect of God's glory, and moſt foul in- " gratitude. Therefore John Sleidan, a very learned and " eloquent man, five years ago began to compile an hiſtory " of this nature, as the work he had publiſhed did witneſs: " but after he was much encouraged in this undertaking, " and well furniſhed with matter, the calamities that befel " Germany, for our own deſerts, intercepted the pious at- " tempts of this man, ſo very uſeful to the church. Nor " doth it appear now from whence, beſides the King's " Majeſty, we may hope that ſome ſmall benignity may be " obtained for Sleidan; ſince the ſalaries, which he received " for this purpoſe from the German Princes, failed; and he " was poor. That John Alaſco, Dr. Peter Martyr, and he, " conſidering theſe things, and weighing how the truly " chriſtian King Edward was even born with a deſire of " illuſtrating the glory of Chriſt, and what need there was " to ſet Sleidan again upon finiſhing the Hiſtory of the " Goſpel reſtored to us; they had therefore preſumed to " ſupplicate the King in his behalf, and intreated the " Marquis to promote and forward their ſupplication, and " to vouchſafe to contribute his help alſo." We ſhall hear more of this hereafter.

" the book of Common Prayer, was done by the whole " ſtate of the realm. That the book was grounded upon " the holy Scripture, and was agreeable to the order of the " primitive church, and much to the edifying of the ſubject: " and therefore that the changing of that for the old Latin " ſervice would be a preferring of ignorance to knowledge, " darkneſs to light, and a preparation to bring in papiſtry " and ſuperſtition again. The biſhops therefore were bid " with all ſpeed to command their deans and prebendaries, " and all parſons, vicars, and curates, to bring to ſuch places " as the biſhops ſhould appoint, all antiphoners, miſſals, &c. " and all other books of ſervice: and that they be defaced " and aboliſhed, that they be no let to that godly and uni- " form order ſet forth. And to commit to ward any ſtub- " born and diſobedient perſons that brought not the ſaid " books, and to certify the council of their miſbehaviour. " That they ſhould make ſearch, if any of theſe ſuperſtitious " books were withdrawn or hid. That whereas there were " ſome perſons who refuſed to contribute to the buying of " bread and wine for the communion, according to the " order of the book, whereby many times the holy com- " munion was fain to be omitted; to convent ſuch perſons " before them, and admoniſh them: and if they refuſed " to do accordingly, to puniſh them by ſuſpenſion, excom- " munication, or other cenſure." This was ſigned by the Archbiſhop and the Lord Chancellor Rich, and four more.

CHAP. XIII.

The Archbiſhop entertains learned Foreigners.

THE Archbiſhop had now in his family ſeveral learned men. Some he ſent for from beyond ſea, and ſome in pity he entertained, being exiles for religion. Among the former ſort was Martin Bucer, a man of great learning and moderation, and who bore a great part in the reformation of Germany. While he and the reſt abode under his roof, the Archbiſhop ſtill employed them, ſometimes in learned con-

The Archbiſhop harbours learned ſtrangers.

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and benefits towards him: "which were ſo large, that he "muſt do nothing elſe but tell of them, to be ſufficiently "thankful for them. And known it was to all," as he ſaid, "how obligingly he received, and how liberally he enter- "tained, both himſelf, and many other ſtrangers of his rank "and condition. And partly that by his authority he "would protect and defend what he ſhould find in his book "to be conſonant to the holy Scriptures, and agreeable to "the King's laws. For he had," he ſaid, "ſkill and in- "duſtry enough to do it; who had himſelf often, both in "public and private, conflicted with the adverſaries, and "with admirable learning, accuracy of wit, and dexterity, "vindicated the truth from the ſpinous and confuſed cavils "of ſophiſters. Nor did he want will to ſtand up for ſound "and chriſtian doctrines, as all good men knew: who ſaw "how earneſt he was in his labours of reſtoring religion; "that for that cauſe he drew upon himſelf many enmities "and threatening dangers."

The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer to come over.

The firſt occaſion of Bucer's call into England was thus. He had wrote to John Hales (a learned Engliſhman, his acquaintance) the ſad eſtate of Germany, and that he could ſcarce ſtay any longer in the place where he was. This Hales acquainted the Archbiſhop with; which made a great impreſſion upon his compaſſionate ſoul, and he brake out into thoſe words of the Pſalmiſt, *Mirifica miſericordias tuas, qui ſalvos facis ſperantes in te a reſiſtentibus dexteræ tuæ.* And forthwith writ to Bucer a letter in October 1548, to come over to this realm, which ſhould be a moſt ſafe harbour for him, urging him to become a labourer in the Lord's harveſt here begun; and uſing other arguments with him to move him hereunto, in the moſt obliging ſtyle poſſible, calling him, *My Bucer*. And that he might come over the ſafer from harms and enemies, the Archbiſhop recommended him to one Hills, an Engliſh merchant, to provide for his paſſage. The Archbiſhop's letter may be found in the Appendix. To this letter Bucer wrote an anſwer, ſeeming, upon ſome conſiderations, to decline the Archbiſhop's invitation. This letter coming to the Archbiſhop's hands, he ſhewed to Peter Alexander; who, by the Archbiſhop's order, wrote back to Bucer, in the ſaid Archbiſhop's

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and the Protector's name, to call him again over; which letter was dated March 24, from Lambeth; telling him withal, that the good old man Latimer ſaluted him. Letters, I ſuppoſe, of the ſame import, were alſo diſpatched to the learned Fagius. 197

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Bucer and Fagius, who were thus honourably invited into England by repeated letters of the Lord Protector and Archbiſhop Cranmer, were by them alſo nominated for public profeſſors in the univerſity of Cambridge, the one of divinity, the other of the Hebrew tongue. This was looked on by their friends as a notable piece of God's good providence, that when theſe two eminent champions of the true religion were in ſo much preſent danger in Germany, ſo ſeaſonable a refuge was provided for them elſewhere. They both arrived ſafe in England in the end of April, and abode with the Archbiſhop above a quarter of a year, until towards the end of the long vacation, the Archbiſhop intending they ſhould be at Cambridge when the term ſhould begin, in order to their reading. During this interval, while they continued at Lambeth, they were not idle; being every day buſied in ſome ſtudy and exerciſe agreeable to their function, as was hinted before. But the main of their thoughts were taken up in preparing for their univerſity lectures: which, of what ſubject-matter they ſhould be, the Archbiſhop himſelf directed. As it had been a great while his pious and moſt earneſt deſire, that the holy Bible ſhould come abroad in the greateſt exactneſs, and true agreement with the original text: ſo he laid this work upon theſe two learned men. Firſt, that they ſhould give a clear, plain, and ſuccinct interpretation of the Scripture, according to the propriety of the language. And, ſecondly, illuſtrate difficult and obſcure places, and reconcile thoſe that ſeemed repugnant to one another. And it was his will and his advice, that to this end and purpoſe their public readings ſhould tend. This pious and good work, by the Archbiſhop aſſigned to them, they moſt gladly and readily undertook. For their more regular carrying on this buſineſs, they allotted to each other, by conſent, their diſtinct taſks. Fagius, becauſe his talent lay in the Hebrew learning, was to undertake the Old Teſtament; and Bucer

Bucer and Fagius profeſſors at Cambridge.

Vit. P. Fag. per Miniſtr. aliquos Eccleſ. Argent.

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the New. The leiſure they now enjoyed with the Archbiſhop, they ſpent in preparing their reſpective lectures. Fagius entered upon the evangelical Prophet Eſaias, and Bucer upon the Goſpel of the Evangeliſt John: and ſome chapters in each book were diſpatched by them. But it was not long, but both of them fell ſick: which gave a very unhappy ſtop to their ſtudies.

Fagius dies.

Fagius his diſtemper proved mortal; who was ſeized at firſt with a very acute fever. And notwithſtanding phyſic and attendance, remaining very ill, he had a great deſire to remove to Cambridge to his charge appointed him, hoping the change of air might help him. He made a ſhift to travel thither, leaving his dear colleague ſick behind him. But Fagius ſtill declining in his health, ardently deſired Bucer's company: who on the fifth of November came to Cambridge. And ten days after Fagius deceaſed, aged about forty-five years, to the extraordinary loſs of that univerſity, and the grief of all pious men that wiſhed well to religion: and, which was moſt to be lamented, before he had given any ſpecimen of his learning and abilities in England; though he had already given many to the world: all ſhewing what a maſter he was in Hebrew and Rabbinical learning. His publiſhed labours of this nature (all within the ſpace of ſix years) may be ſeen in the Appendix: which I have placed there for the preſerving the memory of that learned profeſſor, which our univerſity of Cambridge was once honoured with.

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The Archbiſhop ſends money to Fagius's widow.

The good Archbiſhop, troubled at the ſudden death of this learned man, from whom he had promiſed himſelf ſome great good to accrue to the univerſity, ſent a letter, November the laſt, unto his ſorrowful companion Bucer, deſiring him, among other things, as from him, to comfort Fagius's widow, and to let her know, that he had ſent her by the carrier ſeven and twenty pounds, which was part of the ſtipend due out of the exchequer to her huſband: which, although it were not yet paid into Cranmer's hands, yet he thought good to ſend her the money ſo ſoon, that it might be ſome alleviation of her preſent ſorrow. There were fifty pounds due for his readings, reckoning from Lady-day laſt, when his penſion began; but three pounds

were diſburſed for charges in taking out the patent, and twenty pounds the Archbiſhop had ſent him before. CHAP. XIII. Anno 1549.

Bucer above all lamented the loſs of his mate, and wrote a ſorrowful letter *ad fratres et ſymmyſtas*, to his brethren and fellow-miniſters in Germany upon this ſubject. And in a letter to P. Martyr, then at Oxon, he not only complained of this heavy loſs, but, as if himſelf were like to follow him, of ſeveral things that made him uneaſy at Cambridge, where he was now placed; as of the want of a convenient houſe, of a body impatient of cold, which the time of the year made him begin to feel, need of neceſſaries: that the letters patents were not yet ſigned, [for his ſalary,] and the ſlow and uncertain payment of his penſion. But Cranmer, out of that high reſpect he had for him, was not wanting in his diligence in due time to make all eaſy to him; and to have ſo uſeful and grave a man well provided for. But the next year, the laſt day of February, Bucer followed his companion to the other world: but not before he had made himſelf and his learning known to the univerſity: which, to qualify him to moderate at the public diſputations at the Commencement, had given him the degree of doctor, as a peculiar honour done him, without the common rites and forms ordinarily uſed in thoſe caſes. Yet he choſe to do his exerciſes, reſponding the firſt day of the Commencement, and oppoſing the ſecond, with great learning, and no leſs ſatisfaction of the univerſity.

Bucer laments his loſs. MSS. C. C. C. C.

CHAP. XIV.

Peter Martyr diſputes in Oxford, being challenged thereunto.

THE Papiſts in both univerſities were reſolved to try the metal and learning of their new profeſſors; being exceedingly nettled at their coming, and offended at their readings.

Thoſe of P. Martyr at Oxon highly provoked many in that univerſity, that could not endure to hear the old error of the corporeal preſence oppoſed. And of ſuch there were

P. Martyr challenged publicly to a diſputation.

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not a few, and eſpecially the heads of the colleges; the elder ſort being more ſtiff and prejudiced to their old ways and opinions. This doctrine of the ſacrament was firſt obſcured, and afterwards depraved: and ſo this error being entertained, became a door for the letting in a flood of ſuperſtition and idolatry into the church. This Martyr well knew, and therefore with wonderful pains endeavoured to vindicate the truth of the Euchariſt from error and corruption. And this procured him many enemies here. For they could not endure him: and firſt raiſed up among the people ſlanders againſt him; as though he impugned the doctrine of the ancients, and ſhook the laudable ceremonies of the church, and profaned the ſacrament of the altar, and in effect trampled it under his feet. And this noiſe being a little ſtilled, not long after, the day before he was to read publicly, they ſet up bills in Engliſh upon all the doors of the churches, that on ſuch a day there ſhould be a public diſputation about the preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament, Martyr knowing nothing of it, though he was deſigned to be the diſputant. The day being come, the ſchools were filled with great numbers of ſuch who favoured the Papiſts: and theſe were inſtructed to be ready to make loud clamours and tumults, and to proceed to blows, if need were. The ſtudents alſo and the townſmen flocked together at the noiſe of this diſpute, to ſee the event, and to make a party, according as they ſtood affected. When the day was come, notwithſtanding his friends perſuaded him not to adventure himſelf to read that day, leſt he might incur ſome danger, he went and did his duty. For he ſaid, "he would not be wanting to his office, nor neglect the "place the King had intruſted him with; and that there "were many, that came queſtionleſs to hear his lectures, "whom he would not diſappoint." As he, with his friends accompanying him, went to his reading, a ſervant of Richard Smith, D. D. whom we have before ſpoke of, the chief in this plot, met him, and delivered him a letter from his maſter, wherein he challenged him to a diſpute that day.

Vit. Mart. per Simler.

His anſwer hereunto.

Being come to the chair, he gently told his adverſaries, in a modeſt ſpeech to them, "that he refuſed not to diſpute,

" but that at that time he came to read, and not to diſpute." And ſo themſelves yielding to it, he proceeded to his lecture: which he performed with much conſtancy and undauntedneſs, without the leaſt diſturbance of mind, or change of countenance or colour, or heſitation in his ſpeech, notwithſtanding the murmur and noiſe of the adverſaries. Which got him much credit and applauſe. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1549.

As ſoon as he had done his reading, the adverſaries began to make loud cries that he ſhould diſpute, and eſpecially Smith the champion. But he modeſtly refuſed it, and ſaid, " he would do it at another time, and that he was not then " prepared, becauſe they had ſo ſtudiouſly concealed the " propoſitions to be diſputed of, and had not propounded " them publicly, according to the accuſtomed manner; and " that he knew nothing of them till that very day." But they told him, " he could not be unprepared, who had read " ſo much of the Lord's ſupper, whatſoever arguments they " propounded in this matter." They ſtill rudely urging him; he ſaid, " he would do nothing in ſuch a matter, without " the King were firſt made privy to it, eſpecially when the " thing tended to ſedition. Moreover, for a lawful diſputa- " tion, it was requiſite," he ſaid, " that certain queſtions be " propounded, judges and moderators conſtituted; and pub- " lic notaries be preſent, that might impartially and faithfully " write down the arguments and ſpeeches on both ſides." Declines it at preſent, and why.

In fine, the matter came to that paſs, that, fearing a tumult, the Vicechancellor decided the controverſy after this manner; " That both P. Martyr, and Smith, with ſome " friends, ſhould meet in his houſe, and ſhould appoint " the propoſitions to be diſputed of, the time, the order and " manner of diſputation." And ſo the Vicechancellor, the beadle making him way, went to the pulpit where the profeſſor was, and took him by the hand, and led him down through the crowds to his own houſe, his friends going along with him; and among the reſt Sidal and Curtop, then vigorous defenders of the truth; but after, in Queen Mary's days, revolting. Smith alſo, and his friends Cole, Oglethorp, and three more, repaired to the Vicechancellor; where it was agreed, after ſome jangling, that Martyr ſhould obſerve the ſame order in confuting as he did in They agree upon the conditions of a diſputation.

BOOK II. Anno 1549.

teaching; and abſtaining from ſtrange, barbarous, and ambiguous words, wont to be uſed in the ſchools: he ſaid, he would uſe only *carnaliter* and *corporaliter*, *realiter* and *ſubſtantialiter*, becauſe the Scripture uſeth only the words *fleſh* and *body*, *res* or *ſubſtantia*. And ſo it was agreed; and the day ſet was the fourth of May enſuing. And it was agreed alſo on both ſides, that all this whole matter ſhould be ſignified to the council, that they might have cognizance of the thing. And by them the day of the diſputation was appointed, when ſome from the King, as judges and keepers of peace, would be preſent at it. The Papiſts reported falſely, that he, having appointed the time of the diſputation to be ten days hence; in the mean time got the magiſtrates acquainted with this affair, that they might ſtop and forbid it, (which they did indeed, proroguing it till ſome months after the firſt challenge.) And that afterwards, when the Profeſſor ſaw his opportunity, he provoked to a public diſputation, offering to diſpute of his queſtions formerly propounded, and thought there would be none to take him up. For Smith, they ſay, ſmelt out ſome crafty device taken againſt him, and ſo appeared not at the diſpute. And then indeed few thought convenient to be there, their plot of making a rout and confuſion being ſpoiled. Indeed Smith, conſcious to himſelf of making this tumult, fled before the day came, and went into Scotland. But Dr. Treſham, a zealous man, that this cauſe might not fall, was deſirous to undertake the diſputation; and did ſo, with Dr. Chedſey, and Mr. Morgan, before the King's viſitors: who were Henry Biſhop of Lincoln; Dr. Cox, Chancellor of that univerſity; Dr. Simon Haines, Dean of Exeter; Richard Moriſon, Eſquire; Chriſtopher Neviſon, doctor of civil law. Before theſe honourable umpires, (who came with the King's letters patents,) the diſputation concerning tranſubſtantiation, and the carnal preſence in the ſacrament, laſted four days; wherein P. Martyr the reſpondent did acquit himſelf very ſufficiently, both from Scripture and Fathers. The ſum of
201 which may be ſeen in Fox's Monuments, and the whole in Martyr's works, in that part thereof intituled, *De Euchariſtia Diſputatio*.

They diſpute.

The firſt day of the diſputation was May the 28th:

it was managed between Martyr and Treſham. Dr. Cox, the Chancellor, began with a ſpeech. Then Martyr made his proemial oration and prayer. Then Treſham ſucceeded with another oration, beſtowing ſome praiſes upon Martyr: which he replying upon, and briefly and modeſtly declining, began his argument. The next diſputation, on May 29, was between Martyr and Chedzey; after Martyr had made a ſhort ſpeech and prayer, and Chedzey his preface. The third action was between Morgan, Treſham, and Martyr. The diſputation of the fourth day, June 1, was again between Chedzey and Martyr. And then all was concluded by another ſpeech uttered by the ſaid Chancellor. Wherein he had theſe words: "Peter (and a Peter indeed "for his ſteady conſtancy) Martyr (and rightly called Mar-"tyr, for the numberleſs teſtimonies by him produced in the "behalf of truth) muſt needs obtain much favour and reſpect "from us, and all good men; Firſt, that he hath taken ſuch "vaſt pains in ſtanding under even a burden of diſputations. "For if *not Hercules himſelf againſt two*, what ſhall we "think of Peter alone againſt all? Secondly, that he hath "undertook the challenge of a diſputation: and ſo ſtopped "the vain ſpeeches of vain men, who diſperſed envious and "odious inſinuations concerning him; as that either he would "not, or dared not, to maintain his own tenets. And, laſtly, "that he hath ſo excellently well anſwered the expectation of "the chief magiſtrates, and ſo of the King himſelf; while he "hath not only recommended to the univerſity the doctrine "of Chriſt from God's lively fountains, but alſo hath not per-"mitted any (as much as lay in him) to muddy or obſtruct "them." But I refer the reader for the reſt to Dr. Cox's own oration. [Num. XLIV.]

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Martyr ſends the ſum of the diſputation to the Archbiſhop.

The Profeſſor drew up the whole four days diſputation ſoon after, and ſent it by his conſtant friend and companion Julius, to his patron the Archbiſhop. And with the ſame meſſenger he conveyed a letter, dated June 15, to Bucer, then at the Archbiſhop's houſe, concerning his ſaid diſputation. Therein he ſignified the obſtinacy and boldneſs of his opponents; and that he feared, "That his doctrines he then "maintained might not altogether ſquare with Bucer's "judgment. But he ſaid in his own juſtification, that he

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" granted the body of Chriſt was preſent to us by faith, and " that we are incorporated into him by communication. He " confeſſed here, that we do partake of the matter of the " ſacrament, namely, the body and blood of Chriſt; but he " meant it in mind and faith. And in the mean time he " granted, that the Holy Ghoſt is efficacious in the ſacra- " ments, by virtue of the Lord's inſtitution. But that which " he eſpecially endeavoured to aſſert, was, that they mixed " not the body and blood of Chriſt carnally with the bread " and wine, by any corporeal preſence. Nor yet would he " have the ſacrament to be ſymbols without honour and re- " verence. Another thing he aſſerted, which he thought " might offend Bucer, was, That it was not agreeable to the " body of Chriſt, however glorified, to be in many places at
202 " once. But for this, he wrote Bucer, as he urged in the " diſputation, that the Scripture obliged to no ſuch belief; " how the reaſon of an human body reclaimed againſt it; " and the Fathers affirmed that ſuch a quality was granted " to no creature, but belonged to God alone." And ſo, inviting him, and Fagius and Alexander, to Oxford, concluded his letter.

The diſputation publiſhed by Martyr;

But when the Papiſts diſperſed vain ſtories and many falſehoods concerning this buſineſs, he was forced, his friends alſo urging him thereunto, to publiſh an account hereof. And with what fidelity and diligence he drew up his book, the teſtimonies of two of the King's counſellors, ear-witneſſes, added thereto, ſufficiently confirmed. In the preface to his relation of theſe diſputes, he aſſigned two reaſons that made him publiſh them. The one was, the calumnies of evil men; the other, the deſires of his friends. Under the former he complained, " how he was by his adverſaries beſpattered " among all ſorts of people, princes, nobles, commons, citi- " zens, clowns: and that all corners, ſtreets, houſes, ſhops, " taverns, ſounded their triumphs over him; and he doubted " not, that it was diſperſed by them into other nations. " Upon theſe conſiderations, his great patron, the Arch- " biſhop of Canterbury, (to whom he dared to deny no- " thing,) and the King's viſitors, beſides others of his " friends, had adviſed and deſired him to put forth theſe his " diſputations in his own vindication, and in the vindication

Quid enim negare auſim Rever. Archiepiſcopo Cant. cui plane omnia debeo? In Præfat. ad Diſp.

" of the truth. Theſe he profeſſed to write with all fidelity: CHAP.
" and, that he might be the more exact, he had compared XIV.
" his own collections with the relations that were drawn Anno 1549.
" up by the adverſaries; and that, having read theirs, what
" he could recall that he had before omitted, which was of
" any moment, he reſtored out of their writings."

But Treſham, the chief diſputant, pretending himſelf ag- And by Treſham.
grieved with this book, as though Martyr had therein miſ-repreſented him, and expreſſed ſome indignation againſt him, and added ſome things that were not ſpoken; wrote himſelf another account of this diſputation, in juſtification of himſelf againſt the Profeſſor; and ſet a preface before it, by way of epiſtle, to the King's privy-council. Wherein he moſt angrily beſpattered this reverend man, calling him " *Pſeudo-Martyr*, a doting old man, ſubverted, impudent, " and the famous maſter of errors: and that he fled into " Germany to obtain the more licence for his luſt, and that " he might enjoy his adultery," meaning his wife. The diſputation itſelf is too long to be tranſcribed; it is extant among the Foxian manuſcripts. But the epiſtle dedicatory, or preface before it, I will not omit, that the reader No. XLV.
may there obſerve the malicious ſpirit of Martyr's adverſaries, and collect ſome further account of this diſputation. But the reader muſt remember, that it was an angry antagoniſt that wrote it.

Dr. Smith, who had done his beſt to cauſe a riot in the Smith writes to the Archbiſhop from Scotland.
univerſity, and thereby to endanger the King's profeſſor, and was therefore got away into Scotland; conſcious likewiſe to himſelf of calumnies and wrongs done by him againſt the Archbiſhop; ſome time after wrote to the Archbiſhop a ſubmiſſive letter, praying him " to forgive all the injuries he 203
" had done his Grace, and to obtain the King's pardon for
" him, that he might return home again. And he promiſed
" to write a book for the marriage of prieſts, as he had done
" before againſt it. That he was the more deſirous to come
" home into England, becauſe otherwiſe he ſhould be put
" upon writing againſt his Grace's book of the ſacrament,
" and all his proceedings in religion, being then har-
" boured," as he would make it believed, " by ſuch as re-
" quired it at his hands." But in Queen Mary's days he re-

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volted again, and was a moſt zealous Papiſt, and then did that indeed, which he gave ſome hints of before; for he wrote vehemently againſt Cranmer's book.

Diſputations at Cambridge before the commiſſioners.

But from Oxford, let us look over to Cambridge: where diſputations likewiſe were held in the month of June, before the King's commiſſioners, who were Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, Thomas Biſhop of Ely, Mr. Cheke, Dr. May, and Dr. Wendy, the King's Phyſician. The queſtions were, "That tranſubſtantiation could not be proved by Scripture, "nor be confirmed by the conſent of ancient fathers for a "thouſand years paſt. And that the Lord's ſupper is no "oblation or ſacrifice, otherwiſe than a remembrance of "Chriſt's death." There were three ſolemn diſputations. In the firſt, Dr. Madew was reſpondent; and Glyn, Langdale, Sedgwick, and Yong, opponents. In the ſecond, Dr. Glyn was reſpondent on the popiſh ſide; opponents, Pern, Grindal, Gueſt, Pilkington. In the third, Dr. Pern was reſpondent; Parker, Pollard, Vavaſor, Yong, opponents. After theſe diſputations were ended, the Biſhop of Rocheſter determined the truth of theſe queſtions *ad placitum ſuum*, as a Papiſt wrote, out of whoſe notes I tranſcribe the names of theſe diſputants.

Bucer diſputes.

Beſides theſe diſputations, when Bucer came to Cambridge, he was engaged in another with Sedgwick, Pern, and Yong, upon theſe queſtions. "I. That the canonical "books of Scripture alone do teach ſufficiently all things "neceſſary to ſalvation. II. That there is no church in "earth that erreth not, as well in faith as manners. "III. That we are ſo freely juſtified of God, that, before "our juſtification, whatſoever good works we ſeem to do "have the nature of ſin." Concerning this laſt, he and Yong had ſeveral combats: which are ſet down in his Engliſh works.

His judgment of the ſacrament.

As to Bucer's opinion of the preſence in the ſacrament, the great controverſy of this time, it may not be amiſs to conſider what ſo great a profeſſor thought herein; and eſpecially by what we ſaw before, that Martyr and he did ſomewhat differ in this point: for as he would not admit thoſe words *carnally* and *naturally*, ſo neither did he like *realiter* and *ſubſtantialiter*. Bucer's judgment, drawn up by

himſelf ſententiouſly in fifty-four aphoriſms, may be ſeen in the Appendix, as I meet with it among Fox's papers. It is extant in Latin among his *Scripta Anglicana*, and entitled, *Conceſſio D. M. Buc. de Sancta Euchariſtia, in Anglia Aphoriſticos ſcripta, Anno* 1550. And ſo we take our leave of Bucer for this year. We ſhall hear of him again in the next.

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Matters of the Church, and its State now.

LET me now crave a little room to ſet down ſome matters that relate to the church, coming within the compaſs of this year; which will ſhew what mean advances religion as yet had made in the nation.

Divers relicks of popery ſtill continued in the nation, by means partly of the biſhops, partly of the juſtices of peace, popiſhly affected. In London Biſhop Boner drove on but heavily in the King's proceedings, though he outwardly complied. In his cathedral church there remained ſtill the Apoſtles' maſs, and our Lady's maſs, and other maſſes under the defence and nomination of our Lady's communion, uſed in the private chapels, and other remote places of the ſame church, though not in the chancel; contrary to the King's proceedings. Therefore the Lord Protector, and others of the council, wrote to the Biſhop, June 24, complaining of this, and ordering that no ſuch maſſes ſhould be uſed in St. Paul's church any longer; and that the holy communion, according to the act of parliament, ſhould be miniſtered at the high altar of the church, and in no other place of the ſame, and only at ſuch times as the high maſſes were wont to be uſed; except ſome number of people, for their neceſſary buſineſs, deſired to have a communion in the morning; and yet the ſame to be exerciſed in the chancel at the high altar, as was appointed in the book of Public Service. Accordingly Boner directed his letters to the Dean and Chapter of Paul's, to call together thoſe that were reſident, and to declare theſe matters.

Relicks of popery remaining.

Fox's Acts.

As it was thus in London, ſo in the countries, too many

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Anno 1549. The council gives orders to the juſtices.

of the juſtices were ſlack in ſeeing to the execution of the King's laws, relating not only to religion, but to other affairs. And in ſome ſhires that were further diſtant, the people had never ſo much as heard of the King's proclamation, by the default of the juſtices, who winked at the people's neglect thereof. For the quickening of the juſtices of peace at this time, when a foreign invaſion was daily expected, and foreign power was come into Scotland to aid that nation againſt England; the Lord Protector and the privy-council aſſembled at the Star-Chamber, and called before them all the juſtices, (which was a thing accuſtomed ſometimes to be done, for the juſtices to appear before the King and council, there to have admonitions and warnings given them for the diſcharge of their duty.) And then the Lord Chancellor Rich made a ſpeech to them, "That they "ſhould repair down into their ſeveral countries with ſpeed; "and give warning to other gentlemen to go down to their "houſes, and there to ſee good order and rule kept, that "their ſeſſions of gaol-delivery, and quarter-ſeſſions be well "obſerved, that vagabonds and ſeditious tale-bearers of the "King or his council, and ſuch as preached without licence, "be repreſſed and puniſhed. That if there ſhould be any "uproars, or routs, and riots of lewd fellows, or privy traitors, they ſhould appeaſe them. And that if any enemy "ſhould chance to ariſe in any place of England, they "ſhould fire the beacons, as had been wrote to them before, "and repulſe the ſame in as good array as they could. "And that for that purpoſe they ſhould ſee diligently that "men have horſe, harneſs, and other furniture of weapon "ready."

And writes to the biſhops.

And to the biſhops the council now ſent letters again for redreſs of the contempt and neglect of the book of Common Prayer; which to this time, long after the publiſhing thereof, was either not known at all to many, or very irreverently uſed: occaſioned eſpecially by the winking of the biſhops, and the ſtubborn diſobedience of old popiſh curates. The letter is dated the 23d of July, and is extant in Fox.

Neglect in London.

In London, by the connivance and remiſsneſs of the Biſhop, many neglected the divine ſervice then eſtabliſhed: and others did in ſecret places of the dioceſe often frequent

the popiſh maſs, and other ſuperſtitious rites, not allowed by the laws of England. The ſins of adultery greatly increaſed. The churches, and particularly the mother-church of St. Paul's, ran into dilapidations; the glaſs was broken, and the ornaments and other buildings belonging to churches neglected. Many refuſed to pay tithes to their curates, probably of both ſorts; ſuch as were Papiſts, to thoſe curates as more diligently preached reformation, and obeyed the King's laws: and ſuch as were not ſo, to ſuch curates as were more backward thereunto. Biſhop Boner alſo himſelf now ſeldom came to church, ſeldomer preached and celebrated the Engliſh communion. Wherefore the council ſent certain private injunctions to Boner for the redreſs of theſe things: "That he ſhould preach in his own perſon "at Paul's Croſs, and declare certain articles, relating to the "before-mentioned neglects, which the council now ſent "to him to redreſs. That he ſhould preach once in a quar-"ter, and exhort the people to obedience; and that he "ſhould be preſent at every ſermon at Paul's Croſs. That "he ſhould on the principal feaſts celebrate the communion, "and at all times that his predeceſſors uſed to celebrate "and ſing high maſs. That he ſhould call before him all "ſuch as did not frequent the church and common-prayer, "and the holy communion, and puniſh them, as alſo adul-"terers: and that he ſhould look to the reparation of St. "Paul's and other churches, and that the people pay their "tithes."

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Adulteries frequent.

The adulteries before hinted, which the council thought fit to recommend to the Biſhop to take particular cognizance of, makes me add, that about this time the nation grew infamous for this crime. It began among the nobility, and ſo ſpread at length among the inferior ſort. Noblemen would very frequently put away their wives, and marry others, if they liked another woman better, or were like to obtain wealth by her. And they would ſometimes pretend their former wives to be falſe to their beds, and ſo be divorced, and marry again ſuch whom they fancied. The firſt occaſion of this ſeemed to be in the Earl of Northampton divorcing himſelf from his firſt wife Anne, daughter to the Earl of Eſſex, and after marrying Elizabeth, daughter to

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the Lord Cobham. In like manner Henry, ſon of William Earl of Pembroke, put away Katharine, daughter to Henry the Duke of Suffolk, and married Mary, the daughter of Sir Henry Sidney. Theſe adulteries and divorces increaſed much; yea, and marrying again without divorce; which became a great ſcandal to the realm, and to the religion profeſſed in it, and gave much ſorrow and trouble in good men to ſee it: inſomuch that they thought it neceſſary to move for an act of parliament to puniſh adultery with death. This Latimer, in a ſermon preached in the year 1550, ſignified to the King: "For the love of God," ſaith he, "take "an order for marriage here in England."

Books diſperſed by Proteſtants.

This is ſome account of the retardation of religion. On the other hand, the endeavours of thoſe that wiſhed well to it were not wanting. Now the Proteſtants began more freely to put forth books, and to diſperſe ſuch as were formerly printed beyond ſea, in the behalf of religion againſt popery, and concerning ſuch as had ſuffered under the cruelties of the church of Rome. Bale about theſe days diſperſed his books. One was, *The Image of both Churches*, applying the divine prophecy of the Revelations to the apoſtate church of Rome. Another was, a vindication of the Lady Anne Aſcue, who ſuffered the cruel death of burning about the end of King Henry's reign: whoſe cauſe the Papiſts ſtudiouſly had rendered bad. This book he entitled, *The Elucidation of Anne Aſcue's Martyrdom*: which was this year expoſed publicly to ſale at Wincheſter, and the parts thereabouts, as a reproach to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, who was the great cauſe of her death. Four of theſe books came to that Biſhop's own eyes, being then at Wincheſter; they had leaves put in as additions to the book, ſome glued and ſome unglued: which probably contained ſome further intelligences that the author had gathered ſince his firſt writing of the book. And herein ſome reflections were made freely, according to Bale's talent, upon ſome of the court, not ſparing Paget himſelf, though then ſecretary of ſtate. Another of Bale's books, that went now about, was touching the death of Luther. Therein was a prayer of the Duke of Saxony mentioned, which the Biſhop of Wincheſter gladly took hold on: wherein that

Duke, as to the juſtneſs of his cauſe, remitted "himſelf to "God's judgment to be ſhewed on him here in this world, "if the cauſe he undertook were not juſt concerning reli- "gion; and deſired God, if it were not good, to order him "to be taken and ſpoiled of his honours and poſſeſſions." Since which the Duke was taken priſoner: and, at the very time of his taking, the Papiſts made an obſervation, that the ſun appeared ſo ſtrangely in England, as the like had not been ſeen before. So apt are men to interpret events according to their own preconceived opinions. But at this Winchester took much advantage. Whereas indeed the iſſues of God's providence in this world are not favourable always even to the beſt cauſes. CHAP. XV. Anno 1549. Letter to the Lord Protector.

The keeping of Lent was now called into controverſy; and aſſerted, that it was not to be obſerved upon a religious account. And this was done the rather, becauſe the Papiſts placed ſo much religion in the bare faſt. In the pulpit it began to be cried down. Tongue and Joſeph, two great preachers in London, ſaid, "That Lent was one of Chriſt's "miracles, which God ordained not men to imitate or fol- "low: and that it was an inſupportable burden." There was a ſet of rhymes now made about the burial of Lent, which was called, *Jack of Lent's Teſtament*, and publicly ſold in Wincheſter market: therein Stephen Gardiner the Biſhop was touched, who was a great man for keeping it. For in the ballad Stephen Stockfiſh was bequeathed in this will to Stephen Gardiner. Of this he made a long complaint to the Protector. But yet this neglect of Lent was not encouraged by the ſuperiors: for it was kept at court, and preparations for the King's diet were made accordingly this Lent by the Protector. The Proteſtants indeed were for keeping it, and an order was iſſued out for that purpoſe; though not upon a religious, but politic account. But the greater part of the ordinary people would not be brought to it by this diſtinction: ſo that the preachers were fain to be employed. Latimer preached, "That thoſe that re- "garded not laws and ſtatutes, were deſpiſers of magiſtrates. "There be laws made of diet," he ſaid, "what meats we "ſhall eat at all times. And this law is made in policy, as "I ſuppoſe, for victual's ſake, that fiſh might be uttered as Preaching againſt Lent. 207

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"well as other meat. Now as long as it goeth ſo politicly, "we ought to keep it. Therefore all, except thoſe that be "diſpenſed withal, as ſick, impotent perſons, women with "child, old folk, &c. ought to live in an ordinary obedience "to thoſe laws, and not to do againſt the ſame in any wiſe."

Gardiner's judgment of a rhyme againſt Lent.

Gardiner urged the great inconvenience theſe rhymes againſt Lent might occaſion: "That they could ſerve for "nothing but to learn the people to rail, and to make "others forbear to make their uſual proviſions of fiſh againſt "the enſuing year, fearing Lent to be ſick, as the rhyme "purported, and like to die."

Latimer counſels the King about marriage.

About theſe times there aroſe much talk of the King's matching. The Proteſtants were much afraid of his marrying with ſome foreign princeſs abroad, that might turn his heart from religion. But the popiſhly affected did their endeavours to perſuade him to pleaſe himſelf with ſome lady abroad, as beſt agreeable with politic ends, as the enlarging of his dominions, and the ſurety and defence of his countries. Some therefore put Latimer upon giving the King counſel in this matter from the pulpit. So he adviſed the King, "to chooſe him one that is of God, that is, "which is of the houſehold of faith; and ſuch an one "as the King can find in his heart to love, and lead his "life in pure and chaſte eſpouſage with. Let him chooſe a "wife that fears God. Let him not chooſe a proud wanton, "and one full only of rich treaſures and worldly pomp."

Foreign proteſtants their offer to King Edward.

The ſentiments of the proteſtant foreigners concerning the preſent Engliſh ſtate deſerves a particular remark. They took ſuch great joy and ſatisfaction in this good King, and his eſtabliſhment of religion, that the heads of them, Bullinger, Calvin, and others, in a letter to him, offered to make him their defender, and to have biſhops in their churches as there were in England, with the tender of their ſervice to aſſiſt and unite together. This nettled the learned at the council of Trent, who came to the knowledge of it by ſome of their private intelligencers; and they verily thought, that all the heretics, as they called them, would now unite among themſelves, and become one body, receiving the ſame diſcipline exerciſed in England. Which if it ſhould happen, and that they ſhould have heretical biſhops

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near them in thoſe parts, they concluded that Rome and her clergy would utterly fall. Whereupon were ſent two of their emiſſaries from Rotterdam into England, who were to pretend themſelves Anabaptiſts, and preach againſt baptizing infants, and preach up rebaptizing, and a fifth monarchy upon earth. And beſides this, one D. G. authorized by theſe learned men, diſpatched a letter written in May 1549, from Delf in Holland, to two biſhops, whereof Wincheſter was one, ſignifying the coming of theſe pretended Anabaptiſts, and that they ſhould receive them and cheriſh them, and take their parts, if they ſhould chance to receive any checks: telling them, that it was left to them to aſſiſt in this cauſe, and to ſome others, whom they knew to be well affected to the mother-church. This letter is lately put in print. Sir Henry Sydney firſt met with it in Queen Elizabeth's cloſet, among ſome papers of Queen Mary's. He tranſcribed it into a book of his, called, *The Romiſh Policies*. It came afterwards into the hands of Archbiſhop Uſher; and was tranſcribed thence by Sir James Ware. Let it be remembered here, and noted, that about this time Wincheſter was appointed, with Ridley Biſhop of Rocheſter, to examine certain Anabaptiſts in Kent.

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Foxes and Firebrands, Part ii.

I find no biſhops conſecrated this year.

CHAP. XVI.

Ridley made Biſhop of London. The Communion Book reviewed.

RIDLEY, Biſhop of Rocheſter, was deſigned to ſucceed Boner, lately deprived, in the biſhopric of London; and, April 3, took his oath, an half year being almoſt ſpent before he entered upon the care of that ſee, after Boner's deprivation. At his entrance, he was exceeding wary not to do his predeceſſor the leaſt injury in goods that belonged to him. He had not one pennyworth of his moveable goods; for if any were found and known to be his, he had licence to convey them away, otherwiſe they were ſafely preſerved

Anno 1550. Ridley made Biſhop of London.

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for him. There was ſome quantity of lead lay in the houſe, which he uſed about it and the church; but Ridley paid for it, as Boner's own officers knew. He continued Boner's receiver, one Staunton, in his place. He paid fifty-three or fifty-five pounds for Boner's own ſervants' common liveries and wages, which was Boner's own debt remaining unpaid after his depoſition. He frequently ſent for old Mrs. Boner, his predeceſſor's mother, calling her his mother, and cauſed her to ſit in the uppermoſt ſeat at his own table; as alſo for his ſiſter, one Mrs. Mongey. It was obſerved, how Ridley welcomed the old gentlewoman, and made as much of her as though ſhe had been his own mother: and though ſometimes the lords of the council dined with him, he would not let her be diſplaced, but would ſay, *By your Lordſhips' favour, this place of right and cuſtom is for my mother Boner.* But to ſee the baſe ingratitude of Boner; when he was reſtored again in Queen Mary's reign, he uſed Ridley far otherwiſe than Ridley had uſed him: for he would not allow the leaſes which Ridley had made, which was in danger to redound to the utter ruin and decay of many poor men. He had a ſiſter with three children, whom he married to one Shipſide, a ſervant of his, and provided for them. This ſiſter Boner turned out of all, and endeavoured the deſtruction of Shipſide, had not Biſhop Hethe delivered him. Ridley, in his offices, and in an iron cheſt in his bed-chamber, had much plate, and conſiderable quantities of other goods; all which Boner ſeized upon: inſomuch that Ridley, but a little before his burning, wrote a ſupplicatory letter to the Queen to take this into her conſideration, "That the poor men might enjoy their leaſes, "and years renewed, for that they were made without fraud "or covin, either for their parts, or his; and the old rents "always reſerved to the ſee, without any kind of damage "thereof: or at leaſt, that they might be reſtored to their "former leaſes and years, and might have rendered to them "again ſuch ſums of money as they paid him and the "chapter, as fines for their leaſes and years taken from "them. Which fines he deſired the Queen would com-"mand might be made good out of the plate and other "things he left in his houſe; half whereof would diſburſe

Ridley's letter, among the letters of the martyrs.

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"thoſe fines." This did ſo much run in the good man's mind, that, at the time of his burning, he deſired the Lord Williams, then preſent, to remember this his ſuit to the Queen. Which he promiſed him he would do. But what effect it had I cannot tell.

Rocheſter vacant.

In the vacancy of the church of Rocheſter, by the remove of Ridley, the Archbiſhop committed the ſpiritualities to William Cook, LL. D. April 18.

Bucer writes to Dorſet, not to ſpoil the church.

The nobility and gentry this year flying ſo much upon the ſpoil of the church, Bucer, by the Archbiſhop's inſtigation, as well as his own inclinations, wrote to the Marquis of Dorſet to forbear, diſſuading him from ſpoiling the church of her maintenance. In which letter he hath theſe expreſſions: *Antiquum dictum eſt, neminem poſſe vere ditari furtis aut rapinis quibus invaduntur res alienæ; multo minus peculatu, quo defraudatur reſpublica. Quem igitur habeat ſenſum Dei, qui dubitet, minime omnium poſſe cujuſquam opes augeri ſaluteriter ſacrilegiis, quibus acciduntur res eccleſiaſticæ? Sunt nimium amplæ hæ opes, addictæ eccleſiis; et in luxum permulti eas diripiunt. Homines plane otioſi; nec ullam reipublicæ conferentes utilitatem, Submoveantur igitur hi fuci ab eccleſiæ alvearibus, nec depaſci permittantur apum labores. Deinde procurentur, ut reſtitutis paſſim ſcholis nuſquam deſint eccleſiarum frugi miniſtri, &c.* That is, "It is "an old ſaying, no body can grow rich by the ſtealing and "taking away of private people's poſſeſſions; much leſs by "robbing of the public. What ſenſe therefore hath he of "God, that doubts not that his riches ſhall increaſe to good "purpoſe that commits ſacrilege, and robs the church of "what belongs to it? But it is objected, the church hath "too much, and many ſpend it in luxury: the churchmen "are idle, and bring no profit to the commonwealth. Let "theſe drones therefore be removed from the hives of the "church, but let not the pains of the bees be eaten up. "And then, having ſchools of good literature every where "reſtored, let not the church want ſober miniſters, &c." MSS. C.C.C.C. Miſcellan. D.

The Common Prayer-Book reviewed.

A review was made of the book of Common Prayer, about the latter end of the year, by Archbiſhop Cranmer, and the biſhops. Divers things, that favoured too much of ſuperſtition, were endeavoured to be changed or amended: 210

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but there were among them ſome that made what oppoſition they could. The Archbiſhop had now by Wilkes, Maſter of Chriſt's College, deſired Bucer (that great divine then at Cambridge) that he would take an impartial view of the whole book, having procured him a tranſlation of it into Latin, done by Aleſs, the learned Scotch divine, for his underſtanding of it; and that he ſhould judge, if he thought any thing in the book might be more explained agreeable with God's word, and for better edification of faith. Bucer in anſwer ſent the Archbiſhop word, firſt, what his judgment was of the book, and then what courſe he intended to uſe in the examination of it, that he was now to make. He ſaid, that when he firſt came into England, and by the help of an interpreter took ſome knowledge of the rites and doctrines of this church, that he might ſee whether he could join his miniſtry with it, he thanked God "that had inclined the officers of the church to reform the ceremonies "to that degree of purity; and that he found nothing in "them that was not taken out of the word of God, or at "leaſt was not repugnant to it, being fitly taken [h]. For "ſome few things there were," added he, "that, unleſs they "were candidly interpreted, might ſeem not ſo ſufficiently "agreeable with the word of God." As for what he was now to do in order to the fulfilling what the Archbiſhop required of him, he intended in ſhort notes, at every chapter of the book, to obſerve what he thought to be according to God's word, and to be retained and vindicated; what to be taken away or mended, and what to be more plainly explained and allowed. After his peruſal of the book, he gave this judgment in general: "That in the deſcripton of "the communion and daily prayers, he ſaw nothing enjoined in the book but what was agreeable to the word of "God, either in word, as the pſalms and leſſons; or in "ſenſe, as the collects. Alſo that the manner of their "leſſons and prayers, and the times of uſing them, were "conſtituted very agreeable both with God's word, and "the obſervation of the ancient churches: and therefore

[h] Nec enim quicquam in illis deprehendi quod non ſit ex verbo Dei deſumptum, aut ſaltem ei non adverſetur, commode acceptum. *Buceri Scripta Anglican.*

"that that book ought to be retained and vindicated with the "greateſt ſtrictneſs[1]." What particular animadverſions the ſaid learned man made upon the book, may be ſeen in his *Scripta Anglicana*, and in the Biſhop of Sarum's Hiſtory, as he hath there abridged them. And ſuch a deference was given to his judgment, that moſt of the things that he excepted againſt were corrected accordingly. And, that the book might be the more exact, and perhaps be the more agreeable to the doctrine and practice of foreign churches, the Archbiſhop recommended the diligent examination of it unto another great divine, Peter Martyr, who was now at Lambeth; the Archbiſhop deſiring him to note what he thought good concerning the book, and, becauſe he knew not the language, the verſion of Sir John Cheke (who had alſo tranſlated it into Latin) was given him. He was alſo requeſted to ſet down in writing what he thought deſerved correction. And he accordingly made his annotations.

211 Bucer and Martyr employed in it. MSS. C.C.C.C. vol. indit. Epiſt. Viror. Illuſtr. et German.

Martyr agreed clearly in judgment with Bucer about the book, as he wrote to him in a letter ſent him to Cambridge, extant among Archbiſhop Parker's manuſcripts. On the back-ſide of which letter is written, by that Archbiſhop's own hand, *Cenſura libri communium precum.* In this letter Martyr told Bucer, that the ſame things that he diſapproved of, the ſame likewiſe had he [Peter Martyr] done: and that afterward he drew them up into articles, and ſhewed them to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. That to all that Bucer judged ought to be amended, he had ſubſcribed; and that he thanked God, that had given occaſion to admoniſh the biſhops of theſe things. From this letter it appears, that the Archbiſhop had told Martyr, that, in the conference among the divines concerning the correction of theſe public prayers, it was concluded to make many alterations. But what thoſe things were, as the Archbiſhop told him not, ſo neither, as he wrote, did he dare to aſk him. But what Cheke told him did not a little refreſh him; *viz.* "That if "they themſelves would not change what ought to be

[1] Modus quoque harum lectionum ac precum, et tempora, ſunt admodum congruenter, et cum verbo Dei, et obſervatione priſcarum eccleſiarum conſtituta. Religione igitur ſumma retinenda erit, et vindicanda hæc ceremonia. *Cenſura, inter Scripta Anglican.*

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"changed, the King would do it of himſelf; and, when they "came to a parliament, the King would interpoſe his Ma- "jeſty's own authority."

CHAP. XVII.

Hoper's Troubles.

Hoper nominated for Biſhop of Glouceſter.

IN the month of July John Hoper, who had lived long abroad in Germany and in Switzerland, and converſed much with Bullinger and Gualter, the chief reformers there, but returned into England in King Edward's reign, and retained by the Duke of Somerſet, and a famous preacher in the city, was nominated by the King to the biſhopric of Glouceſter. But by reaſon of certain ſcruples of conſcience he made to the wearing of the old pontifical habits, as the chimere and rochet, and ſuch-like, and diſliking the oath cuſtomarily taken, he was not conſecrated till eight months after, and endured not a little trouble in the mean ſeaſon. Soon after his nomination he repaired to the Archbiſhop, deſiring him in theſe things to diſpenſe with him: but the Archbiſhop, for certain reaſons, refuſed it. Then was the Archbiſhop ſolicited by great men. The Earl of Warwick, afterwards the great Duke of Northumberland, wrote to him a letter, dated July 23, the bearer whereof was Hoper himſelf, that the rather at his inſtance he would not charge the Biſhop elect of Glouceſter with an oath burdenous to his conſcience. Which was, I ſuppoſe, the oath of canonical obedience. And when Hoper had ſued to the King, either to diſcharge him of the biſhopric, or that he might be diſpenſed with in the ceremonies uſed in conſecration, (which he knew the Archbiſhop could not do, no more than to diſpenſe with the laws of the land, whereby he ſhould run into a *præmunire*,) the King wrote a letter to Cranmer, dated Auguſt 5, therein freeing him of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures that he might incur by omitting thoſe rites; but yet (by any thing that appears in the letter) without any

212 urging or perſuaſion uſed to the Archbiſhop to omit the

ſaid rites, leaving that to his own diſcretion. But the Archbiſhop thought the King's bare letters were not ſufficient to ſecure him againſt eſtabliſhed laws. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1550.

When this would not do, then endeavour was uſed to ſatisfy Hoper's conſcience. And Ridley, Biſhop now of London, was thought, for his great learning, to be a fit perſon to confer with him. There were long arguings between them, and at laſt it came to ſome heats. And Hoper ſtill remained reſolved not to comply, holding it, if not unlawful, yet highly inexpedient, to uſe thoſe very veſtments that the papal biſhops uſed. The council upon this ſent for Hoper, and, becauſe they would in no wiſe the ſtirring up of controverſies between men of one profeſſion, willed him to ceaſe the occaſion hereof. Hoper humbly beſought them, that, for declaration of his doings, he might put in writing ſuch arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held. Which was granted him. Theſe arguments it ſeems were communicated to Ridley to anſwer. And October the 6th, the council being then at Richmond, the Archbiſhop preſent, they wrote to the Biſhop of London, commanding him to be at court on Sunday next, and to bring with him what he ſhould for anſwer think convenient.

He and Ridley confer about the habits.

MS. of the Council Book.

In the mean time, to bring the queſtion to more evidence and ſatisfaction, the Archbiſhop, according to his cuſtom, to conſult in religious matters with the learnedeſt men of other nations, wrote to Cambridge to Martin Bucer for his judgment: who, upon occaſion of this controverſy, wrote two Epiſtles; one to Hoper, and another to the Archbiſhop, both *de re veſtiaria*. That to the latter was in anſwer to theſe two queries, which Cranmer had ſent for his reſolution about.

The Archbiſhop writes to Bucer for his judgment in this matter.

"I. Whether, without offending of God, the miniſters "of the church of England may uſe thoſe garments which "are now uſed, and preſcribed to be uſed by the magiſ-"trates?"

The queſtions.

"II. Whether he that affirms it unlawful, or refuſeth to "uſe theſe garments, ſinneth againſt God, becauſe he ſaith "that is unclean which God hath ſanctified; and againſt "the magiſtrate, who commandeth a political order?"

Bucer to both theſe queſtions gave his reſolution in the

BOOK II. affirmative, in his anſwer to the Archbiſhop, dated December 8. But he thought, conſidering how the habits had been occaſion to ſome of ſuperſtition, and to others of contention, that it were better, at ſome good opportunity, wholly to take them away.

Anno 1550. Script. Anglic. p. 705. et 661.

Martyr writes to Hoper.

Beſides Bucer's letter to Hoper from Cambridge, mentioned before, Peter Martyr from Oxon wrote him a large letter, dated November 4: for both theſe good men were deſirous that Hoper ſhould have ſatisfaction, that ſo uſeful a man might come in place in the church. To both theſe Hoper had wrote, and ſent his arguments againſt the epiſcopal veſtments, by a meſſenger diſpatched on purpoſe. Martyr told him, "That he took much delight in that "ſingular and ardent ſtudy that appeared in him, that "chriſtian religion might again aſpire to a chaſte and pure "ſimplicity. That for his part he could be very hardly "brought off from that ſimple and pure way, which he "knew they uſed a great while at Straſburgh, where the
213 "difference of garments in holy things was taken away. "And ſo he prayed God it might continue." Thus, he ſaid, "Hoper might ſee that, in the ſum, they both agreed "together; he wiſhing for that which Hoper endeavoured. "That in rites, he was for coming as near as poſſible to the "ſacred Scripture, and for taking pattern by the better "times of the church: but yet that he could not be brought "by his arguments to think that the uſe of garments was "deſtructive, or in their own nature contrary, to the word "of God; a matter which he thought to be altogether "ἀδιάφορον. And that therefore indifferent things, as they "were ſometimes to be taken away, ſo might be uſed: "and that if he had thought this were wicked, he would "never have communicated with the church of England. "That there might be ſome great good follow from the "uſe at preſent of the garments; namely, that if we ſuf- "fered the Goſpel to be firſt preached, and well rooted, "men would afterwards better and more eaſily be perſuad- "ed to let go theſe outward cuſtoms. But now, when a "change is brought in of the neceſſary heads of religion, "and that with ſo great difficulty, if we ſhould make thoſe "things that are indifferent to be impious, ſo we might

Inter P. Mart. Epiſt.

" alienate the minds of all; that they would not endure " to hear ſolid doctrine, and receive the neceſſary cere- " monies. That there was no doubt England owed much " to him for his great pains in preaching and teaching: " and, in return, he had gained much favour and authority " in the realm, whereby he was in a capacity of doing " much good to the glory of God. Only he bad Hoper " take heed, that by unſeaſonable and too bitter ſermons " he became not an hindrance to himſelf. Beſides, that by " looking upon theſe indifferent things as ſinful and de- " ſtructive, we ſhould condemn many Goſpel-churches, and " too ſharply tax very many, which anciently were eſteemed " moſt famous and celebrated."

Hoper's two objections.

And whereas there were two arguments that made Hoper ready to charge the uſe of theſe veſtments to be not indifferent; he proceeded to conſider them. One was this; " That this would be to call back again the prieſthood of " Aaron. The other, that they were inventions of An- " tichriſt; and that we ought to be eſtranged, not only from " the Pope, but from all his devices."

Conſidered.

But as to the former he ſhewed him, " That the Apoſtles, " for peace-ſake, commanded the Gentiles to abſtain from " blood and fornication; which were Aaronical cuſtoms: " and ſo are tithes for the maintenance of the clergy. " Pſalms and hymns can ſcarce be ſhewn to be commanded " in the New Teſtament to be ſung in public aſſemblies, " which are very manifeſt to be uſed in the Old. That " there are not a few things that our church hath borrowed " from the Moſaical decrees; and that even from the very " firſt times. The feſtivals of the Reſurrection, of the Na- " tivity, of Pentecoſt, and of the Death of Chriſt, are all " footſteps of the old law: and are they to be therefore " aboliſhed? He wiſhed with all his heart that the churches " in Germany by this one loſs might obtain their former " liberty."

As to the ſecond argument, " He could not ſee how it " could be aſſerted upon good grounds, that nothing is to " be uſed by us that is obſerved in the popiſh religion. 214 " We muſt take heed that the church of God be not " preſſed with too much ſervitude, that it may not have

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"liberty to uſe any thing that belonged to the Pope. Our "anceſtors took the idol temples, and uſed them for ſacred "houſes to worſhip Chriſt. And the revenues that were "conſecrated to the Gentile gods, and to the games of the "theatre, and of the veſtal virgins, were made uſe of for "the maintenance of the miniſters of the church; when "theſe before had ſerved not only to Antichriſt, but to the "Devil. Nor could he preſently grant that theſe differences "of garments had their original from the Pope: for we "read in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that John at Epheſus wore "a *petalum* [a mitre.] And Pontius Diaconus ſaith of "Cyprian, that when he went to be executed he gave "his [k] *birrus* to the executioner, his [k] *dalmatica* to the "deacons, and ſtood in linen. And Chryſoſtom makes "mention of the white garments of miniſters. And the "ancients witneſs, that when the chriſtians came to Chriſt, "they changed their garments, and for a gown put on a "cloak; for which when they were mocked by the hea-"thens, Tertullian wrote a learned book *De Pallio*. And he "knew Hoper was not ignorant, that to thoſe that were "initiated in baptiſm, was delivered a white garment. "Therefore, before the tyranny of the Pope, there was a "diſtinction of garments in the church.

"Nor did he think, that in caſe it were granted that it "was invented by the Pope, that the iniquity of popery was "ſo great, that whatſoever it touched was ſo dyed and "polluted thereby, that good and godly men might not "uſe it to any holy purpoſe. Hoper himſelf granted, that "every human invention was not therefore preſently to be "condemned. It was an human invention to communicate "before dinner: it was an human invention, that the things "ſold in the primitive church were brought and laid at "the Apoſtles' feet. That he was ready to confeſs with "him that theſe garments were an human invention, and of "themſelves edified not; but it was thought by ſome con-"ducive to be borne with for a time: for that it might "be a cauſe of avoiding thoſe contentions, whereby greater "benefits might be in danger to be obſtructed. But that "if hence an occaſion of erring might be given to the

[k] Epiſcopal garments.

"weak, they were to be admoniſhed, that they ſhould "hold theſe things indifferent: and they were to be taught "in ſermons, that they ſhould judge not God's worſhip to "be placed in them."

Another objection of Hoper conſidered.

Hoper had writ, that the eyes of the ſtanders-by, by reaſon of theſe garments, would be turned away from thinking of ſerious things, and detained in gazing upon them. But this would not happen when the garments were ſimple and plain, without bravery, and ſuch as hitherto were uſed in the ſervice of God. But Martyr anſwered, "That uſe and cuſtom would take away admi-"ration: and perhaps, when the people were moved "with admiration, they would the more attentively think "of thoſe things that are ſerious. For which end," he ſaid "the ſacraments ſeemed to be invented, that from "the ſight and ſenſe of them we might be carried to think "of divine things."

Other things urged by him.

Hoper urged moreover, "That *whatſoever was not of faith, was ſin.*" But ſaid Martyr, "That we may enjoy "a quiet conſcience in our doings, that of the Apoſtle ſeems "much to tend, and that *to the clean all things are clean,* "ſaith the ſame Apoſtle to Titus; and to Timothy, that "*every creature of God is good.*"

He urged alſo, "That we ought to have expreſs Scrip-"ture for what we do in holy things." But Martyr was not of that mind; "but that that was enough in general, to "know by faith that indifferent things cannot defile thoſe "who act with a pure and ſincere mind and conſcience." And this was the ſubſtance of P. Martyr's judgment of theſe things: which might give much light to that reverend man in this controverſy, though he was not yet convinced, nor could comply.

Hoper confined to his houſe, and ſilenced.

As Hoper all this while refuſed the habit, ſo we may conjecture, by a paſſage in the former letter, that he liberally declaimed againſt them in the London pulpits. For Martyr takes notice to him of his "unſeaſonable and too bitter "ſermons." Whether it were for this, or his incompliance, or both together, I know not; but at length he was by the privy-council commanded to keep his houſe: unleſs it were to go to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, or the Council-Book.

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Biſhops of Ely, London, or Lincoln, for counſel and ſatisfaction of his conſcience; and neither to preach nor read till he had further licence from the council. But, notwithſtanding this command, he kept not his houſe, and writ a book and printed it, intituled, *A Confeſſion of his Faith:* written in ſuch a manner, that it gave more diſtaſte, and wherein was contained matter he ſhould not have written. He went about alſo complaining of the King's counſellors; as Martyr wrote in a private letter to Bucer.

Committed to the Archbiſhop's cuſtody.

On January the 13th, the court then at Greenwich, he appeared there before the council, (the Archbiſhop being then preſent,) touching the matter of not wearing the apparel, and for diſobeying the council: who for this diſobedience, and for that he continued in his former opinion of not wearing the apparel preſcribed for biſhops to wear, committed him to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's cuſtody, either there to be reformed, or further puniſhed, as the obſtinacy of his cauſe required.

Sent to the Fleet.

Being with the Archbiſhop, he did his endeavour to ſatisfy him. But Hoper was as immoveable to whatſoever the ſaid Archbiſhop could propound and offer, as he was before with Ridley. So the Archbiſhop ſignified to the council, that he could bring him to no conformity, but that he declared himſelf for another way of ordination than was eſtabliſhed. The effect of this was, that on January 27, upon this letter of the Archbiſhop, "That Hoper could not "be brought to any conformity; but rather, perſevering "in his obſtinacy, (they are the words of the council-book,) "coveted to preſcribe orders and neceſſary laws of his head: "it was agreed that he ſhould be committed to the Fleet." And a letter was drawn for the Archbiſhop to ſend Mr. Hoper to the Fleet upon the occaſion aforeſaid: and another letter to the Warden of the Fleet to receive him, and to keep him from the conference with any perſon, ſaving the miniſters of that houſe. This diſobedience of Hoper to the council's orders will make the ſeverity of the council leſs liable to cenſure. Neither was Cranmer any other ways inſtrumental to Hoper's impriſonment, than by doing that which was expected from him, *viz.* giving a

Council Book.

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true account of his unſucceſsful dealing with him. But at laſt he complied, and received conſecration after the uſual form: and the church enjoyed a moſt excellent inſtrument in him at this time for his learning, zeal, courage, and activity.

Anno 1550. Hoper conforms.

This news Peter Martyr ſignified in a letter to Gualter: for he and Bullinger, and the reſt of his friends at Zurick, had heard of this contention, and were much concerned for this their acquaintance. But as he was conſecrated in March, ſo in April following Martyr wrote to the ſaid Gualter, "That he had never been wanting to "Hoper, [whether in his counſel for ſatisfying his con-"ſcience, or in reſpect of his intereſt with the Arch-"biſhop, or other chief men,] and that he always hoped "well of his cauſe. That he now was freed of all his "troubles, and that he was actually in his biſhoprick, and "did diſcharge his office piouſly and ſtrenuouſly." This was the more acceptable news to the foreigners, becauſe ſome of the biſhops took occaſion, upon this diſobedience of Hoper, liberally to blame the churches abroad, among which Hoper had been, as though they had infuſed theſe principles into him: and then fell foul upon Bucer and Martyr, that were ſet, the one profeſſor in Cambridge, and the other in Oxon; as though they would corrupt all the youth in both univerſities: who would ſuck in from them ſuch principles as Hoper had done. This Bucer heard of, and writ it with a concern to Martyr. Who writ again, how amazed and almoſt ſtupified he was to hear this: but that it was well that the biſhops ſaw his letter to Hoper, which would vindicate him from ſuch imputations. And indeed both his and Bucer's letter, concerning this point, did or might ſeaſonably ſtop this clamour.

Martyr to Gualter concerning Hoper's conformity.

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CHAP. XVIII.

Biſhop Hoper viſits his Dioceſe.

Hoper viſits his dioceſe.

THE ſummer next after his conſecration he went down and made a ſtrict viſitation of his dioceſe, fortified with letters from the privy-council; that ſo his authority might be the greater, and do the more good among an ignorant, ſuperſtitious, ſtubborn clergy and laity. I have ſeen a manuſcript in folio, giving an account of the whole viſitation, of the method thereof, and of the condition he found the clergy of the dioceſe in, as to their learning and abilities. Firſt, he ſent a general monitory letter to his clergy, ſignifying his intention of coming among them; gravely adviſing them of their office, and what was required of them who were entered into this holy vocation. This letter may be

No. XLVII. found in the Appendix. When he viſited them, he gave them articles concerning chriſtian religion, to the number of fifty; which bore this title: *Articles concerning Chriſten Religion, given by the Reverend Father in Chriſt John Hoper, Biſhop of*

217 *Glouceſter, unto all and ſingular Deans, Parſons, Prebendaries, Vicars, Curates, and other eccleſiaſtical miniſters within the dioceſe of Gloceſter, to be had and retained of them for the unity and agreement, as well as the doctrine of God's word, as alſo for the confirmation of the ceremonies agreeing with God's word.* Let me give the reader but a taſte of them.

His articles of religion.

"I. That none do teach any manner of thing to be "neceſſary for the ſalvation of man, other than what is "contained in the books of God's holy word.

"II. That they faithfully teach and inſtruct the people "committed unto their charge, that there is but one God, "everlaſting, incorporate, almighty, wiſe, and good, the "maker of heaven and earth, the father of our Lord Jeſus "Chriſt; by whom alſo he will be called upon by us. "And though one God in eſſence and unity in the "Godhead, yet in the ſame unity three diſtinct perſons.

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" III. That they teach all the doctrines contained in the " three creeds.

" IV. That they teach that the church of God is the " congregation of the faithful, wherein the word of God is " truly preached, and the ſacraments juſtly miniſtered, " according to the inſtitution of Chriſt: and that the " church of God is not by God's word taken for the mul- " titude or company of men, as of biſhops, prieſts, and " ſuch other; but that it is the company of all men hearing " God's word, and obeying to the ſame; leſt that any man " ſhould be ſeduced, believing himſelf to be bound unto " an ordinary ſucceſſion of biſhops and prieſts, but only " unto the word of God, and the right uſe of his ſacra- " ments.

" V. That though the true church cannot err from the " faith; yet nevertheleſs, foraſmuch as no man is free from " ſin and lies, there is, nor can be any church known, be " it never ſo perfect or holy, but it may err." Theſe are the five firſt.

His injunctions and interrogatories.

Then he gave them injunctions to the number of one and thirty; ſeven and twenty interrogatories and demands of the people and pariſhioners, and of their converſation, to be required and known by the parſons, vicars, and curates. Sixty-one interrogatories and examinations of the miniſters, and of their converſation, to be required and known by the pariſhioners. There were alſo articles, whereupon all miniſters were examined concerning the Ten Commandments, the Articles of faith, and the petitions of the Lord's Prayer; *viz.* to each miniſter were theſe queſtions put:

1. Concerning the Commandments,
   1. How many Commandments.
   2. Where they are written.
   3. Whether they can recite them by heart.

2. Concerning the Chriſtian Faith,
   1. What are the Articles of the Chriſtian faith.
   2. Whether they can recite them by heart.
   3. That they corroborate them by authority of Scripture.

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3. Concerning the Lord's Prayer.
   1. Whether they can ſay the petitions by heart.
   2. How they know it to be the Lord's Prayer.
   3. Where it is written.

218 Which demands, how eaſy ſoever they were, many curates and prieſts (ſuch was the ignorance of thoſe days) could ſay but little to. Some could ſay the Pater Noſter in Latin, but not in Engliſh. Few could ſay the Ten Commandments. Few could prove the Articles of faith by Scripture: that was out of their way.

The memory of ſuch as have been greatly uſeful in the church or ſtate ought religiouſly to be preſerved. Of this number was this Biſhop, who, as he was naturally an active man, put forth all his ſtrength and vigour of body and mind to ſet forward a good reformation in religion, and afterwards as courageouſly ſhed his blood for it.

Holds Worceſter *in commendam.*

Therefore I cannot part with this good prelate till I have gathered up and repoſited here ſome farther memorials of him. The dioceſe of Worceſter becoming void by the deprivation of Hethe in October 1551, and requiring an induſtrious man to be ſet over that ſee, it was given to Hoper to hold *in commendam.* In the year 1552, in July, he viſited that dioceſe, which he found much out of order. But before he had finiſhed, he was fain to go back to Gloceſter, hearing of the ungodly behaviour of the miniſters there. He left them the laſt year ſeemingly very compliant to be reformed, and took their ſubſcription to his articles of religion. But in his abſence, when his back was turned, they became as bad altogether as they were before. Yet he conceived good hopes of the lay-people, if they had but good juſtices and faithful miniſters placed among them, as he wrote to Secretary Cecyl: to whom he ſignified his deſire that the Articles of religion, which the King had mentioned to him when laſt at London, were ſet forth. Them he intended to make the clergy not only ſubſcribe, (which, being privately done, he ſaw they regarded not,) but to read and confeſs them openly before their pariſhioners. At his viſitation he conſtituted certain

of his clergy ſuperintendants, who in his abſence were to have a conſtant eye over the inferior clergy.

Anno 1550. And viſits that church and ſee.

After this viſit to Gloceſter, he returned back again to Worceſter in October, and then proceeded in his viſitation there. Here Johnſon and Jolliff, two canons of this church, diſallowing ſome doctrines recommended to them by the Biſhop, (in his articles aboveſaid,) held a diſpute thereupon with him and Mr. Harley, (who was afterward Biſhop of Hereford.) And one of theſe behaved himſelf moſt inſolently and diſreſpectfully to both. The Biſhop ſent up by Harley a large relation of his viſitation in writing, and the matter theſe canons miſliked, and recommended Harley to the Secretary to give account of the diſputation. This cauſed him to break out into a complaint for want of good men in the cathedrals: "Ah! "Mr. Secretary, that there were good men in the ca- "thedral churches! God then ſhould have much more "honour than he hath, the King's Majeſty more obedience, "and the poor people better knowledge: but the realm "wanteth light in ſuch churches, whereas of right it ought "moſt to be." In Worceſter church he now put in execution the King's Injunctions for the removal of ſuperſtition: for which there aroſe a great clamour againſt him, as though he had ſpoiled the church; and yet he did no more than the expreſs words of the Injunctions commanded to be done. 219

Goes over both his dioceſes again.

After his viſitation was over, he accounted not his work done; but ſoon went over both his dioceſes again, to take account of his clergy, how they profited ſince his laſt examining them; and to overſee even his ſuperintendants themſelves, to commend their well-doings, and to ſee what was ill done. So great was his pains and zeal; which made him moſt truly and experimentally write as he did to the Secretary: There is none that eat their bread in the ſweat of their face, but ſuch as ſerve in public vocation. Yours is wonderful, but mine paſſeth. Now I perceive that private labours be but plays, nor private troubles but eaſe and quietneſs. Theſe matters I extract from two original letters of this Biſhop to Secretary Cecyl; which I have thought well worthy of preſerving in the Appendix; and there they may be met with.

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Whereas it was mentioned before, how the Biſhop had ſent up a writing of the matters in controverſy between the two canons and himſelf, we may ſee what care the council took hereof, and what countenance they gave the Biſhop, by an order they made November 6, 1552. Which was, that a letter ſhould be wrote to Mr. Cheke and Mr. Harley, to conſider certain books ſent unto them touching matters of religion in controverſy between the Biſhop of Worceſter and two of the canons of Worceſter, and to certify their opinion hither, that further order may be therein taken.

Anno 1550. The council's order concerning the two canons. MS. Council-Book.

Licence for the Biſhop of Gloceſter to attend upon the Ducheſs of Somerſet in the Tower.

January 29, 1551. Upon ſuit made by the Ducheſs of Somerſet to Sir Philip Hobby, and Mr. Darcy, Lieutenant of the Tower, to be a mean unto the King's Majeſty, and my Lords, that the Biſhop of Gloceſter (who had been Chaplain unto the Duke) might be ſuffered to have acceſs unto her for the ſettling of her conſcience; order was by their Lordſhips taken for the ſame, and a letter written to the Lieutenant of the Tower in that behalf, as followeth: "To "the Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit the Biſhop of "Gloceſter, from time to time, to ſpeak with the Du- "cheſs of Somerſet, in the preſence of Sir Philip Hobby, and "of the ſaid Lieutenant: and in caſe the ſaid Lady of So- "merſet deſire to ſpeak with the ſaid Biſhop apart, that "in that caſe they licenſe her ſo to do.

Other matters relating to this Biſhop.

"May 29, 1552. A warrant to make a book to the elect "Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, of diſcharge of the "firſt fruits and tenths to be paid for the ſame, in conſidera- "tion that he hath departed with certain lands to the King's "Majeſty: which probably he ſeeing would, whether he "would or no, be pulled away from him, to be conferred "upon ſome of the mighty of the court, made the beſt of a "bad market, and got himſelf freed from that charge, pay- "able to the King.

"April 12, 1553. A letter was wrote to the Chancellor "of the Augmentations, to cauſe a book to be made from "the Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, of a ſurrender to "the King's Majeſty of his juriſdiction in the foreſt of Dean, "with a certain deanery, which of right belongeth to the "biſhoprick of Hereford: and thereupon to make another

" book of the grant thereof from his Highneſs to Mr. Har- CHAP. XVIII.
" ley, elect Biſhop of Hereford.

" April 16, 1553. A letter to the Chancellor of the Aug- Anno 1550.
" mentations, to cauſe a book to be deviſed in form of law, li- 220
" cenſing the Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter to give to
" three poor vicarages in his dioceſe, the parſonages where-
" of are impropriated to his biſhoprick, ſuch augmentation
" of living towards their better maintenance, as he ſhall
" think convenient, out of the lands of the ſaid ſee.

" April 25, 1553. A warrant to the receiver of the wards,
" to deliver to the Biſhop of Worceſter, by way of reward,
" twenty pounds for his attendance here ever ſince the par-
" liament by his Majeſty's commandment. Theſe are tran-
" ſcriptions out of a council-book."

CHAP. XIX.

Troubles of Biſhop Gardiner.

IN this year 1550, the council and our Archbiſhop had much trouble with ſome other biſhops alſo, of a quite different judgment from the above ſpoken of; I mean Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, Nicolas Biſhop of Worceſter, and Day Biſhop of Chicheſter: of whom what I ſhall here briefly ſet down are for the moſt part extractions out of an old council-book, and King Edward's Journal.

At Greenwich, June 8, was this order of council con- Divers great Lords repair to Gardiner.
cerning Biſhop Gardiner; " Conſidering the long impri-
" ſonment that the Biſhop of Wincheſter hath ſuſtained, it
" was now thought time he ſhould be ſpoken withal; and
" agreed, that if he repented his former obſtinacy, and
" would henceforth apply himſelf to advance the King's Ma-
" jeſty's proceedings, his Highneſs in this caſe would be his
" good lord, and remit all his errors paſt: otherwiſe his
" Majeſty was reſolved to proceed againſt him as his obſti-
" nacy and contempt required. For the declaration where-
" of, the Duke of Somerſet, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord
" Privy Seal, the Lord great Chamberlain, and Mr. Secre-

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" tary Petre, were appointed the next day [i. e. June 9.] to " repair unto him. Signed by E. Somerſet, T. Cant. W. " Wilts, J. Bedford, E. Clynton, T. Ely, A. Wyngfeld, W. " Herbert, W. Petre, Edw. North." Accordingly, June 9, the Duke of Somerſet, the Marquis of Northampton, the Lord Treaſurer, the Earl of Bedford, and Secretary Petre, went to the Biſhop of Wincheſter to know what he would ſtick to; whether to conform to and promote the King's laws, or no? He anſwered, "That he would obey and ſet forth all " things ſet forth by the King and parliament: and if he were " troubled in conſcience, he would reveal it to the council, " and not reaſon openly againſt it." And then he deſired to ſee the King's book of proceedings. At Greenwich, June 10, report was made by the Duke of Somerſet and the reſt, ſent to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, that he deſired to ſee the ſaid book. The next day were the books ſent to him, and delivered to him by the Lieutenant of the Tower, as the council appointed, to ſee if he would ſet his hand to them, and promiſe to ſet them forth to the people. At Greenwich, June 13, the Lieutenant of the Tower declared unto the
221 council, that the Biſhop, having peruſed the books of the proceedings, ſaid unto him, He could make no direct anſwer, unleſs he were at liberty, and ſo being, he would ſay his conſcience. On the 14th day the Duke of Somerſet, and five more of the council, again repaired to the Biſhop, to whom he made this anſwer; " I have deliberately ſeen the " Book of Common Prayer. Although I would not have " made it ſo myſelf, yet I find ſuch things in it as ſatisfy " my conſcience: and therefore I will both execute it my- " ſelf, and alſo ſee others my pariſhioners to do it." And this the counſellors teſtified under their hands as his ſaying.

The council's proceedings with him.

July the 9th, there were certain articles drawn up, ſigned by King and council, for the Biſhop to ſubſcribe; which contained the confeſſion of his fault; the ſupremacy of the King and his ſucceſſors; the eſtabliſhing of holy-days, or diſpenſing with them to be in the King; the ſervice-book to be godly and chriſtian; the acknowledgment of the King to be ſupreme head, and to ſubmit to him and his laws under age; the aboliſhing the ſix Articles; and the King's power of correcting and reforming the church. Theſe articles, to-

gether with a letter from the King, the Earl of Warwick, Lord great Maſter; the Lord St. John, Lord Treaſurer; Sir William Herbert, Maſter of the Horſe; and Secretary Petre, carried to the Biſhop, requiring him to ſign them. Which he did, only making exception to the firſt.

July 10, the ſaid Lords made report unto the council, that they had delivered the King's letter unto the Biſhop, together with the articles. Unto all which articles he ſubſcribed thus with his own hand, *Stev. Winton*, ſaving the firſt: againſt which he wrote in the margin theſe words; "I cannot in my conſcience confeſs the preface, knowing "myſelf to be of that ſort I am indeed, and ever have been. To which articles, thus ſubſcribed by the Biſhop, theſe of the council wrote their names; E. Somerſ. W. Wilts, J. Warwick, J. Bedford, W. Northampton, E Clynton, G. Cobham, William Paget, W. Herbert, W. Petre, Edw. North.

July 11, at Weſtminſter, this was brought to the council: and his boggling in this manner at the confeſſion diſpleaſed the King, that being the principal point. But to the intent he ſhould have no juſt cauſe to ſay he was not mercifully handled, it was agreed, that Sir William Herbert and the Secretary ſhould go the next day to him to tell him, that the King marvelled he refuſed to put his hand to the confeſſion: and that if the words thereof ſeemed too ſore, then to refer it to himſelf in what ſort, and with what words, he ſhould deviſe to ſubmit himſelf; that, upon the acknowledgment of his fault, the King might extend his mercy towards him, as was determined.

July 13, Sir William Herbert and the Secretary reported, that the Biſhop ſtood preciſely in his own juſtification. He ſaid, "That he could not ſubſcribe to the confeſſion, becauſe "he was innocent; and alſo becauſe the confeſſion was but "the preface to the articles." Upon this it was agreed by the council, that a new book of articles, and a new ſubmiſſion, ſhould be deviſed for the Biſhop to ſubſcribe. And the Biſhop of London, Secretary Petre, Mr. Cecyl, and Goodrick, a common lawyer, were commanded to make theſe articles according to law. And then, for the more authentic proceeding with the Biſhop, the two former perſons were again to reſort to him with the new draught, and to

Articles propounded to him to ſubſcribe.

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take with them a divine, which was the Biſhop of London, and a lawyer, which was Goodrick. Theſe articles were twenty-two in number, and to this tenor; "That King Henry "VIII. had juſtly ſuppreſſed monaſteries. That perſons may "marry, who are not prohibited to contract matrimony by "the Levitical law, without the Biſhop of Rome's diſpenſa- "tion. That vowing or going pilgrimages were juſtly abo- "liſhed; the counterfeiting St. Nicholas, St. Clement, &c. "was mere mockery. That it is convenient that the Scrip- "tures ſhould be in Engliſh. That the late King, and "the preſent, did upon juſt ground take into their hands "chauntries, which were for maintenance of private maſſes. "That private maſſes were juſtly taken away by the ſta- "tutes of the realm; and the communion placed inſtead "thereof, is very godly. That it is convenient that the "ſacrament ſhould be received in both kinds. That the "maſs, where the prieſt doth only receive, and others look "on, is but the invention of man. That it was upon good "and godly conſideration ordered in the book, that the "ſacrament ſhould not be lifted up, and ſhewed to the peo- "ple to be adored. That it is politicly and godly done, that "images in churches, and maſs-books, were enacted to be "aboliſhed. That biſhops, prieſts, and deacons have no "commandment in the law of God to vow chaſtity, or ab- "ſtain from marriage. And that all canons and conſtitu- "tions, which do prohibit marriage to the clergy, be juſtly "taken away by parliament. That the Homilies, and the "forms ſet forth of making archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, "and deacons, are godly and wholeſome, and ought to be "received. That the orders of Subdeacon, Benet, and Co- "let, &c. be not neceſſary, and juſtly left out in the book of "orders. That the holy Scriptures contain ſufficiently "all doctrines neceſſary to ſalvation. That upon good and "godly conſideration it was enjoined that Eraſmus's Para- "phraſes ſhould be ſet up in churches. And that it was "the King's pleaſure that the Biſhop ſhould affirm theſe "articles by ſubſcription of his hand, and declare himſelf "willing to publiſh and preach the ſame." Theſe articles were brought to the Biſhop by the Maſter of the Horſe, and Secretary Petre, with the Biſhop of London, and Goodrick.

To whom the Biſhop anſwered, "That he would not con- "ſent to the article of ſubmiſſion; praying to be brought "to his trial, and deſired nothing but juſtice. And for the "reſt of the articles, when he was at liberty, then it ſhould "appear what he would do in them, it not being reaſonable "he ſhould ſubſcribe them in priſon." Anno 1550.

This being reported to the council, July 15, it was agreed that he ſhould be ſent for before the whole council, and examined, whether he would ſtand at this point? which if he did, then to denounce the ſequeſtration of his benefice for three months, with intimation, if he reformed not in that ſpace, to deprive him. This order was ſigned by Somerſet, Wilts, Bedford, Clynton, Paget, Wyngfield, Herbert.

July 19, the Biſhop of Wynton was brought before the council; and there the articles before mentioned were read unto him diſtinctly. Whereunto he refuſed either to ſubſcribe or conſent: anſwering in theſe words, "That in all "things his Majeſty would command him, he was willing "and moſt ready to obey; but foraſmuch as there were "divers things required of him, which his conſcience would "not bear, therefore he prayed them to have him excuſed." And thereupon Secretary Petre, by the council's order, proceeded to read the ſequeſtration. Thus fairly and calmly was this Biſhop dealt with by the King and his council, from June 8, to July 19. And notwithſtanding this ſentence, the council favourably ordered, that the Biſhop's houſe and ſervants ſhould be maintained in their preſent ſtate until the expiration of the three months; and that the matter in the mean time ſhould be kept ſecret. 223 Wincheſter ſequeſtered for three months.

The three months expired October 19: but with ſuch clemency was he uſed, that it was November 23, before his buſineſs was renewed. And then, conſidering the time of his intimation was long ſithence expired, it was agreed, that the Biſhop of Ely, Mr. Secretary Petre, Dr. May, and Dr. Glynne, all learned in the civil law, ſhould ſubſtantially confer upon the matter: and upon Tueſday next, the 26th day of this preſent, to certify unto the council what was to be done duly by order of the law in this caſe. And now the Archbiſhop of Canterbury began to be concerned in this The ſequeſtration expires. Council-Book.

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troubleſome buſineſs. A commiſſion, dated December 12, was iſſued out from the King to the ſaid Archbiſhop, and to the Biſhops of London, Ely, Lincoln, to Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales, and ſome other lawyers, to call the ſaid Biſhop of Wincheſter before them, and, continuing in his contempt, to proceed to deprive him.

December 14, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to bring the Biſhop on Monday next to Lambeth before my Lord of Canterbury, and other commiſſioners, upon his cauſe: and likewiſe upon their appointment to bring him thither from day to day, at times by them prefixed.

The commiſſioners fit to examine him.

December 15. was the day of Wincheſter's firſt appearance. The buſineſs done this ſeſſion was the opening and reading the commiſſion; and, after that, divers articles againſt the Biſhop: who then made a ſpeech. Wherein, firſt, he proteſted againſt theſe his judges, and excepted againſt their commiſſion; and required this his proteſtation to be entered into the acts of the court. Then deſiring a copy of the commiſſion, it was granted him, together with that of the articles too, to make his anſwers to. Next, the Archbiſhop gave him his oath to make true anſwer: which he took ſtill with his proteſtation. Then the Biſhop deſiring counſel, the Archbiſhop and the reſt not only granted his requeſt, but allowed him whomſoever he ſhould name: which was the next day allowed alſo by an order of council. Certain honourable perſons were depoſed and ſworn for witneſſes, as Sir Anthony Wingfield, Controller of the Houſehold; Sir William Cecyl, Secretary; Sir Rafe Sadleir; Sir Edward North; Dr. Cox, Almoner; and others. The Biſhop alſo proteſted againſt them, and the ſwearing of them. At this firſt ſeſſions he had alſo ſaid, in the hearing of a great multitude preſent, concerning the Duke of Somerſet and ſome other privy-counſellors, ſent to him in the Tower, "that they had "made an end with him before for all the matters for "which he was committed: inſomuch that he verily "thought he ſhould never have heard any more of it."

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A letter of ſome noblemen, whom he had belied.

This, coming ſoon to the ears of theſe nobles, highly offended them, as reporting falſely of them. So that, to juſtify themſelves in as public a manner, the next ſeſſions they ſent their letter, dated December 17, ſigned by the Duke

of Somerſet, the Earls of Wiltſhire and Bedford, and Sir Edward North: wherein they denied any ſuch matter; ſaying, "that the Biſhop defended his cauſe with untruths, and "that, upon their fidelities and honours, his tale was falſe "and untrue; for that their coming to him in the Tower "was to do their endeavour to reclaim him. And they "prayed the commiſſioners, that, for their vindication, they "would cauſe this their letter to be publicly read." Which was accordingly done; though the Biſhop, thinking how this would reflect upon him under his former proteſtation, laboured hard that he might firſt be heard, and that he had ſomething to propoſe why it ſhould not be read. Which notwithſtanding they would not grant.

January 19. The council ſitting at Greenwich, the Biſhop's ſervants came and deſired, that certain of them might be ſworn upon certain articles for witneſs on his behalf. And if they might not be ſworn, that upon their honours, as they would anſwer before God, they would witneſs truly according to their conſcience, and as effectually as if they were ſworn upon a book. And they were allowed.

Gardiner offers his book againſt Cranmer to the commiſſioners.

The Biſhop, to make his cauſe the more plauſible, as though he were the public defender of the Roman catholic church in England at this time, laboured to make it believed, that he fell into all this trouble for the defence of the real preſence in the ſacrament, and for maintaining the catholic doctrine in a ſermon before the King; and that he made his book to vindicate himſelf therein. And therefore, in one of his appearances before the commiſſioners, openly in the court delivered them his book againſt Archbiſhop Cranmer, printed in France: and, to make it ſuit the better, he had altered ſome lines in the beginning of his book, ſo as to make it to relate to his preſent caſe. But in truth Gardiner had wrote and finiſhed his book before. This Cranmer unveiled in his anſwer to this book of Gardiner's: ſaying there, "that he made his book before he was called before "the commiſſioners, as he could prove by a book under "his own hand-writing; and that he was called before the "commiſſioners by his own ſuit and procurement, and as it "were enforcing the matter. But indeed the true cauſe "was, that he was called to juſtice for his manifeſt con-

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"tempt and continual diſobedience from time to time, or "rather rebellion againſt the King's Majeſty; and was de-"prived of his ſtate for the ſame."

He is deprived.

225 In ſhort, after a great deal of pains and patience, the Biſhop was by the Archbiſhop and the reſt of the commiſſioners deprived, after no leſs than two and twenty ſeſſions, held at divers places, that is, from the 15th of December to the 14th of February: though Stow falſely nameth but ſeven. The Biſhop, when he ſaw the ſentence definitive ready to be pronounced, made an appeal from them to the King: for his doing which he produced theſe reaſons. For that theſe his pretended judges were not indifferent, but prejudiced againſt him. That my Lord of Canterbury had cauſed him to be ſent to priſon, (whereas the Archbiſhop was only preſent at the council when he was by them ordered to the Tower:) and ſo had Hales, Goodrick, and Goſnold counſelled to ſend him thither. Alſo, that the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhops of London and Lincoln, did contrary to the laws eccleſiaſtical, and taught and ſet forth manifeſt condemned errors againſt the preſence in the ſacrament. And becauſe the Biſhop, as well in his writings, as otherwiſe, did ſet forth the catholic faith of the very preſence of Chriſt's body and blood: therefore they ſhewed themſelves unduly affected towards him. That Sir William Petre decreed the fruits of his biſhoprick to be ſequeſtered *de facto, ſed non de jure*, and now was judge in his own cauſe. But notwithſtanding this appeal, the Archbiſhop with the reſt of the commiſſioners pronounced him deprived, and his biſhoprick void. After this was done, the Biſhop appealed again to the King, inſtantly, more inſtantly, moſt inſtantly, from their ſentence as injuſt, and of no effect in law; and aſked of them letters dimiſſory to be granted to him, and a copy of the judgment. But the judges declared they would firſt know the pleaſure of the King and his council therein. And ſo this laſt ſeſſion brake up.

The council's order for his ſtrait confinement.

The day after, being the 15th of February, the council ſitting at Weſtminſter, upon debating the Biſhop of Winton's caſe; "Foraſmuch as it appeared he had at all times, be-"fore the judges of his cauſe, uſed himſelf unreverently to "the King's Maie[illegible] and ſlanderfully towards his council;

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" and eſpecially yeſterday, being the day of his judgment " given againſt him, he called his judges heretics and ſa- " cramentaries, they being there the King's commiſſioners, " and of his Highneſs's council; it was therefore concluded " by the whole board, that he ſhould be removed from the " lodging he hath now in the Tower to a meaner lodging, " and none to wait upon him but one, by the Lieutenant's " appointment, in ſuch ſort as by the reſort of any man to " him, he have not the liberty to ſend out to any man, or " to hear from any man. And likewiſe that his books and " papers be taken from him, and ſeen; and that from " henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write " his deteſtable purpoſes, but be ſequeſtered from all con- " ferences, and from all means that may ſerve him to prac- " tiſe any way." CHAP. XIX. Anno 1550.

March 8, at Weſtminſter. This day, by the King's Majeſty's own appointment, Dr. Poynet, Biſhop of Rocheſter, was choſen Biſhop of Wincheſter. And the Archbiſhop of Canterbury had given him 266l. 13s. 4d. (i. e. 400 marks) for his pains and charges about the Biſhop of Wincheſter. And thus I have, from very authentic authority, gathered together theſe memorials of this turbulent haughty man; who was now ſo ſeaſonably laid aſide in this King's reign, till we hear of him loudly in the next; when he ſufficiently wracked his revenge againſt our good Archbiſhop and the true religion. Poynet made Biſhop of Winton. 226

CHAP. XX.

Biſhop Hethe and Biſhop Day, their Deprivations.

WHILE the aforeſaid Biſhop lay under ſequeſtration in the Tower, two other Biſhops, that were wayward to the King's proceedings in the reformation of the church, (*viz.* of Worceſter and Chicheſter,) came under the hands of the privy-council, reſolving to make them comply, or deprive them: that others, more willing and better affected to reformation, might ſucceed and do ſervice in the church; and Other popiſh Biſhops dealt with.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

that the Archbiſhop might go forward with leſs ſtop and impediment in the good work he had dedicated himſelf unto. Both of them were of the Archbiſhop's raiſing, and ſeemed very compliant with the Archbiſhop during King Henry's reign. But now both hung off from him, ſeeming much offended with him for his relinquiſhing the doctrine of the corporeal preſence, and for writing a book againſt it: whereof they made mention, with diſlike, in their depoſitions in the Biſhop of Winchester's trial before the commiſſioners.

Biſhop Hethe's troubles.

In the laſt year, the year 1549, twelve learned divines, biſhops and others, were appointed by the council to prepare a new book for the ordination of miniſters, purged of the ſuperſtitions of the old ordinal. Hethe Biſhop of Worceſter was nominated for one of theſe: but he, not liking the thing, would not agree to what the others did, nor ſubſcribe the book when made. For which, in March, he was committed to the Fleet; where he lay under eaſy confinement all the next year, the year 1550; during which time I find him once produced as a witneſs on Biſhop Gardiner's behalf.

Sent for before the council.

Council-Book.

But in the year 1551, the court being at Chelſey, and the council ſitting September 22, by virtue of the King's expreſs commandment, Nicolas Biſhop of Worceſter was ſent for, and came before the Lords and others: to whom was repeated the cauſe of his impriſonment to be, for that he refuſed to ſubſcribe the book deviſed for the form of making archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, and deacons, being authorized by parliament. At the time of which refuſal, being not only gently and reaſonably required to ſubſcribe it, but alſo being manifeſtly taught by divers other learned men, that all things contained in the book were good and true, and that the book was expedient and allowable, the ſaid Biſhop declared himſelf to be a very obſtinate man. And for this his doing, it was now ſhewed unto him, that he deſerved longer impriſonment. Nevertheleſs the King's Majeſty's clemency was ſuch, that now if he had, or would reconcile himſelf to obey his Majeſty in this former commandment, he ſhould
227 recover the King's Majeſty's favour. For which cauſe it was told him, that he was then preſently ſent for, and willed

now to ſubſcribe the ſame. Whereunto he anſwered, "That he took the cauſe of his impriſonment to be as was "alleged, and that alſo he was very gently uſed, rather "like a ſon than a ſubject. Nevertheleſs," he ſaid, "he re-"mained ſtill in the ſame mind, not willing to ſubſcribe it, "although he would not diſobey it." And although he was reaſoned withal by every of the ſaid council in diſproving his manner of anſwer, that he would not ſubſcribe it, being every thing in the ſaid book, true and good; and being deviſed by eleven other learned men, to which he was joined as the twelfth, and received of all the whole eſtate of the realm; agreeing alſo that he would obey it, not ſubſcribe it, which contained a contradiction in reaſon: yet he ſtill, as a man not removeable from his own conceit, refuſed to ſubſcribe it. Whereupon, to prove all manner of ways for the winning of him to his duty, he was offered to have conference with learned men, and to have time to conſider the matter better. Whereunto he ſaid, "That he could not have "better conference than he had heretofore: and well might "he have time, but of other mind he thought never to be: "adding, that there were many other things whereunto he "would never conſent, if he were demanded, as to take "down the altars and ſet up tables." And in this ſort, ſeeing him obſtinately ſettled in mind not to be conformable, he was in the King's Majeſty's name expreſsly commanded and charged to ſubſcribe the ſame book before Thurſday next following, being the 24th hereof, upon pain of deprivation of his biſhoprick, to all and ſingular effects which might follow thereof. And hearing the commandment, he reſolutely anſwered, "He could not find in his conſcience to "do it, and ſhould be well content to abide ſuch end, either "by deprivation or otherwiſe, as pleaſed the King's Ma-"jeſty." And ſo, as a man incorrigible, he was returned to the Fleet. This order was ſubſcribed by theſe of the privy-council; W. Wilts, J. Warwyck, W. Herbert, W. Cecyl, Jo. Maſon.

Biſhop of Chicheſter his troubles.

That which gave the council the firſt occaſion againſt Day Biſhop of Chicheſter was, partly his refuſal of complying with the order of changing the altars in his dioceſe into tables; and partly going down into his dioceſe, and there

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preaching againſt it, and other matters of that nature then in agitation, to the raiſing of dangerous tumults and diſcontents among the people. This came to the council's ears; and October 7, this year, Dr. Cox, the King's Almoner, was ordered to repair into Suſſex to appeaſe the people by his good doctrine, which were now troubled through the ſeditious preaching of the Biſhop of Chicheſter and others.

November 8, the ſaid Biſhop appeared before the council to anſwer ſuch things as ſhould be objected againſt him for preaching. And becauſe he denied the words of his accuſation, therefore he was commanded within two days to bring in writing what he preached.

Biſhop Day will not pull down altars.

November 30. This day the Duke of Somerſet declared to the council, that the Biſhop of Chicheſter came within two days paſt, and ſhewed to him, that he received letters from the King's Majeſty, ſigned with his Majeſty's hand, and ſubſcribed with the hands of divers Lords of the
228 council. The tenor of which letter here enſueth; *Right reverend Father in God, &c.* [It is the ſame letter as is printed in Fox's Acts, about pulling down altars.] According to this letter the ſaid Biſhop ſaid, he could not conform his conſcience to do that he was by the ſaid letter commanded; and therefore prayed the ſaid Duke he might be excuſed. Whereunto the ſaid Duke, for anſwer, uſed divers reaſons moving the ſaid Biſhop to do his duty, and in ſuch things to make no conſcience, where no need is. Nevertheleſs the ſaid Biſhop would not be removed from his former opinion. Therefore the ſaid Duke ſaid, he would make report to the reſt of the council. And ſo in the end he prayed the Lords of the council this day, that the Biſhop might be ſent for, and ſhew his mind touching this caſe. Which was agreed, and commandment given for the Biſhop to be at the council the next day.

Appears before the council.

December 1, the Biſhop came before the council; and being aſked what he ſaid to the letters ſent to him from the King's Majeſty, he anſwered, "That he could not "conform his conſcience to take down the altars in the "churches, and in lieu of them to ſet up tables, as the letter "appointed: for that he ſeemed for his opinion to have "the Scripture, and conſent of the doctors and fathers

"of the church; and contrariwiſe did not perceive any "ſtrength in the ſix reaſons, which were ſet forth by the "Biſhop of London to perſuade the taking down altars "and erection of tables." And then, being demanded what Scripture he had, he alleged a ſaying in Eſay: which place, being conſidered by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of London, and other Lords of the council, was found of no purpoſe to maintain his opinion. Eſ. xix. 19.

The Archbiſhop and Biſhop of Ely reaſon with him.

And thereupon, by the ſaid Archbiſhop and Biſhop of Ely, divers good reaſons were given to prove that it was convenient to take down the altars, as things abuſed; and in lieu of them to ſet up tables, as things moſt meet for the ſupper of the Lord, and moſt agreeable to the firſt conſtitution. And beſides that, his other reaſons were then fully anſwered.

The council give him time to confer.

Wherefore the council commanded him expreſsly, in the King's name, to proceed to the execution of his Majeſty's commandment in the ſaid letter expreſſed. Whereunto he made requeſt, "That he might not be commanded to "offend his conſcience: ſaying, if his conſcience might be "inſtructed to the contrary, he would not thus moleſt the "council with his refuſal." Which his ſaying, conſidered by the council, moved them to ſhew thus much favour unto him; that they willed him to reſort unto the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhops of Ely or London, and confer with them in the matter, ſo as he might be inſtructed by them to accept the juſt command of the King's Majeſty with a ſafe conſcience. And for his ſecond anſwer, day was given him until the 4th of this month: at which day he was commanded to return again.

Before the council again.

December 4. This day the Biſhop of Chicheſter came before the council; and was demanded, Whether he had been with the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the other Biſhops, according to former order given him; who anſwered, "That he was one afternoon at Lambeth, to have "waited on the Archbiſhop; but he was anſwered, that he "was at the court: and upon a demand what time his 229
"Grace would come home, one of the chamberlains," as he ſaith, "anſwered, That he doubted it would be late ere

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"his Grace come home, becauſe he ſo uſed. Therefore "he tarried not. And to any other Biſhops he made no "repair:" ſaying further, "he had not been well in health; "for the which cauſe he took ſome phyſic yeſterday." The Archbiſhop thereunto ſaid, that the ſame afternoon that the Biſhop of Chicheſter had been there, he came home very early on purpoſe to have conferred with the ſaid Biſhop: for the which cauſe he had leave of the King's Majeſty to depart the ſame day home ſooner than for other buſineſs he might conveniently. To the matter he was aſked, What mind he was of touching the executing the King's command; and what he could ſay why the ſame ſhould not be obeyed? who anſwered as he did before, "That his conſcience would not permit him to do the "ſame; for that the ſame was againſt the Scripture and the "doctors." And being aſked of the firſt, he alleged a place in the laſt to the Hebrews, mentioning the word ALTAR: which place, being conſidered, was manifeſtly by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of Ely declared to be meant of Chriſt: as by the very context of the ſame moſt manifeſtly appeared to every reader. Next to this he alleged the former place of Eſay, which alſo was moſt evident to be meant otherwiſe than he alleged, and ſo proved. As to the uſe of the primitive church, beſides the texts of the New Teſtament, it was moſt clearly by Origen contra Celſum proved, that in his time chriſten men had no altars, by direct negative propoſitions. Beſides this, the abuſe of the altars was ſhewed unto him, and reaſons declared how neceſſary it was to reform the ſame. Touching the naming the table an altar, it was left indifferent to him, becauſe ancient writers ſometimes call the table an altar. But yet, notwithſtanding that his own reaſons were fully ſolved, and divers good and weighty reaſons made, he perſevered in the pertinacy of his own ſingular opinion. Whereupon the council, rehearſing to him the evil that ſhould come of this his diſobedience if he ſhould be ſuffered, commanded him, in the King's Majeſty's name, upon his allegiance expreſsly to become an obedient ſubject, and ſo to execute the King's commandment. And for that it ſhould appear to him that there was as

Heb. xiii. 10.

much favour meant as might be, not offending the King's Majeſty, in his Majeſty's behalf they would be ſo bold as to appoint him Sunday next to make his final anſwer; and in the mean time he might adviſe himſelf, and weigh the cauſe as it ought to be. And ſo the day was given him. CHAP. XX. Anno 1550.

December 7, the Biſhop of Chicheſter again appeared before the council; and being aſked touching the execution of his Majeſty's commandment in the letter, he anſwered plainly, "He could not do it, ſaving his conſcience: for the "altars ſeemed to him a thing anciently eſtabliſhed by the "agreement of the holy fathers, and confirmed by ancient "doctors, with the cuſtom alſo of a number of years, and, "as he thought, according to the Scriptures. Where-"fore he could not in conſcience conſent to the aboliſhing "of them, and determined rather to loſe all that ever he 230 "had, than to condemn his own conſcience; with many "other circumſtances to that effect." Finally, the matter being well debated, it was thought good yet to give him two days reſpite further to be adviſed, in hope he might reconcile himſelf: which if he did not upon his next anſwer, appointed to be upon Tueſday next, the council agreed to proceed ordinarily againſt him, as againſt a contemptuous perſon, by way of ſequeſtration. Before the council the third time.

December 9. This day the Biſhop of Chicheſter appeared before the council: and being demanded whether he would obey the King's commandment in pulling down the altars, as is before rehearſed; he anſwered, "That he thanked "both the King's Highneſs, and his council, of their great "clemency uſed towards him: but he ſaid he could not by "any means perſuade himſelf to do that thing that was "againſt his conſcience. Wherefore he prayed them to do "with him what they thought requiſite; for he would "never obey to do the thing that his conſcience would not "bear." Whereupon for his contempt he was, by the order of the whole council, committed to ward in the Fleet, till further order ſhould be taken for him. And the fourth time, when he was ſent to the Fleet.

We hear no more of him and his fellow, the Biſhop of Worceſter, till nine months hence. And ſo we leave them both in the Fleet till September 27, 1551. When we find Sir Roger Cholmely, Kt. Lord Chief Baron of the Exche- Commiſſioners appointed for Worceſter and Chicheſter.

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quer, Sir Richard Read, Richard Goodrick, John Gofnold, John Oliver, and Richard Ryel, being commiſſioners appointed by the King's Majeſty for the proceedings in the cauſes laid againſt theſe two Biſhops, were commanded, by letter from the council, to call the ſaid Biſhops before them at Whitehall; and beginning with the Biſhop of Worceſter's cauſe, to proceed alſo with Chicheſter: ſo as the judgment of the one might ſucceed the other, without any delay of time more than needed. And when the acts of the council proceeded in thoſe cauſes ſhould be requiſite, the ſame, upon knowledge given thither, ſhould be ſent them: and in the mean time to uſe for their inſtruction the acts that were paſſed upon Worceſter's cauſe, and thoſe that Mr. Read had already concerning Chicheſter; with admonition, ſeeing their contempts ſo evident, not to give them any long delay, by granting any learned counſel, or otherwiſe by ſuch pretexts.

They are deprived.

September 28, the council ſent a letter to the Lord Chancellor, with the commiſſion directed to the abovenamed perſons, for the examination and determining of the Biſhops of Worceſter and Chicheſter's cauſes: praying him to ſend the ſame to ſuch of the council as are at or near London, whoſe hands be not thereto, that they might ſign it; and then to ſeal it, and ſend it with a letter from the ſaid Lords, encloſed within his, to the ſaid commiſſioners. According to theſe orders, within leſs than a month, theſe two Biſhops were at laſt deprived, after the expectation of their compliances a long while.

And October 24, 1551, the council ſent a letter to the Chancellor of the Augmentations, to take immediate order for ſeizure in the King's Majeſty's hands of the temporalties
231 of their biſhopricks, lately given to his Highneſs by the judgment paſſed by the commiſſioners, appointed for the hearing of thoſe Biſhops' cauſes.

Placed, the one with the Lord Chancellor, the other with the Biſhop of London.

Theſe Biſhops remained priſoners in the Fleet, after their deprivation, till the next ſummer: when, as it ſeems, for their healths-ſake, they deſired to be removed to ſome place of better air, and more liberty. Whereupon, June 15, 1552, Dr. Day was ſent to the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, and Dr. Hethe to the Biſhop of London, by the appoint-

ment of his Majeſty. And they were directed to uſe them as to chriſtian charity ſhould be moſt ſeemly. At whoſe hands the King doubted not but they ſhould receive ſuch chriſtian advice, as would tend to the glory of God. July 17, upon the motion of the Biſhop of London, the Lords of the council were content that he ſhould ſend Dr. Hethe unto the Biſhop's own houſe at London [from Fulham] to recover his health, and then to have him again. So far more kindly were theſe Popiſh biſhops dealt withal in this reign, than the Proteſtant biſhops were in the next. Hoper, Biſhop of Gloceſter, ſucceeded in the ſee of Worceſter; and Scory, Biſhop of Rocheſter, in that of Chicheſter.

CHAP. XX. Anno 1550.

I will here crave the reader's leave to inſert two or three words concerning Biſhop Day; thereby to judge the better of him.

About the year 1547, ſaying of maſſes was laid aſide in King's college in Cambridge, the members of which college generally favoured the Goſpel. Day, the Provoſt thereof, (which place he held *in commendam* with his biſhoprick,) hearing of this, wrote an angry letter to the Vice-Provoſt, and in him to the whole college, for divers things which they had done relating to reformation; and particularly for leaving off ſaying maſſes. In which, he ſaid, "They de- "parted from the inſtitution of the houſe, and that they did "it raſhly, and beſides the law: there being as yet no law "for ſo doing. He charged them with the breach of ſta- "tute; and ſo would involve them in the ſin of perjury. "And whereas in their public diſputations they gave queſ- "tions againſt popiſh doctrines, he charged them with diſ- "puting wickedly and turbulently, to the wounding of "tender conſciences, and the infamy of the houſe. And "finally, required that things ſhould be put in the ſame poſ- "ture they were before." To which the college, by Dr. Haddon's elegant pen, wrot an anſwer: "That as to their "aboliſhing maſſes, they ſaid, they were private maſſes; "and the ſtatutes of the college did ſeem to enjoin only "maſſes, wherein was a communion of the body and blood "of Chriſt. That that was not perjury, when, by the com- "mon conſent of the college, ſome minuter matters of the "ſtatutes were changed. That had he himſelf been there,

Day writes to King's college for leaving off maſſes.

Haddoni Ep. p. 169.

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" he would have done as they did, conſidering the reports " that came from the court, brought by witneſſes worthy of " credit. And that as for their diſputations they urged, " that it was free for them to diſpute matters controverted, " for better inquiry into the truth: and that it was done " with lenity, without any perverſeneſs of ſpeech."

His unnatural carriage towards his brother.

He had a younger brother named William, (who was above forty years after Biſhop of Winton.) This man was a ſcholar of the college while his brother was Provoſt and Biſhop: to whom he ſent once a requeſt, to ſupply him with a little money to buy him ſome books and other neceſſaries he ſtood in need of at that time. His brother anſwered him, knowing him to be well affected to the Goſpel, " That for his part he held it not fit to relieve thoſe that " were not of the true church, and therefore he would not " in any wiſe relieve him." Thus had his religion deſtroyed in him the very principles of nature.

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Hatcher's MS. Catal. of Provoſts, &c. of King's Coll.

Preaches againſt tranſubſtantiation.

This Biſhop had been a vehement aſſerter of tranſubſtantiation: yet in April 1550, he preached againſt it at Weſtminſter; which King Edward thought fit to take notice of in his Journal: and he complied, and went along with all the ſteps of the reformation till the declining of this year 1550; when the matter of taking down altars was ſet on foot. For then it ſeems either there was a proſpect that the reformation, carrying on, would have a ſtop, or it was ſecretly agreed, among the popiſhly affected, now to fall off.

His change charged on him.

In Queen Mary's days he was a mighty buſy man, and one of the commiſſioners for the examination and condemning to death the profeſſors of religion. When in conference with Bradford, that holy man had charged him for departing from the reformed church, as it was in King Edward's days: he told him, " That he was but a young man, (and " yet in the firſt year of that King he was five or ſix and " forty years of age;) and that, coming from the univerſity, " he went with the world: but it was always againſt his conſcience." He could, it ſeems, diſpenſe with his conſcience upon occaſion: and yet what a man of conſcience was he when altars were to be pulled down! He ſat a commiſſioner upon Hoper, together with Wincheſter, London, Durham, and Landaff: and however gently he had been

uſed in his trouble, that was forgot; and he treated that reverend man moſt rudely, undecently falling upon him with foul words, and with a ſcornful countenance calling him *Hypocrite.* CHAP. XX. Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXI.

Papiſts grow bold. Looſe Profeſſors reſtrained.

THUS indeed, when the Papiſts found they could not prevail by outward force, which they had tried to the utmoſt the laſt year, they now uſed other arts. One among the reſt was to libel the government, and diſperſe ſcurrilous rhymes and ballads upon the preachers. One of theſe was this year faſtened upon the pulpit of ſome eminent church; probably of St. Paul's: which nevertheleſs ſoon had an anſwer to it. And not long after a more witty ballad was put abroad, glancing, as it ſeems, at the Archbiſhop, upon occaſion of the liberty of reading the Bible, and of the Engliſh ſervice, and the publiſhing the Homily-book, and other good books: whipping the government under the perſon of one John No-body, becauſe that, notwithſtanding all theſe religious pretences, there was ſo much ſin, lechery, adultery, bribery, and want of charity. A taſte of this their poetry I have put into the Appendix: becauſe ſome probably may be ſo curious as to peruſe the fancy of that age. The Papiſts write libels. 233 No. XLIX.

The Papiſts were at this juncture very bold, whether it were that they had taken up a conceit that the old religion would be again reſtored upon the diſgrace of the Duke of Somerſet, or upon ſome other reaſons. To ſtay theſe men, the council, as they had proceeded before againſt ſome popiſh biſhops, ſo they thought fit to uſe ſome rigours towards others, noted to be the forwardeſt men. One of theſe was Dr. Chedſey, who was one of the diſputants againſt Peter Martyr, the King's profeſſor. He took now upon him to preach openly at Oxford againſt the ſteps of the reformation that were made, and making. Wherefore, March 16, he was committed to the Marſhalſea for ſeditious preaching: Several Papiſts now taken up. Council-book. Chedſey.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

where he lay till November the 11th, 1551: and then he was ordered to be brought to the Biſhop of Ely's, where he enjoyed his table, and an eaſier reſtraint. March 19, Serjeant Morgan was committed to the Fleet for hearing maſs in the Lady Mary's chapel. March 22, Sir Anthony Brown was committed to the Fleet for the ſame offence. And three days after, *viz.* March 25, Mr. White, Warden of Wincheſter, appeared before the council, and confeſſed that he had divers books and letters from beyond ſea, and namely, from one Martyn, a ſcholar there, who oppoſed the King's Majeſty's proceedings utterly. And it being manifeſt that he had conſented to things of that ſort in ſuch wiſe, that greater practices were thought to be in him that ways, he was committed to the Tower: where lying for ſome months, he ſhewed better conformity in matters of religion. So that in June 14, 1551, the council wrote a letter to the Archbiſhop, that he ſhould ſend to the Lieutenant of the Tower for Mr. White to be brought to him, and with him to remain, till ſuch time as he ſhould reclaim him. Which being done, he was to be ſent back again to the Tower, until the King's Majeſty's further pleaſure upon his Lordſhip's certificate of his proceedings with him. This White, however he complied now, was in Queen Mary's reign made Biſhop ſucceſſively of Lincoln and Wincheſter, and preached that Queen's funeral ſermon: and was deprived by the next Queen for refuſing conformity to the religion then eſtabliſhed.

Morgan.

Brown.

White.

Other profeſſors reſtrained.

And while the Papiſts on one hand were ſo buſy in promoting their ends, there were a looſer ſort of profeſſors of religion diſgraced the reformation on the other. For ſome there were that took the liberty of meeting together in certain places, and there to propound odd queſtions, and vent dangerous doctrines and opinions. Of theſe alſo the council having notice, they thought it very fit to diſcountenance and reſtrain them. January 27, a number of perſons, a ſort of Anabaptiſts, about ſixty, met in a houſe on a Sunday, in the pariſh of Bocking in Eſſex; where aroſe among them a great diſpute, "Whether it were neceſſary to ſtand or "kneel, bare-head or covered, at prayers? and they con-"cluded the ceremony not to be material; but that the "heart before God was required, and nothing elſe." Such

other-like warm diſputes there were about Scripture. There were likewiſe ſuch aſſemblies now in Kent. Theſe were looked upon as dangerous to church and ſtate: and two of the company were therefore taken and committed to the Marſhalſea; and orders were ſent to apprehend the reſt, *viz.* to Sir George Norton, Sheriff of Eſſex, to apprehend and ſend up to the council thoſe perſons that were aſſembled for Scripture-matters in Bocking: nine of them were named, being cowherds, clothiers, and ſuch-like mean people. The like order was ſent to Sir Edward Wotton, and to Sir Thomas Wyat, to apprehend others of them, ſeven whereof are named, living in Kent. February 3, thoſe that were apprehended for the meeting at Bocking appeared before the council, and confeſſed the cauſe of their aſſembly to be, "For to talk of the Scriptures; that they had refuſed the "communion for above two years, and that, as was judged, "upon very ſuperſtitious and erroneous purpoſes: with di-"vers other evil opinions, worthy of great puniſhment." Whereupon five of them were committed: and ſeven of them were bound in recognizance to the King in forty pound each man. The condition, to appear when they ſhould be called upon, and to reſort to their ordinaries for reſolution of their opinions, in caſe they had any doubt in religion.

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CHAP. XXII.

Foreigners allowed churches. A Laſco.

WE ſhall now ſhew a remarkable inſtance of the Archbiſhop's epiſcopal piety, in the care he took of the ſouls of foreigners, as well as of the native Engliſh. For in King Edward's reign there were great numbers of ſtrangers in the realm; French, Dutch, Italians, Spaniards, who abode here upon divers occaſions: ſome for trade and commerce, and ſome, no doubt, to be ſecret ſpies, and promoters of the Pope's affairs, and to hinder the propagation of the religion: but the moſt were ſuch as fled over hither to eſcape

The Archbiſhop's care of the ſouls of ſtrangers reſiding here.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

the perſecutions that were in thoſe times very violently ſet on foot in their reſpective countries, and to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, and the free profeſſion of their religion. Our Prelate had a chief hand in forming theſe ſtrangers into diſtinct congregations for the worſhip of God, and in procuring them convenient churches to meet in, and ſetting preachers of their own over them, to inſtruct them in the true religion: Cecyl and Cheke joining with him in this pious deſign, and furthering it at court with the King and Duke of Somerſet. And this they did both out of chriſtian charity, and chriſtian policy too; this being a probable means to diſperſe the reformed religion into foreign parts: that when any of theſe ſtrangers, or their children, ſhould return into their own country, they might carry the tincture of religion along with them, and ſow the ſeeds of it in the hearts of their countrymen.

The Dutch congregation begun under John a Laſco.

This year the German or Dutch congregation began under Johannes a Laſco, a nobleman of Poland, ſtyled their Superintendent: and this by the favour and influence of our Archbiſhop, who had entertained him in his family with reſpect due to his quality and great piety. This perſon had forſaken his country and honours for the ſake of the Goſpel, and became a preacher to a proteſtant congregation at Embden in Eaſt Friezland. But ſeeing all things look black and ſtormy round about him, and tending to a perſecution, he took an opportunity to embark for England: where, being a perſon not only of honour, but of great learning and piety, and withal an exile for the ſake of Chriſt, and voluntarily taking up the miniſtry out of zeal to promote the Goſpel, he met with a very honourable and friendly reception; and ſoon became acquainted with many eminent perſons here: as with Dr. Turner, the Duke of Somerſet's phyſician, and Dean of Wells; Sir John Cheke, Sir William Cecyl, and our Archbiſhop; and, by their means, with the Duke of Somerſet himſelf. His chief buſineſs here ſeemed to be, to make ſome proviſion for himſelf and his congregation, in caſe of perſecution. For this purpoſe he got a conference with the ſaid Duke, a way, as it ſeems, being made thereunto by the Archbiſhop; requeſting that he and his congregation might have leave to tranſplant themſelves to Lon-

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The occaſion of his coming into England.

His buſineſs here.

don, that they might have a church here, and certain privileges likewiſe: moving the Protector thereunto by arguments as well taken from charity as policy, namely, that hereby a trade and gainful manufacture would be introduced into England. He deſired therefore that they might be incorporated by the King's letters patents, and that ſome old diſſolved church or monaſtery might be granted to them, to worſhip and ſerve God in. When he had done this, he deſired a certain Italian friend of his to acquaint Cecyl with the ſum of his diſcourſe with the Protector: and ſo, taking an opportunity on a ſudden of paſſing again to Embden along with ſome ambaſſador, that was going into thoſe parts, he took his leave of England; leaving the Archbiſhop and Cecyl to ſecond his buſineſs with the Duke as occaſion ſhould ſerve. Being at Yarmouth, before his going aboard, he wrote to Cecyl his full mind, in caſe he and his congregation ſhould be driven away. He deſired him, "that if he "ſhould underſtand any thing concerning his call into Eng- "land, or would be informed by him of any other matters, "that he would convey his letters unto one Robert Legat, "an Engliſhman, living at Embden, who would communi- "cate them unto him." CHAP. XXII. Anno 1550.

Being arrived at Embden, he writ to the Archbiſhop, relating all paſſages that he knew concerning the ſtate of affairs, and particularly of religion in thoſe parts: deſiring him to impart them to the Protector. He writ alſo unto Cecyl, his letter bearing date in April 1549, referring him to the Protector's letters: and withal acquainting him in what a tickliſh and dangerous condition they were. "That they "certainly expected the croſs: that they did mutually ex- "hort one another to bear it, with invocation upon God's "holy name; that by patience and faith they might over- "come all whatſoever God ſhould permit to be done againſt "them, to the glory of his name, or for their trial. They "were ſure he had a care of them, and that he was ſo "powerful, that he could in a moment, by a word of his 236 "mouth, daſh in pieces all the forces of their enemies, "whatſoever they were. And that he was ſo good, that he "would not ſuffer ſo much as an hair, without cauſe, to fall "from their head, although the whole world ſhould make From Embden he wrote to the Archbiſhop; and to Cecyl. The ſad condition of the Proteſtants there.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

"an affault upon them. And that he could no more wiſh "them harm, than a mother could her own infant, or any "one the apple of his own eye; yea, no more than he him- "ſelf could not be God. Who was to be praiſed in all "things whatſoever happened to them, ſince he permitted "nothing to fall out to them, but for their good; and ſo, "for their welfare. And that therefore they committed "themſelves wholly to him, and did expect with all tolera- "tion whatſoever he ſhould allow to be done to them." In this pious manner did A Laſco write to Cecyl; and no doubt in the ſame tenour to the Archbiſhop. This made a very great impreſſion upon the godly hearts of them both, and cauſed them vigorouſly to uſe their intereſt with the Protector to provide a ſafe retreat for him and his congregation: which was obtained for them ſoon after. His whole letter, in a handſome Latin ſtyle, as ſome memorial of him, I have repoſited in the Appendix.

Num. I.

Latimer mentions A Laſco to the King.

Latimer alſo made way for his reception: who, in one of his ſermons before King Edward, made honourable mention of him; uſing an argument proper for that audience, namely, how much it would tend to the bringing down God's bleſſing on the realm, to receive him, and ſuch pious exiles as he. "John a Laſco was here a great learned man, and, as "they ſay, a nobleman in his country; and is gone his way "again. If it be for lack of entertainment, the more pity. "I could with ſuch men as he to be in the realm: for the "realm ſhould proſper in receiving them. *He that receiveth "you, receiveth me*, ſaid Chriſt. And it ſhould be for the "King's honour to receive them, and keep them."

Third ſermon before the King, anno 1549.

It was but a little after the King had received this congregation of foreigners into England, and had granted them a church, *viz.* St. Auguſtin's, but great conteſt happened among them about their church, yielded them for their religious worſhip. This P. Martyr took notice of with grief to Bucer: and addeth, "that their minds were ſo impla- "cable to one another, that the difference was fain to be "referred to the privy-council to make an end of." But not to leave our Superintendent yet.

Conteſt amongſt A Laſco's people. MSS. of Bennet College.

The care of A Laſco over his

A Laſco with his ſtrangers being ſettled at London, and incorporated by the King's patents, being their chief paſtor,

and a ſtirring man, was very induſtrious to procure and maintain the liberties and benefits of his church. The members thereof had planted themſelves chiefly in St. Katharine's, and in great and little Southwark. Here they were now and then called upon by the church-wardens of their reſpective pariſhes to reſort to their pariſh churches: though the miniſters themſelves did not appear in it. In the month of November, anno 1552, ſome of theſe ſtrangers, inhabiting the parts of Southwark, were again troubled by their church-wardens, and threatened with impriſonment, unleſs they would come to church. Whereupon their ſuperintendent A Laſco applied himſelf to the Lord Chancellor, who then was Goodrich, Biſhop of Ely. By the way one might inquire, why he reſorted not rather to his friend and patron the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. But the reaſon may ſoon be gueſſed: namely, that after the fall of Somerſet, the Archbiſhop's good friend, he came not ſo often to court, or tranſacted buſineſs there, unleſs ſent for: knowing his intereſt likewiſe to be but little with the Duke of Northumberland, who now bare all the ſway, and who had a jealous eye of him, as he had of all Somerſet's friends. And ſo the Archbiſhop might have rather hindered than forwarded A Laſco's buſineſs, if he had appeared in it. But this *en paſſant*. The Chancellor gently received A Laſco, and, diſmiſſing him, ſent him to Secretary Cecyl with this meſſage, to get him to propound the buſineſs the next day in the afternoon at the council-board, when himſelf ſhould be there: promiſing him likewiſe, that he would be aſſiſtant to him in procuring him a warrant in writing to be directed to all miniſters and church-wardens of the pariſhes of Southwark and St. Katharine's, that for the time to come the ſtrangers of this congregation ſhould receive no moleſtation in that regard any more. Accordingly A Laſco the next morning ſent one of the elders of his church to Cecyl with his letter, excuſing himſelf that he came not, being grievouſly afflicted with a pain in his head. Therein he acquainted him with the ſum of his conference with the Lord Chancellor: adding, that the obtaining ſuch a warrant would be neceſſary for them to produce and ſhew to ſuch as at that preſent did annoy them, and to be hereafter kept by

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1550.

church, and its privileges.

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Favourably received by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich.

Labours with the Secretary to procure letters from the council in behalf of his church.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

the church; that they might not be forced at other times, upon the like occaſions, to create new trouble to the King's council, or himſelf, in ſuing for new warrants of that nature. Meaning hereby to put the Secretary upon drawing this up the more formally and ſubſtantially. And ſo, entreating him to hear what the elder had to ſay, and to diſpatch him, he took his leave. This letter alſo is inſerted in the Appendix. Num. LI.

The extent of his ſuperintendency.

The ſuperintendency of A Laſco ſeemed to extend not only to this particular congregation of Germans, but over all the other churches of foreigners ſet up in London, as alſo over their ſchools of learning and education. They were all ſubject to his inſpection, and within his juriſdiction.

Melancthon's Epiſtles, printed at Leyden, 1647.

And Melancthon, in an epiſtle to him in the month of September, 1551, ſpeaks of the purity of doctrine "in his "churches." His condition now, as to worldly circumſtances, began to be ſo good, that he was able to relieve and ſuccour ſuch learned foreigners as ſhould retire hither. For when one Nicolas Forſt, a learned and grave man, who had lived long in the univerſity of Lovain, and had ſpent ſome time with Melancthon, was minded, for the ſake of religion, to convey himſelf into England; he recommended him earneſtly to the Superintendent, as a perſon fit to teach in his churches and ſchools: and that he would friendly entertain him as an exile for the ſame cauſe himſelf was, and find him ſome little neſt to remain in. Nay, and the ſaid Melancthon himſelf had ſome thoughts of ſheltering himſelf under A Laſco here, as appears by the forementioned letter, wherein he ſtyles him his Patron. For the ſuperſcription of his letter is thus, *Illuſtri, Magnifico, ac Reverendo Viro, Nobilitate generis, Virtute et Sapientia præſtanti Dn. Johanni a Laſco, Patrono ſuo colendo.* So much of deference and honour did learned and pious men then uſe to give him. In this letter Melancthon told him, that the calamities of the churches were great, and that he himſelf expected baniſhment, and might probably in a ſhort time arrive where he was. And in reſpect of his hoſpitable reception of ſtrangers, he told him, that he believed he did often remember that ſaying of the exiled Queen,

Melancthon thought to ſhelter himſelf under him.

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Non ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco.

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Nor was A Laſco any ways unfurniſhed for this ſpiritual government, being a man of good learning, and of great piety, ſtrictneſs, and gravity from his younger age: and of whom the great Eraſmus himſelf acknowledged that he learned much. For in his epiſtle to Johannes a Laſco, the Archbiſhop of Gneſne, who was nameſake and uncle to our Superintendent, he ſpeaks thus of his nephew; "That he "was but young, yet grave beyond his years; and that he "himſelf accounted it none of the leaſt parts of his happi-"neſs, that he happened to have his converſe and ſociety for "ſome months:" praiſing the endowments that God had given him; and particularly, concerning the benefits he received by him, he could not but confeſs, *Senex juvenis convictu factus ſum melior, ac ſobrietatem, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modeſtiam, pudicitiam, integritatem, quam juvenis a ſene diſcere debuerat, a juvene ſenex didici.* "That by the converſation of that young man, he, "an old man, became better: and that ſobriety, temperance, "awfulneſs, government of the tongue, modeſty, chaſtity, "integrity, which the young ought to learn of the old, he, "an old man, had learned of a young." This he wrote in Auguſt 1527, ſoon after A Laſco was gone from him. And in June the ſame year, while he reſided with him, in another letter to Leonard Cox, a learned Engliſhman, he ſignified the great complacency he took in his company. *Johannis a Laſco tale ſum expertus ingenium, ut vel hoc uno amico mihi videar ſatis beatus.* "That he had found A Laſco's "parts to be ſuch, that he ſeemed happy enough in his "ſingle friendſhip."

His great abilities for government.

Eraſmus's praiſe of him.

Ep. 8. Lib. 28.

Lib. 19 Ep. 15.

And this good underſtanding continued between them as long as Eraſmus lived. For A Laſco ſeems to have been with him in his laſt ſickneſs; when, as the laſt token of Eraſmus's eſteem of him, he made a purchaſe to him of his own library, (that incomparable treaſure,) if we may believe the author of his life in Engliſh.

Purchaſed Eraſmus's library.

Abel Redivi.

A Laſco thought not the clergy obliged to celibacy, or ſingle life: for he himſelf was a married man. Who his wife was, I know not; but as for her qualities, ſhe was in all probability a pious and diſcreet woman, whereby ſhe gained a great ſhare in his affections. He ſtyled her "the

A Laſco a married man.

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"other part of himſelf." But in Auguſt 1552, God deprived him of her. Which ſtroke put him for ſome time under much ſadneſs and indiſpoſition both of mind and body, as appears by one of his letters.

His influence in the reformation under Queen Elizabeth.

He was alive at the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth to the Engliſh throne: and though he came not back then to England again, whence he departed upon King Edward's death, yet, according to that great intereſt he had here with the moſt eminent perſons, and even the Queen herſelf, he neglected not by his letters to promote the reformation, and to give his grave counſel in order thereunto. And Zanchy, public profeſſor at Stratſburgh, knowing the ſway he bare here, in a letter to him in the year 1558, or 59, excited him in theſe words; *Non dubito, quin T. P. jamdudum ſcripſerit ad reginam, eique conſuluerit, quæ pro illius regni conſervatione, et regni Chriſti inſtauratione facienda judicarit, &c.* "That he doubted not "he had before now written to the Queen, and given her "his advice, what he judged fit to be done for the pre- "ſervation of her kingdom, and for the reſtoring of the "kingdom of Chriſt. Yet he would not omit to pray him "to do it again and again by his repeated letters. For "I know," ſaid he, "how great your authority is with the "Engliſh, and with the Queen herſelf. Now certainly is "the time that you, and ſuch as you be, ſhould by your "counſels help ſo pious a Queen, and conſult for the "ſafety of ſo great a kingdom, yea, and ſuccour the "whole chriſtian church, every where afflicted and vexed. "For we know that if Chriſt's kingdom be happily intro- "duced into the kingdom of England, no ſmall aid will "thence come to all the other churches diſperſed through "Germany, Poland, and other countries."

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Blamed for meddling in our controverſies.

There is one thing that is wont to be urged againſt him, and which makes him to this day to be ſomewhat ill thought of; which was, that he oppoſed himſelf ſo openly, by writing againſt the habits preſcribed the clergy, and the poſture of kneeling at the reception of the holy ſacrament: whereby he incurred the cenſure of a meddling temper, and of ingratitude to that nation that ſo kindly had entertained him. Concerning the habits, Bucer and he

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had ſome controverſy. The ſum of which, on both parts, Archbiſhop Parker drew up (upon the deſire, I ſuppoſe, of Sir William Cecyl) about the year 1565, when that controverſy was hotly renewed again by Humfrey and Sampſon. This ſum whoſoever is minded to ſee, may probably hereafter find it in the memorials of that Archbiſhop, if God grant life and opportunity to me to write them.

A church of Italians conſtituted in London.

About this time, *viz.* in the year 1550, or 1551, there was alſo a church of Italians conſtituted in London, by the influence and care of our Archbiſhop and Sir William Cecyl, under A Laſco's ſuperintendency. This church conſiſted of divers Italian nations, as Florentines, Genoezes, Milanois, Venetians, and others: though ſeveral of them joined themſelves with this congregation more out of worldly ends than conſcience, as will appear afterward. For they had a kindneſs for the maſs, and could not endure to hear the Pope's ſupremacy called in queſtion, and inveighed againſt. One Michael Angelo Florio, a Florentine by birth, was appointed their preacher; probably brother, or kinſman, unto Simon Florio, preacher at the city of Clavenna among the Rhætii, an eminent profeſſor of the Goſpel in thoſe parts: who wrote a letter to Gratalòrius, an Italian phyſician, concerning two whole towns in Calabria, utterly deſtroyed by reaſon of the rigor of perſecution exerciſed there: and about eight hundred or a thouſand of the inhabitants put to death, becauſe they profeſſed the Goſpel. Which letter 240 is extant in Fox, in his table of the Italian martyrs.

Michael Angelo their miniſter.

The ſervice the Archbiſhop did for this church;

For the encouragement of this congregation, the Archbiſhop procured the members of it to be free denizens, to live and traffic here with as much freedom as natural Engliſh ſubjects: which they were admitted to by ſwearing fidelity and allegiance. For their more eaſy and convenient dwelling here, they often petitioned the King for new privileges and immunities, as they ſaw they needed them: and ſuch favour and countenance was ſhewn them, that they ſeldom failed of their ſuits. The Archbiſhop alſo, that their preacher might be provided for, dealt with the congregation, and made them oblige themſelves to provide him with all neceſſaries; as a dwelling, and a

and for the miniſter.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

competent yearly ſalary. In the year 1552, Michael Angelo ſued again to our Archbiſhop for ſome favour to be obtained from the King; whether it were for the better eſtabliſhment of his church, or for ſome further immunities to be granted to the members thereof, it doth not appear. But this the moſt reverend man readily furthered, by writing in that behalf to the Duke of Northumberland from his houſe at Ford, near Canterbury, the Duke being, I ſuppoſe, with the King in progreſs at this time. He likewiſe diſpatched another, dated November 20, the year aboveſaid, to the Secretary, entreating him to forward that cauſe as much as lay in him.

Divers of this church fall out with their minister, and go to maſs again.

But however ſerviceable this their miniſter had been unto theſe Italians, in preaching the Goſpel to them, and ſoliciting the Archbiſhop for their benefit; yet many of them carried themſelves but little obliging to him. Whether it were ſome miſbehaviour or imprudences in him, which he was not altogether void of, or his too violent declaiming againſt the Pope and popiſh doctrines, which they were not yet enough ripened in evangelical knowledge to receive, or that he too roughly charged them with the hardneſs of their hearts and backwardneſs to receive Goſpel-truths, as he did uſe to do: but many of them wholly withdrew from him, and went to maſs again. His contribution alſo fell very low, not having received above five pounds in a conſiderable time from them. Hereupon he reſorted to the Secretary, "making heavy complaints "of his own poverty, that many of his people had forſaken "his aſſembly, ſpake very ſlanderouſly againſt him and "his miniſtry, and the Goſpel which he preached, after "they ſaw and heard him in an open manner preaching "againſt the Pope's doctrines, his tyranny and hypocriſy, "and reproving them for their unbelief, and the hardneſs "of their hearts." The too much vehemency and paſſion of this man, and his neglect of informing the judgments of theſe Italians in milder and more leiſurely methods, I ſuſpect to have been a great cauſe of this apoſtaſy.

A conjecture at the cauſe thereof.

Their miniſter ſends their names to the Secretary, and accuſes them.

But, upon this complaint, the Secretary bade the paſtor ſend him a liſt of the names of thoſe that had thus behaved themſelves, and that he himſelf would call them

CHAP. XXII. Anno 1550.

before him, and diſcourſe with them. Accordingly he ſent the names of fourteen in a letter to the ſaid Secretary, withal aggravating to him their miſbehaviour, and informing of their daily going to maſs: and adding, that therefore they, being free denizens, and ſo ſubjects to the Engliſh laws, ought to be puniſhed as any Engliſhman would be, if he heard maſs. He quoted a place or two in Deuteronomy, where thoſe that rebelled againſt God, the laws, and the judges, ſhould be ſlain without mercy. He ſubjoined, that Eliſha, by God's command, anointed Jehu to be King for this very purpoſe, that he ſhould wholly root out the houſe of Ahab, and kill all the prieſts of Baal: and thence makes his uncharitable concluſion, (more agreeable to the religion that he was ſo hot againſt,) that therefore theſe Italians ſhould be ſo ſerved, ſince they oppoſed the Goſpel, and the King's pious proceedings. But it might make one apt not to think over-favourably of this man; a paſtor, thus to turn accuſer of his flock; a profeſſor of the reformed religion to require the utmoſt rigor of puniſhment for differing in religion. 241

The morals of this man tainted.

I alſo find the morals of this man tainted, having once made a very foul ſlip, being guilty of an act of uncleanneſs: for which Sir William Cecyl, Secretary of State, who had been his good friend, was exceedingly diſpleaſed with him, and withdrew all favour and countenance from him, calling him *wicked man*, and intending to inflict ſome ſevere puniſhment upon him; which ſeemed to be baniſhment out of the nation, or at leaſt turning him out of his family, where he ſeems to have been entertained. Angelo wrote him a very penitent letter, minding him of the frailty of human nature, and of the mercy of God to Moſes, Aaron, David, Jonas, Peter, after their falls: and that if he were forced to depart the kingdom, he muſt either be compelled to renounce the truth of the Goſpel, or have his blood ſhed by the enemies thereof. This was, as I ſuppoſe, in the year 1551. In fine, he got over this brunt, and recovered mild Cecyl's favour: for I find, a year after, our Archbiſhop wrote to him to further a certain buſineſs of Michael Angelo at court, as much as he could.

Writes a penitent letter to the Secretary.

This is all I have to ſay of that Italian congregation, and

BOOK II. Anno 1550. Num. LII. LIII. the miniſter thereof. For further memory of which, I have added in the Appendix two letters of this Michael Angelo to Secretary Cecyl, whence many of the matters, next above mentioned, were collected.

A French church alſo in London. As there was thus a German and Italian church in London, ſo alſo there was a third of Frenchmen, under A Laſco's ſuperintendency. One member of which, a very honeſt man, and of ſound religion, by the general teſtimony of that church, had deſired to ſet up a printing-houſe for his livelihood, chiefly for printing the Liturgy, and other books of the church of England, in French, for the uſe of the French iſlands under the Engliſh ſubjection. In whoſe behalf the Superintendent readily interceded by a letter with the Secretary to procure the King's letters patents, for his licence and authority ſo to do. The iſſue of which will be ſeen in the progreſs of this hiſtory. The letter I have tranſcribed to accompany two others of A Laſco in the Appendix. No. LIV.

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242 CHAP. XXIII.

The Church at Glaſtenbury.

Another church of ſtrangers at Glaſtenbury. IN the ſame year, *viz.* 1550, another church of ſtrangers, and they moſtwhat French and Walloons, began to ſettle at Glaſtenbury in Somerſetſhire. They were weavers,

Their trade weaving. and followed the manufacture of kerſies, and cloth of that nature, as I conjecture. Their great patrons were the Duke of Somerſet and Sir William Cecyl; I add, and our Archbiſhop, though I do not find his name mentioned in the papers I make uſe of, relating to this church: for there is no queſtion but that his counſel and aid concurred in the ſettlement of this church, as well as thoſe in London: and particularly as to the preacher; whom I ſuſpect to have

Valerandus Pollanus their preacher and ſuperintendent. been one of thoſe learned foreign divines whom he harboured in his own houſe. His name was Valerandus Pollanus, a man of great worth both for learning and integrity, who had the title of Superintendent of the ſtrangers'

church at Glaſtenbury, as John a Laſco had of that at London; given to each to fix a character of honour and eſteem upon their perſons, and perhaps to exempt them and their churches from the juriſdiction of the biſhops of thoſe reſpective dioceſes. This Pollanus turned into Latin, and printed, the diſputations held in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign between the Proteſtants and Papiſts at the convocation, anno 1553. If any deſire to know the particular ſtate and condition of the eſtabliſhment of theſe ſtrangers, as to their trade, it ſtood thus.

CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1550.

How they came to fix here.

Pollanus, in behalf of the reſt, had preferred a petition to the Duke of Somerſet, and the reſt of the lords of the council, to this effect; "That they might be permitted to "form themſelves into a church for the free exerciſe of "religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving; "declaring, as an argument to perſuade them to allow "the ſame, the conſiderable benefit that would accrue "thence to the realm: and that for ſhops and working-"houſes, and for reception of them and their families, "they might enjoy ſome old diſſolved religious houſe." Their petition was condeſcended to: and the Duke, being a great cheriſher of thoſe of the religion, reſolved to be their patron, and to take the managing of this whole cauſe upon himſelf. The Duke, in the month of June this year, had made an exchange of certain lands with the King, and that probably for the better accommodating of theſe ſtrangers. He had parted with the caſtle and lordſhip of Sleford, and other lands and tenements in the county of Lincoln, to the King: and the King had granted him, in lieu thereof, all and ſingular his meſſuages, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with their appurtenances, in the town of Glaſtenbury, (namely, what had belonged to the abbey,) and other lands and tenements in Kingſton upon Hull, to the value of 214l. 14s. 5d. obq. as I find in a manuſcript book, mentioning the ſeveral ſales that King made. Having obtained ſuch conveniences in Glaſtenbury, he reſolved to plant this manufacture here; which he thought would tend ſo much to the benefit of the country, himſelf, and theſe poor ſtrangers too. Conditions were mutually entered into. 243

BOOK II.

Anno 1550. Conditions of trade between Somerſet and them.

The conditions on Somerſet's part were, "That he ſhould "provide them houſes convenient for their occupations, "and to contain themſelves and families: that five acres of "paſture land, or as much as would ſerve for the feeding of "two cows throughout the year, ſhould be allotted to each "of them: and until land were ſo allotted, they ſhould "enjoy the park in common for the ſaid uſe, with ſome "part alſo of the gardens. They were alſo to be ſupplied "with monies from the Duke to buy wool, and defray "other charges neceſſary to ſet them on work. They were "alſo empowered to employ both Engliſh men and women, "as they ſhould have occaſion, in ſpinning, and other "works belonging to their trade." And ſo accordingly they went down to Glaſtenbury, and fell to work.

Their trade obſtructed by the troubles of Somerſet.

But upon the troubles and fall of Somerſet, which happened about fourteen or fifteen months after, their affairs were much obſtructed. His ſervants neglected to furniſh them with money according to contract: nor was he at leiſure now to regard them. The people, among whom they lived, took this opportunity to expreſs what little kindneſs they had for them: it being the temper of the common ſort to be jealous of ſtrangers, and rude to them. So that they were not without their diſcontents and diſcouragements: for they wanted thoſe conveniences of room for work-houſes and habitations, that were promiſed them. They ran in debt, and were forced to lay to pawn the clothes they had wove, to ſupply their wants. Corniſh, one of the chief of their procurators, appointed to overſee them, and further their trade, proved very deceitful and falſe to them; who came to them, pretending letters from the council, and treating them at firſt with fair words, and after with threatenings: and ſo compelled them to deliver the clothes that they had made to him, though they had by mere neceſſity been forced before to pawn them. He had alſo, by his importunity and fraud, got the grant of the park from them, though he knew the Duke had fully purpoſed and intended it for their uſe, for the neceſſary maintenance of themſelves and families.

Apply themſelves again to the council,

Things being in this ill condition with them, and Somerſet no longer able to befriend them, they were glad to apply

again to thoſe above. Pollanus therefore, in their behalf, petitioned the lords of the council to take their declining ſtate into their conſideration, and to carry on that good work the Duke of Somerſet had begun. He did alſo ply the Secretary to further their petition, (who was indeed of his own accord their moſt hearty friend;) and laboured particularly with all earneſtneſs imaginable, both by word of mouth, and by divers letters, to get the factory diſcharged of Corniſh, urging that the weavers had never found the leaſt grain of integrity, juſtice, or candour in him. This man was now very induſtrious and buſy at court to get himſelf continued in his office: which the ſtrangers underſtanding, were as diligent to get themſelves delivered of him. The Superintendent had but a little before diſpatched to the Secretary one Peter Wolf, a good man, and a great ſufferer, a Brabanter by nation, to relate the evil deeds of this man: and now again he diſpatched Stephen Le Provoſt, a deacon of his church, with another meſſage to the ſame import to the ſaid Secretary. Telling him, "That thoſe who were to "be ſet over others ought themſelves in the firſt place to "be honeſt and juſt; but eſpecially they ought to be ſo in "the higheſt degree that were to be placed over ſuch good "men, and who were exiles only for the ſake of Chriſt; "unleſs any could be willing that ſuch upright men ſhould "be undone, and that thoſe very conſiderable advantages "that were likely to accrue to the commonwealth by them, "ſhould be diverted to ſome other place or country. That "they could not enough wonder with what forehead this "man ſhould attempt this thing, after he had ſo plainly be-"trayed his baſe treachery and ill-will towards them: and "could not but know, how very hardly they could away "with him, and who were going to ſue to the Duke for "that which they now deſired. That himſelf was ſolicited "by the prayers of thoſe good men to write this to him, "that he would be their advocate with the lords in this be-"half."

And to the Secretary Cecyl.

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The reſult was, that the lords conſented to uphold and encourage them: and ſent down their letters to the overſeers of this manufacture, and to the chief officers of the town, Powis, one of the King's ſervants, and Hyet, the chief

The council become their patrons, and aſſiſt them.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

magiſtrate, and others, to examine into the preſent ſtate of theſe ſtrangers, and to give them in writing an account thereof. Theſe letters the Superintendent delivered to them; and one Clark, a juſtice of peace, was then preſent: who being a gentleman and a ſcholar, that underſtood both French and Latin, did, out of his good-will to them, interpret to the reſt Pollanus's petition to the lords of the council, and the contents of their contract with the Duke of Somerſet, and other matters relating to this buſineſs; that ſo they might be the better acquainted with their affairs, and it might appear there were no neglects or breaches of covenants on the ſtrangers' parts. And ſo letters were diſpatched back to the lords from the overſeers, ſignifying how they had examined the affairs of theſe ſtrangers, and had found all things fair and juſt on their ſide; mentioning likewiſe what conſiderable commodity they hoped for by them: and likewiſe from the chief of the town to the ſame import.

Orders from the lords to ſet this manufacture forwards.

Speedily upon this, orders came down from the lords to certain gentlemen of the town and neighbourhood, whereof one Dyer was one, a perſon of good religion, and their cordial friend, commiſſionating them to ſet this manufacture forward, and to take care the undertakers might be relieved in what they needed, according to their former contract with the Duke. So they obtained the uſe of the park for the running of threeſcore head of kine, till other paſture were provided them. Thirty houſes were ordered to be forthwith repaired and fitted up for them: and money was paid ſufficient for the clearing them of their debts. Theſe gentlemen had alſo aſſigned them a ſtated proviſion of money for the future, but it was too ſcanty; the allowance that they had proportioned them for two months would ſcarcely hold out for five weeks. Nor was any wool at all bought for their uſe, though their ſtock was almoſt at an end; and then their work muſt ſtand ſtill for want thereof, having no money themſelves to purchaſe more: and to take it up upon credit would enhance the price thereof. For one Crowch had demanded of them thirty-two ſhillings for wool, when they could buy it of their neighbours for four and twenty, had they money. Their only hope was in Dyer, who promiſed them wool at a far more reaſonable rate, and

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kindly offered them a long day of payment for it, without consideration for forbearance: their doubt only was, whether his wool was proper for their use. But the interest of Cornish was such, that he was continued by the lords in his office over these tradesmen, and enjoyed a part of the park to himself. These things were transacted in the month of November, anno 1551, which was the month after the Duke's commitment. CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1550.

In all this affair Pollanus was very much employed, taking a great deal of pains in settling this trade: for he took many journeys between Glastenbury and the court, and was, as himself wrote, at incredible expences; and in fifteen months space received not an halfpenny, though he had a large family to maintain. The office also of surveying the reparation of the houses lay upon him: and, fearing the lords of the council might be displeased at the greatness of the charge they had been at already in the repairs, and the little profit that as yet arose to quit the cost, he entreated the Secretary that he would bear up their reputation with the lords; telling him, "That he doubted not that the project would hereafter redound much to their own praise, "by reason of the very great emolument that all men "should perceive would come to the realm thereby within "three years, God prospering them, as he had begun to do. "And for himself, all he desired was, that for all his charge "and trouble he might obtain a stipend of fifty pounds "to be settled upon him." The letters of Valerandus Pollanus, being three in number, I have inserted in the Appendix. Pollanus very serviceable to them. No. LV. LVI. LVII.

I acknowledge, that many of these things I have related concerning this business, may seem too little and minute for an historian to take notice of. But I was loth any particulars of so remarkable a design should be lost, which in probability would have turned so much to the benefit of our nation. It being also an instance of the pious care and good policy that was then taken by the court for the relief and sustentation of poor fugitives, flying hither from their native country, friends, and livelihood, for Christ's sake; and yet that the public might be as little burdened by them as might be. An apology for the largeness of the former relation.

BOOK II.

Anno 1550.

Queen Mary's acceſs to the crown ſpoiled this good deſign. For all ſtrangers being then commanded ſuddenly to depart the realm, this congregation accordingly brake up, and removed themſelves to Frankford in Germany: where the magiſtrates kindly entertained them, and allowed them a church. And when afterwards, *viz.* 1554, divers of the Engliſh nation fled thither for their religion, the governors of the town, upon their petition, received them alſo, and all other ſuch Engliſh as ſhould reſort thither upon the ſame account; as many did. And two members of this French congregation, mindful undoubtedly of the former kindneſs themſelves or their countrymen had received in England, aſſiſted them much; namely, Morellio a miniſter, and Caſtalio an elder. The Engliſh here made uſe of the ſame church the French did; theſe one day, and the Engliſh another: and upon Sundays the uſe of it reſpectively, as themſelves could agree.

After the King's death they remove to Frankford.

Troubles at Frankford.

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Prove friends to the Engliſh exiles there.

A Spaniſh church.

And as there were ſettled here congregations of French, Italians, and Dutch ſtrangers, ſo I am very apt to believe there was alſo a church of Spaniards too. Indeed I do not find expreſs mention of any ſuch till the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; when Caſſiodorus and Anthonius Corranus Hiſpalenſis [of Sevil] (a member of the Italian congregation) were their preachers, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſay ſomething in my memorials of Archbiſhop Grindal.

Caſſiodorus and Corranus their preachers.

Many of King Philip's Spaniards become Proteſtants.

It is certain, that in Queen Mary's days many of thoſe Spaniards, who came over in the retinue of Philip, the Spaniſh prince, or after, forſook popery, and became profeſſors of the reformed religion: which one cannot well tell how it ſhould come to paſs, unleſs it were by the hearing of the Goſpel preached in their own language here. And it is obſervable, that among theſe many had been ſent for over, in that Queen's time, to convert our nation from hereſy, as they termed it, and to reduce it to the Roman church. This notable ſucceſs and power, which the clear evidence of truth had upon theſe men, was in thoſe times taken much notice of, as it might well be. James Pilkington, the Maſter of St. John's College in Cambridge, and who was afterwards Biſhop of Durham, makes a note of it to the univerſity, in the ſermon which he preached at the reſtitution of Bucer

and Fagius, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, after the barbarous indignities that had been offered them in the former Queen's reign, in raking their dead bodies out of their graves, and burning them. "It is much more no- "table," ſaid he, "that we have ſeen to come to paſs in our "days, that the Spaniards, ſent for into the realm on pur- "poſe to ſuppreſs the Goſpel, as ſoon as they were returned "home, repleniſhed many parts of their country with the "ſame truth of religion, to the which before they were ut- "ter enemies." CHAP. XXIII. Anno 1550.

Nay, and not long after this, ſuch earneſt profeſſors of the true religion were found in Spain, that many of them endured the fiery trial, and offered up their bodies to the flames, for Chriſt's ſake; and more were caſt into priſons: and yet the Goſpel got ground there to admiration; as Zanchy gave a relation thereof to A Laſco in one of his letters: wherein he ſpake of the great numbers of true profeſſors in Italy alſo. The place being ſo much to our preſent purpoſe, I will take leave to lay before the reader. *In Calabriæ duobus caſtellis, &c.* "In two caſtles of Calabria, one belonging "to the Duke of Montalto, the other to a nobleman of Na- "ples, were found 4000 brethren, being the remainders of "thoſe brethren called Waldenſes. They were for many "years unknown, and lived ſafely in their anceſtors' poſſeſ- "ſions. For though they approved not of maſſes, yet they "thought the faithful might go to them with a ſafe conſci- "ence. But being untaught this bad doctrine, they did "wholly and univerſally abſtain going any more. And ſo "it came to paſs, that they could not be concealed any lon- "ger: therefore a perſecution was raiſed up againſt them. "They writ to the brethren at Geneva to aſſiſt them by "their prayers, their counſel, and alſo by human aid. We "ſee alſo in Italy, where the ſeat of Antichriſt is, there is a "great harveſt; but very few to gather it. O God, have "mercy upon Italy. In Spain very many were burnt, more "caſt into priſon. Nevertheleſs, in the mean time, the Goſ- "pel goes forward, as we hear, wonderfully." And in ano- ther letter he writes thus; "There is a very great perſecu- "tion in Italy, nor a leſs in Spain: a ſign there be many "faithful there that dare confeſs Chriſt." Great numbers of Proteſtants in Spain and Italy. Zanchii. Ep. Lib 2. 247

BOOK II.
Anno 1550.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Archbiſhop's Care of the Revenues of the Church. Bucer dies.

The Archbiſhop laboured to preſerve the revenues of the church.

I RETURN now to our Prelate again, to take a further view of him, acting in his high function in the Engliſh church. It muſt not be omitted to be ranked among his good ſervices towards it, that he did what in him lay to preſerve the revenues of it in his time, when there were ſo many hungry courtiers gaping after them. Theſe were again in a new danger after the Duke of Northumberland and his party had removed Somerſet, and made themſelves the great controllers of public affairs.

The detaining the church revenues a ſcandal to the reformation.

It was indeed the ſcandal of the reformation, that the demeans, that had been ſettled long before by our pious anceſtors for the maintenance of God's miniſters, as they had been formerly wrongfully appropriated to monaſteries, and ſwallowed up by lazy monks, ſo they had not now recurred and been reſtored to their true owners; but became poſſeſſed by laymen: ſo that in many ſcores of pariſhes there remained not ſufficient to buy bread for the incumbents and their families. And it was more than ſuſpicious, that many patrons did render the condition of the church ſtill worſe in theſe days by retaining and reſerving to themſelves, whether by contract or power, the tithes of the benefices they preſented to: and by theſe means pluralities and nonreſidences, the old miſchief of the church, were not redreſſed, but rather made neceſſary. This abuſe grieved good men, and lovers of the reformation, both at home and abroad; becauſe they ſaw how the preaching of the Goſpel was obſtructed hereby.

Calvin to the Archbiſhop upon this matter.

Concerning this, Bucer from Cambridge wrote privately to Calvin in the year 1550. And this made Calvin addreſs a letter to our Archbiſhop, telling him, that, for the flouriſhing ſtate of religion, he thought it highly needful to have fit paſtors, that might ſeriouſly ſet themſelves to

perform the office of preaching. One great obſtacle whereof he makes very truly to be, *Quod prædæ expoſiti ſunt Eccleſiæ reditus;* "That the rents of the church were "expoſed to be a prey:" which he calls *malum ſane intolerabile.* And of the ſame thing, and not long after, *viz.* July 1551, he admoniſhed the Duke of Somerſet in a French letter, all of his own hand writing: which becauſe of the antiquity of it, and the matter it treats of, referring to our church, and not being among his printed epiſtles, I have added in the Appendix. In which letter he excites the Duke to take care that there might be fit and able miniſters fixed in pariſhes to teach the people: the want whereof he attributed to two cauſes. The one whereof he made to lie in the univerſities; and the other in the matter that we are ſpeaking of. "That the revenue of the cures was "withdrawn and diſperſed away: ſo that there was no-"thing to maintain good men, who were fit to perform "the office of true paſtors. And hence it came to paſs, "that ignorant prieſts were put in; which made great con-"fuſion: for the quality of the perſons begat great con-"tempt of God's word. Adviſing the Duke to endeavour "to bring thoſe that had theſe ſpiritual poſſeſſions, to be "willing to part with them: inaſmuch as they could not "proſper in defrauding God's people of their ſpiritual "food, which they did by hindering the churches of good "paſtors."

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Anno 1550. Ep. 127.

248 And to the Duke of Somerſet.

No. LVIII.

Bucer, the King's divinity profeſſor at Cambridge, was this year engaged in a public diſputation; as his colleague, Peter Martyr, the King's profeſſor at Oxon, had been there the laſt. Before this diſputation happened, Bucer communicated his purpoſe to his ſaid colleague and friend: who, having ſufficient experience of the vainglorious ends of the Papiſts in theſe kinds of diſputations, and of their unfair dealings, adviſed him in a letter not to engage in it, but to decline it. On which letter Archbiſhop Parker, into whoſe hands it fell, wrote this inſcription; *Ad Bucerum, prudens Martyris conſilium, ut non det ſe in diſputatione cum glorioſulis Thraſonibus.* But it ſeems he was too far engaged to avoid it with reputation, nor thought he

Bucer publickly diſputeth at Cambridge.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

fit to do it for the vindication and ſake of truth. The queſtions diſputed of, and his antagoniſts, were before mentioned. It ſeems he came off with great credit; for his friend Martyr, in a letter to him, ſoon after it was over, profeſſed a great deal of gladneſs that his diſputations had that good ſucceſs: and that it ſo well happened was by God's providence: which, he ſaid, he could ſcarce have believed to have been a thing poſſible, without viſitors, or other grave judges; ſince the Papiſts reckoned it enough for their buſineſs only to diſpute, afterwards ſtudiouſly diſperſing their lies, to their own advantage, and the diſparagement of thoſe that diſputed againſt them. And therefore, Martyr ſaid, he wondered not that Chriſt in the beginning confirmed the diſputations of his Apoſtles with miracles.

November 9, Bucer began a learned reading of the power and uſe of the miniſtry, but lived not to finiſh it; for the latter end of this year put an end to this learned man's life: of whoſe counſel and advice our Archbiſhop made great uſe in the ſteps he made for reformation of religion. He made his will before he left Straſburgh: but the codicil to that will he added, February 22, a few days before his death. Wherein he left to his wife to take the advice of Mr. Bradford, and the miniſter of Alhallowes, for ordering of his burial, and conſtituted two eminent men of that univerſity his executors, namely, Dr. Matthew Parker, who was afterwards Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Dr. Walter Haddon, after Maſter of Requeſts to Queen Elizabeth: and both of them adorned his funerals, the one with an Engliſh ſermon before the univerſity, and the other with a Latin oration, being univerſity orator: both which are extant in print. He died but poor; and ſeemed to be in ſome want of neceſſaries in his laſt ſickneſs: for there is a ſhort letter, in a ſcrawling hand, which I have ſeen, wrote by him to the aforeſaid Parker, then Maſter of Benet College, and his great friend, to lend him ten crowns: which becauſe it was the laſt letter, I believe, he ever wrote, and but ſhort, I ſhall here inſert.

Dieth.

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S. D. Oro D. T. Clariſſime D. Doctor, ut des mihi X coronatos mutuo, uno tantum menſe. Reddam bona fide. Opt. vale.

D. T. deditiſſ. in Dno.
Martinus Bucerus manu perægre propria.

Under which is writ by Dr. Parker, out of the honour he had for his memory, *Scriptum noviſſimum omnium quod ſcripſit D. Bucerus, paulo ante mortem ejus.*

The Univerſity wrote up concerning his death.

Bucer's friends, after they had taken care for giving him an honourable funeral, conſulted the ſupply of his widow, Wibrand Bucerin; that ſhe might be well gratified, and preſented with ſome gratuities, that might ſhew the reſpect the nation had for her learned huſband. So the Univerſity wrote a letter to the King and council concerning Bucer's death, and their reſpectful interment of him, with the ſignification of their deſire, that his Majeſty would ſend them another able profeſſor in his room. With this univerſity-letter, Dr. Parker wrote another to Sir John Cheke; entreating him to preſent their letter, and that he would particularly ſpeak to the council, and to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, to remember the widow. Sir John Cheke, March 9, wrote a letter in anſwer to Dr. Parker's; which I have placed in the Appendix. He therein lamented the loſs of this man: commended him for his depth of knowledge, earneſtneſs in religion, fatherlineſs in life, and authority in knowledge. He added, that the King would provide ſome grave learned man to maintain God's true learning in that univerſity: though he thought in all points they would not meet with Bucer's like. He deſired Parker, that all Bucer's books and writings might be ſent up and ſaved for the King's Majeſty, except Mrs. Bucer might turn them to better account ſome other way.

No. LIX.

Bucer's library.

Theſe books and papers were apprized at one hundred pounds. But ſhe received but fourſcore pounds of thoſe that bought them. Which ſhe deſired Parker and Haddon, the executors here in England, to teſtify under their hands; that ſhe might ſhew it to vindicate her truth and honeſty, not to have wronged the heirs. The library was divided into three parts. The King had the manuſcripts, which was one part;

BOOK II. Anno 1550.

the Ducheſs [of Somerſet, I ſuppoſe,] had the greater part of the books, and the Archbiſhop of Canterbury had the remainder: for which he, for his ſhare, paid her forty pounds. The univerſity gave her an hundred crowns: the King an hundred marks more, beſides her huſband's half year's penſion, though he died before Lady-day, when it came due. He alſo allowed for ſuch reaſonable repairs as Bucer had beſtowed about the houſe wherein he lived. And, March 31, 1551, ſhe had a paſſage by ſea granted her with eight perſons in her company. She returned unto Straſburgh, whither ſhe retired, by Mr. Rich. Hills, merchant, the ſum of two hundred twenty-ſix pounds two ſhillings. From Straſburgh, in February the next year, ſhe wrote a letter to the executors, wherein ſhe acknowledged their kindneſs to her, praying God for them, in reſpect of their ſingular humanity and benefits which they had ſhewed to her huſband and herſelf, and eſpecially when he was dead. *Miſeram me*, ſaid ſhe in that letter, *omnique ſolatio deſtitutam non deſeruiſtis, ſed in veſtram me tutelam benigne ſuſcepiſtis; omnia denique Chriſtianæ charitatis officia demonſtraſtis.* Bucer left a ſon named Nathaniel, and a daughter named Elizabeth, behind him, at Straſburgh, when he came into England: which, I ſuppoſe, were all the children he left ſurviving him, whom he had by a former wife that died of the plague there. By her he had many more, but they died before him.

His widow retires to Germany.

The correſpondence between him and Martyr. MSS. C.C.C.C.

As long as Bucer lived, there was a dear correſpondence between him and P. Martyr, while they were the one at Cambridge, and the other at Oxford. In the private library at Benet College there be ſtill remaining divers letters from Martyr to him: one whereof was writ upon occaſion of Bucer's communicating to him his judgment of the habits; which he had compoſed for the uſe of Hoper. Which letter began thus.

S. P. Perlegi, Vir Dei, quæ de veſtium diſcrimine docte pieque ſcripſiſti, ac ex illis non mediocrem voluptatem cepi, tum quia vera quæ prædicas intelligebam, tum quod per omnia conſentiebant cum his, quæ ego Londinum ad Hopperum ipſum, pridie ejus diei, qua tuæ mihi redderentur miſeram. So that hence it appears they were both unanimous for wear-

CHAP. XXIV. Anno 1550.

ing of the habits enjoined; and ſo had given their judgments to Hoper. In the ſame letter he anſwered a caſe put to him by Bucer, *Quamdiu fidem in Chriſto generalem, confuſam aut implicitam ſatisfuiſſe ad hominum ſalutem.* And the reſolution of this queſtion being the chief matter of this letter, Archbiſhop Parker (into whoſe hands it fell) entitled it thus,

Quamdiu Fides implicita licuerit.

And on the margent of the ſame letter, where he entered upon another argument, is written by the ſame hand,

De concordi confeſſione in re Sacramentaria.

For A Laſco had lately wrote to Martyr his deſire, that ſome confeſſion about the ſacrament might be drawn up; to which he and Bucer, and Bernardin, and Martyr, might ſet their hands, to teſtify the foreign Proteſtants' conſent.

Another letter, wrote by Martyr to Bucer, bore this title, ſet to it by the ſame hand with the former,

Quibus artibus inſtituerint Diſputationem Theologicam in Comitiis Oxonienſibus.

And on the ſide of this letter,

Gaudet Diſputationem non eſſe factam et Aſtutia Papiſtica in Diſputatione.

In a third letter he gave Bucer advice, "that he ſhould 251
"not engage in any diſputation with the vainglorious Pa-
"piſts."

There is yet a fourth letter: wherein Martyr communicated to him how he had been employed by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in taking into examination the Engliſh book of Common Prayer, with his judgment thereon. This letter hath this title put to it by Parker,

Cenſura libri communium precum.

A plot of the Papiſts at Oxon againſt Martyr, at an Act.

The contents of the ſecond and fourth letter, having ſome things very remarkable for the illuſtration of our hiſtory, I ſhall here ſet down more largely. In the former, having congratulated Bucer's coming off ſo well in his diſputation with Young the Papiſt, he took notice of the unfair ways the Papiſts uſed in their diſputes: and then proceeded to tell what happened to himſelf the laſt Act at Oxford this year, by a party there, that did what they could to affront him, and the evangelical truth which he taught. Certain that then went out bachelors of divinity, made this combination among

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themſelves. One of them they ſet up to be reſpondent. The opponents, who were of the ſame ſtrain, and the queſtion to be diſputed, they ſuppreſſed, and kept under great ſilence; on purpoſe that Peter Martyr, the King's Profeſſor, ſhould not know: and when ſome had urged to them, that it belonged to the Profeſſor to know the queſtion, they anſwered, that it did not; and that it was enough for them to know it that were to diſpute on it. The day before the diſputation was to be undertaken, about two of the clock in the afternoon, they ſet up the queſtion upon the church-doors: and then it appeared to be in behalf of tranſubſtantiation. And, to exclude the Profeſſor, they choſe to themſelves a great Papiſt, Dr. Chedſey, for their father. And here the opponents were to have taken and managed all Martyr's arguments; and the reſpondent was to have aſſoiled them as he thought good. And then the opponents were to acknowledge, they were ſatisfied with the anſwers given thereunto. And their father, who was to occupy the Profeſſor's place, was by a ſpeech highly to approve and applaud all that had been done. And things were ſo to be ordered that day, that the Profeſſor ſhould not have any opportunity of ſpeaking. For theſe diſputations were to have been performed but a little before night, after the civilians had finiſhed their parts; which uſed to be the laſt exerciſes. Or if, after this divinity-diſputation were done, the Profeſſor had been minded to ſay any thing, he muſt do it when it was night, and when the tired auditors would be all going home: and then theſe diſputants and their party were every where to cry *Victory*, and carry away the glory. There was now obſerved a greater confluence of people at this Act, than could have been believed: for they had ſent about their letters to invite ſuch hither as were for their own turn: and all to increaſe the triumph. Among the reſt there were preſent the chaplains of Wincheſter and Durham. But all this elaborate and fine-ſpun plot was by a providence broken on a ſudden; the Vicechancellor, whether he feared any riot, or for what
252 other cauſe, it was uncertain, forbidding the divinity-diſputations that day, without the privity of the Profeſſor.

The matter of Martyr's other letter, wrote to Bucer in January, (as the former was in September before,) related

CHAP. XXIV.

Anno 1550. Martyr's judgment of the Communion-Book.

to the book of Common Prayer. For the correction of which the Archbiſhop, the Biſhop of Ely, and the other biſhops were, by the King's command, met together in conſultation. And that this work might be the more effectually performed, the Archbiſhop thought good to have the judgment herein of both the public profeſſors, Bucer and Martyr. Accordingly Bucer wrote his Cenſure, and Martyr his Annotations, as was ſaid before: a copy of which Cenſure Bucer had communicated to Martyr: who in this letter declared his conſent and approbation thereunto. As to his own annotations, Cheke's Latin verſion, which he uſed, was ſo brief and defective, that for that reaſon many things were omitted by him, which he would have noted, had he ſeen the book complete. But after he had ſent in thoſe his annotations to the Archbiſhop, who earneſtly required them, he ſaw Bucer's Cenſure, whereby he perceived divers other things called for correction, than he had taken notice of. So he reduced whatſoever was wanting in his annotations into certain brief articles, and acquainted the Archbiſhop therewith; and that in them all he did freely agree with Bucer, that it were fit they ſhould be altered. But Martyr's annotations did fully accord with Bucer's animadverſions, though they were at a diſtance, and conſulted not at all with one another before they wrote their judgments. But one thing was paſſed over by Bucer, which Martyr wondered at: it was in the office for the communion of the ſick. Where it was ordered, "That if this private communion "happened to be on the ſame Sunday when there ſhould "be a public one, then the prieſt was to take along with "him ſome of the conſecrated elements, and with them to "adminiſter the ſacrament in the houſe of the ſick. Where-"in this offended Martyr, as he ſaid, that the office that be-"longed to the communion ſhould not be repeated before "the ſick man, and the reſt that communicated with him, "ſince the words of the ſupper do rather belong to the men, "than to the bread and wine. And his advice was, that all "that was neceſſarily required to the Lord's Supper ſhould "be ſaid and done whenſoever it was privately, as well as "publicly, celebrated." He ſubſcribed to Bucer's Cenſure in every thing; and he thanked God, that had adminiſtered an

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occaſion, that the biſhops ſhould by them be admoniſhed of thoſe matters. So that it was concluded by the biſhops, at their conference about the communion-book, that much ſhould be changed therein, as the Archbiſhop told Martyr, then at his houſe: and if they would not do it, the King was reſolved to do it by himſelf and his parliament, without them. In this letter he ſpeaks ſomething concerning Hoper, whoſe behaviour he diſliked; and concerning Dr. Smith, who had lately written againſt the Archbiſhop's book of the Sacrament, and againſt himſelf concerning monaſtic vows. Both theſe letters, as well worthy the ſight and peruſal of the reader, I have repoſited in the Appendix.

Num. LX. LXI.

253 Bucer's great dangers.

Thus this reverend and learned foreigner, after many great difficulties paſſed through for the cauſe of religion, flying from one place to another, came at laſt to a natural death and a quiet end in this land. For his fame and wiſdom he was called by the Electors Palatine and of Brandenburgh, with the Emperor's permiſſion, to temper the Emperor's reſcript about religion, which was to be publiſhed, that ſo it might pleaſe both parties. But he thought he could not do it with any honeſty; and, rather than meddle with it, he fled to Straſburgh with his wife and children: hereby he fell under the diſpleaſure of thoſe Princes, as well as before he had done under that of the Emperor for the reformation of Colen; the envy of which Melanchon eſcaped, but it fell on poor Bucer. Being at Straſburgh, he alſo contracted much ill-will by means of the Anabaptiſts and others, whom he oppoſed, and who, by their pretended ſanctimony, had a great party there. His friends apprehended him on theſe accounts in great danger; but he thought of no removal to any other place, patron, or church, truſting himſelf in God's hands, till Sturmius and ſome others adviſed him by all means to depart into England. Which he at length yielding to, the ſaid Sturmius admoniſhed him, for his ſafer travel, to take a more uncommon way, through Lorain and Rhemes, and ſome other parts of France, to Calais, and there to croſs over the ſea. Which he did, and was very hoſpitably here entertained, as was ſaid before.

Biſhops conſecrated. CHAP. XXIV

June 29, John Ponet, or Poynet, D. D. Chaplain to the Archbiſhop, was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter at Lambeth chapel by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury; aſſiſted by Nicolas Biſhop of London, and Arthur Biſhop of Bangor. This conſecration was performed with all the uſual ceremonies and habits, probably for this reaſon, to give as little occaſion of offence to Papiſts as might be, and to keep cloſe to the old uſages, avoiding ſuperſtition: therefore it was ſet down in the regiſter at large in what formalities all was now done. The Archbiſhop is deſcribed, *Uſitatis inſigniis redimitus, et uno epitogio, ſive capa, indutus, oratorium ſuum prædictum honeſte et decenter ornatum ingreſſus*, &c. Anno 1550. Ponet. Cranm. Regiſt.

" Having on his mitre and cope, uſual in ſuch caſes, went " into his chapel, handſomely and decently adorned, to ce- " lebrate the Lord's Supper according to the cuſtom, and " by preſcript of the book, intituled, *The Book of Common-* " *Service*. Before the people there aſſembled, the holy ſuf- " frages firſt began, and were publickly recited, and the Epi- " ſtle and Goſpel read in the vulgar tongue, Nicolas Biſhop " of London, and Arthur Biſhop of Bangor, aſſiſting; and, " having their ſurplices and copes on, and their paſtoral " ſtaves in their hands, led Dr. John Ponet, endued with " the like habits, in the middle of them, unto the moſt re- " verend father; and preſented him unto him, ſitting in a " decent chair; and uſed theſe words, Moſt reverend father " in God, we preſent unto you this godly and well-learned " man to be conſecrated biſhop. The biſhop elect forthwith " produced the King's letters patents before the Archbiſhop: " which, by command of the ſaid Archbiſhop, being read 254 " by Dr. Glyn, the ſaid Ponet took the oath of renouncing " the Biſhop of Rome, and then the oath of canonical obe- " dience to the Archbiſhop. Theſe things being thus diſ- " patched, the Archbiſhop exhorted the people to prayer " and ſupplication to the Moſt High, according to the order " preſcribed in the Book of Ordination, ſet forth in the " month of March 1549. According to which order he was " elected and conſecrated, and endued with the epiſcopal " ornaments, the Biſhop of London firſt having read the " third chapter of the firſt Epiſtle of Paul to Timothy, in

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" manner of a ſermon. Theſe things being done, and the " ſacrament of the Lord's Supper celebrated upon a table, " covered with a white linen cloth by the Archbiſhop and " the two aſſiſting biſhops, the ſame Archbiſhop decreed to " write to the Archdeacon of Canterbury for the inveſtiture, " inſtallation, and inthronization of the ſaid Biſhop of Ro- " cheſter, as it was cuſtomary. Preſent, Anthony Huſe, prin- " cipal Regiſter of the Archbiſhop; Peter Lilly, John Lewis, " John Incent, public notaries; and many others, as well " clerks as laicks."

Hoper.

March 8, John Hoper was conſecrated Biſhop of Gloceſter, juſt after the ſame manner, by the Archbiſhop; Nicholas Biſhop of London, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter, aſſiſting, clothed (ſay the words of the regiſter) in linen ſurplices and copes, and John elect of Gloceſter in the like habit.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop publiſheth his Book againſt Gardiner.

Anno 1551. Cranmer publiſheth his book of the ſacrament.

THIS year our Archbiſhop publiſhed his elaborate book of the ſacrament, confuting the groſs and carnal preſence of Chriſt there, in vindication of a former book of his, wrote againſt by Biſhop Gardiner and Dr. Smith. For, to give the reader ſome diſtinct account of this matter, in the year 1550, Cranmer printed a book in Engliſh in quarto with this title;

His firſt book.

A Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt; with a Confutation of ſundry Errors concerning the ſame: grounded and eſtabliſhed upon God's Holy Word, and approved by the conſent of the moſt ancient Doctors of the Church. The great reaſon that moved him to write this book was, that he might the more effectually purge the church of popery; eſteeming tranſubſtantiation, and the maſs, to be the very roots of it. " The taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, " and ſuch-like popery, was (as he wrote in his Preface) " but the lopping off a few branches; which would ſoon

" ſpring up again, unleſs the roots of the tree, which were " tranſubſtantiation, and the ſacrifice of the maſs, were " pulled up. Therefore, out of a ſincere zeal to the honour " of God, he would labour," he ſaid, " in his vineyard to " cut down that tree of error, root and branch." By this book very many were enlightened to perceive the errors of the popiſh doctrines of the ſacrament. This treatiſe he divided into five books or points. I. Of the true and catholic doctrine and uſe of the ſacrament of the body and 255 blood of Chriſt. II. Againſt the error of tranſubſtantiation. III. The manner how Chriſt is preſent in the ſacrament. IV. Of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Chriſt. V. Of the oblation and ſacrifice of our Saviour Chriſt. In the third part he made mention of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, in theſe words: " As many " of them [*i. e.* of the Papiſt writers] as I have read, " (the Biſhop of Wincheſter only excepted,) do ſay, that " Chriſt called not the bread his body." This Biſhop was much offended that he was named in the book, and pretended this to be one reaſon why he did write againſt it, to vindicate himſelf, as well as the papal church, hereby ſo dangerouſly ſtruck at. This book of Cranmer's was turned into Latin by John Yong; who complied afterwards with the old religion under Queen Mary, and was Maſter of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.

Wrote againſt by Gardiner and Smith.

At this book the defenders of Popery were ſo nettled, that, in the ſame year 1550, Wincheſter then in the Tower, and fickle Dr. Smith then at Lovain, printed anſwers. Of Smith's book I ſhall only note by the way, that, March 8, 1550, there was an order of council to examine the bringer over of his book againſt Cranmer: ſuch a countenance did the ſtate give to the Archbiſhop and his book. Gardiner's book made the greateſt noiſe: which was printed in France, and intituled, *An Explication and Aſſertion of the true Catholic Faith touching the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar, with the Confutation of a Book written againſt the ſame.* In the beginning of his book he wrote, " that his ſermon before the King, [on " St. Peter's day,] touching the ſacrament of the altar, gave " occaſion to the Archbiſhop's book againſt it; and that he " was called before the King's commiſſioners at Lambeth

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"for his catholic faith in the ſacrament." Whereas indeed this was not the cauſe of his troubles; nor had ſome former copies of his book theſe words: but, after the commiſſion was iſſued forth againſt him, to make his cauſe appear the more ſpecious, as if it were the cauſe of the church, he thought fit to make an alteration in the beginning of his book in the manner aboveſaid: and, to carry on the ſcene, he in open court offered his book before the King's commiſſioners.

Vindicated in another book by the Archbiſhop.

To this book of Gardiner's our Archbiſhop ſtudied and compoſed an anſwer; holding himſelf bound, for the vindication of the evangelical truth, as well as of his own writing, and for the ſatisfaction of the people, not to ſuffer it to lie untaken notice of. When it was known the Archbiſhop was preparing an anſwer againſt Gardiner, the people were in very great expectation, and conceived an earneſt deſire to ſee and read it: having therefore diſpatched his copy, and ſent it to Rainold Wolf, his printer, it was printed off in the month of September 1551. But there was ſome ſtop put to the publiſhing of it, occaſioned by a proclamation iſſued out from the King; whereby, for ſome political ends, both the printing and ſelling of Engliſh books, without the allowance of the King's Majeſty, or ſix of his privy-council, was forbidden. The Archbiſhop, being deſirous that his book might come abroad the next term, for the contentation of
256 many who had long expected the ſame, ſent to Secretary Cecyl and Sir John Cheke to procure, either from the King or council, a licence to the ſaid Wolf for printing and ſelling his book: which was obtained, and the book publiſhed accordingly. This letter of the Archbiſhop's, dated
No. LXII. Sept. 29, I have thought not amiſs to repoſit in the Appendix. October 1, a licence was granted to Wolf to publiſh the book, under the King's privilege, the court then being at Hampton-court, and the Archbiſhop himſelf preſent. The title this ſecond book of the Archbiſhop's bore was, *An Anſwer by the Reverend Father in God Thomas, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan, unto a crafty and ſophiſtical Cavillation, deviſed by Stephen Gardiner, Doctor of Law, late Biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the true and godly Doctrine of the moſt Holy Sacra-*

ment of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt. Wherein is alſo, as occaſion ſerveth, anſwered ſuch Places of the Book of Dr. Richard Smith, as may ſeem any thing worthy the anſwering. Alſo a true copy of the Book written, and in open Court delivered, by Dr. Stephen Gardiner, not one Word added or diminiſhed, but faithfully in all Points agreeing with the Original. This book of Archbiſhop Cranmer's was printed again at London, 1580, with his life, and ſome other things.

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The method of the Archbiſhop's reply.

His reply to Gardiner was in the moſt fair and candid method that could be deviſed: for he firſt ſet down his own treatiſe, piece by piece; then Gardiner's reply thereunto, word for word, leaving not one paragraph without a full anſwer. His reply to Smith was only of ſome things moſt worthy to be taken notice of, the reſt of Smith's book being mere trifles. This reply to Smith he inſerted in the body of his anſwer to Gardiner, as occaſion ſerved: only at the end he made a particular reply to Smith's preface.

The judgments made of this book.

It ſeemed to be a very complete exercitation upon that ſubject. The book was ſtored with ſo great learning and plenty of arguments, *Ut ea controverſia*, ſaith one of his ſucceſſors, *a nemine unquam contra Pontificios accuratius tractata eſſe videatur*; "That no one controverſy was by any ever "handled againſt the Papiſts more accurately." It may not be amiſs to mention here the opinion that Cranmer himſelf had of his book, in that famous and renowned confeſſion he made of his faith in St. Mary's church, Oxon, immediately before he was led away to his burning. Where he expreſſed his full approbation and great confidence of the doctrine contained therein: ſaying, "that as for the ſacrament, he "believed as he had taught in his book againſt the Biſhop "of Wincheſter. The which book," he ſaid, "taught ſo "true a doctrine of the ſacrament, that it ſhould ſtand at "the laſt day before the judgment of God, where the pa-"piſtical doctrine, contrary thereto, ſhould be aſhamed to "ſhew her face." The Papiſts ſpake as much againſt this book, being much galled by it. Dr. Treſham, in his diſputation with Latimer, ſaid, there were ſix hundred errors in the book. Weſton, thinking to invalidate the book by the pretended novelty of the doctrine, aſked the ſame father,

In Antiq. Brit.

Fox's Acts.

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how long he had been of that opinion? He ſaid, not paſt ſeven years; that is, about the year 1547; and that Archbiſhop Cranmer's book confirmed his judgment therein: and added, that if he could but remember all therein contained, he would not fear to anſwer any man in this matter.

How the Archbiſhop came off from the opinion of the corporal preſence.

257 The Archbiſhop had acknowledged to the Queen's commiſſioners at Oxford, that Ridley had firſt begun to enlighten him as to the true notion of the preſence, as he had maintained it in his book. Hereupon one of them took occaſion to try to baffle the true doctrine, by making the whole ſtreſs of it to depend upon the authority of ſingle Ridley. Latimer, ſaid he, leaned upon Cranmer, and Cranmer leaned upon Ridley. Whereas the truth of this was no more, but that Ridley, reading Bertram's book of the body and blood of Chriſt, was ſharpened to examine the old opinion more accurately, of the preſence of Chriſt's fleſh and blood; and looking into eccleſiaſtical authors, he found it greatly controverted in the ninth century, and learnedly writ againſt: which made him begin to conclude it none of the ancient doctrines of the church, but more lately brought into it. Theſe his thoughts he communicated to Archbiſhop Cranmer, which was about the year 1546: whereupon they both ſet to examine it with more than ordinary care: and all the arguments that Cranmer gathered about it he digeſted into his book. Nor was the good Archbiſhop aſhamed to make a public acknowledgment in print of this, as well as of his other popiſh errors, in his anſwer to Smith's preface, who, it ſeems, had charged him with inconſtancy. "This I confeſs of myſelf, that, not long before I wrote the "ſaid catechiſm, I was in that error of the real preſence, as "I was many years paſt in many other errors, as of tranſub-"ſtantiation, of the ſacrifice propitiatory of the prieſts in the "maſs, of pilgrimages, of purgatory, &c. being brought up "from my youth in them. For the which, and other the "offences of my youth, I do daily pray unto God for par-"don and mercy. After it pleaſed God to ſhew me, by "his holy word, a more perfect knowledge of his ſon Jeſus "Chriſt, I put away my former ignorance. As God gave "me light, ſo through his grace I opened my eyes to re-

" ceive it. And I truſt in God's mercy for pardon of my for-
" mer errors." I ſet this down the more at large, to ſhew the great ingenuity as well as piety of this good man.

The Archbiſhop's great ſkill in this controverſy.

Peter Martyr, in the year following this, printed a book of the ſacrament, which was the ſum of what he had read before upon that point in the univerſity of Oxford. Which book he dedicated to his patron, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury: and, giving the reaſon why he made the dedication to him, ſaid, " That he knew certainly that Cranmer had ſo
" great ſkill in this controverſy, as one could hardly find in
" any one beſides. That there was none of the Fathers which
" he had not diligently noted; no ancient or modern book
" extant, that he [Martyr] had not with his own eyes ſeen
" noted by the Archbiſhop's hand. Whatſoever belonged
" to the whole controverſy, he ſaid that the Archbiſhop
" had digeſted into particular chapters; councils, canons,
" Popes' decrees, pertaining hereunto: and that with ſo
" great labour, that, unleſs he had been an eye-witneſs of it
" and ſeen it, he could not eaſily have believed others, if
" they had told him, in regard of the infinite toil, diligence,
" and exactneſs, wherewith the Archbiſhop had done it."
He added, " that the Archbiſhop had not beſtowed ſuch
" kind of pains and ſtudy in the matter of the ſacrament
" only, but that he had done the ſame thing as to all other 258
" doctrines, in effect, which in that age were eſpecially un-
" der controverſy. And this, that learned man ſaid, he had
" made good obſervation of. Nor," as he went on, " that he
" wanted ſkill, a method, and induſtry in defending what he
" held. Which might," he ſaid, " be known by this, becauſe
" he had ſo often conflicted with his adverſaries, both pub-
" lickly and privately, and by a marvellous ſtrength of learning,
" quickneſs of wit, and dexterity of management, had aſſert-
" ed what he held to be true, from the thorny and intricate
" cavils of ſophiſters; [glancing at his controverſies with
" Wincheſter, who was commonly then called the Sophiſter;]
" and that he wanted not a will, yea, a mind ready to defend
" ſound and chriſtian doctrines. That all men did ſuffici-
" ently underſtand, who ſaw him burn with ſo great an en-
" deavour of reſtoring religion, that for this cauſe only he
" had great and heavy enemies, and neglected many com-

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"modities of this life, and underwent horrible dangers." The great and intimate converſe that P. Martyr had with Cranmer, gave him opportunity to know him very well: and therefore I have choſen to ſet down this character that he gave of him, and particularly of his ability in this controverſy of the Euchariſt.

P. Martyr enlightened by Cranmer.

And I am apt to think that the careful peruſal of theſe authorities, collected by the Archbiſhop, and his converſation with this learned prelate, being much with him at Lambeth, was a cauſe of bringing Martyr to the true doctrine: for, at his firſt coming to Oxon, he was a Papiſt, or a Lutheran, as to the belief of the preſence. And ſo Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, told Bartlet Green at his examination; and that Martyr, perceiving the King's council, as he uncharitably ſuggeſted, to be of another opinion, he, to pleaſe them, forſook the true catholic faith. But Mr. Green, who had been a hearer of him at Oxon, replied, that he had heard Martyr ſay, "That he had not, while he was a Papiſt, read "St. Chryſoſtom upon the tenth to the Corinthians, nor "many other places of the doctors: but when he had read "them, and well conſidered them, he was content to yield "to them, having firſt humbled himſelf in prayer, deſiring "God to illuminate him, and bring him to the true under-"ſtanding of Scripture."

Fox's Acts.

Fox's conjecture of the Archbiſhop.

As to the authorities the Archbiſhop allegeth in his book, it was the conjecture of John Fox, that he made uſe of Frith's book, which he wrote of the ſacrament againſt More, divers years before; and that from the ſaid author the Archbiſhop ſeemed to have collected the teſtimonies of the doctors, which he produced in his apology againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter: and that he gathered the principal and chiefeſt helps thence, that he leaned to. But although he might peruſe Frith, as he did almoſt all other authors that wrote of this controverſy, yet he was too well verſed in the eccleſiaſtical writers, that he needed to go a borrowing to the readings of any others, for ſentences and allegations out of them.

A ſecond book of Gardiner againſt the Archbiſhop.

Cranmer lived to ſee his book replied again unto by his adverſary Gardiner, in Latin, under the feigned name of Marcus Antonius Conſtantius, a divine of Lovain. His book

went under this title, *Confutatio Cavillationum, quibus Sacroſanctum Euchariſtiæ Sacramentum ab impiis Capernaitis impeti ſolet.* Printed at Paris, 1552. In this book he ſpared the name of the Archbiſhop, but reduceth all the Archbiſhop's book into no leſs than 255 objections: to each of which, one by one, the Catholic is brought in making anſwer. Next, whereas Cranmer had laid down twelve rules for the finding out the true ſenſe of the Fathers in their writings, the Catholic examines them, and enervates them. Then follows a confutation of the ſolutions, whereby the Sectary, as he is called, (that is, Cranmer,) endeavoured to take off the arguments of the Catholics. And, which is the fourth and laſt part of the book, he defends catholic men's ſenſe of the allegations out of the Fathers againſt the Sectaries. Gardiner, when he compiled this book, was in the Tower a priſoner; but yet he was under ſo eaſy reſtraint, that he was furniſhed there with workmen and amanuenſes. "As they of old to the building of the tabernacle, ſo "he to the preparing of his book, a kind of papiſtical ta- "bernacle, [to uſe the words of Martyr,] all ſorts contri- "buted ſomething. For his book was Pandora's box, to which "all the leſſer gods brought their preſents. For every man, "were his learning leſs or more, that had any arguments "for the popiſh doctrine, brought them all to him, (many "whereof were windy and trivial enough,) and he out of "the heap made his collections as he thought good." But Watſon and Smith were his chief aſſiſtants. 259

Preface to P. Martyr's book, in defence of Cranmer.

The Archbiſhop, though the times now ſoon after turned, and he caſt into priſon, was very deſirous to prepare another book in confutation of Marcus Antonius, and in vindication of his own writing. He lived long enough to finiſh three parts: whereof two unhappily periſhed in Oxford, and the third fell into John Fox's hands, and, for aught I know, that by this time is periſhed alſo. But the great deſire he had to finiſh his anſwer to that book was the chief cauſe that, at his laſt appearance before the Queen's commiſſioners, he made his appeal to a general council: that thereby he might gain ſome time and leiſure to accompliſh what he had begun, before his life were taken away, which he ſaw was likely to be within a very ſhort ſpace. "Otherwiſe, [as he

The Archbiſhop begins a third book; but lives not to finiſh it.

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"writ to his lawyer, who was to draw up his appeal,] it "was much better for him to die in Chriſt's quarrel, and to "reign with him, than to be ſhut up and kept in that body: "unleſs it were to continue yet ſtill awhile in this warfare, "for the commodity and profit of his brethren, and to the "further advancing of God's glory."

Martyr takes up the quarrel.

Peter Martyr, his ſurviving and learned friend, being ſolicited by many Engliſhmen by letter and word of mouth, undertook the anſwering this book. But before he had finiſhed it, an Engliſh divine and friend of Martyr's, with whom he held correſpondence in Queen Mary's reign, wrote him word, in the year 1557, that an anſwer to Antonius, by ſome other hand, was then in the preſs, naming the author. Martyr replied, "That he was rather glad of it, "than any ways moved or diſturbed at it, as a diſappointment "of what he was doing: and added, that he expected no- "thing from that man but what was very exquiſite, acute, and "elaborate; but that he feared the noiſe thereof would not "hold true." And ſo it proved. Whether this learned man withdrew his book, that he might give way to that which P. Martyr was writing, or whether it were a flam given out to ſtop Martyr in his deſign, it is uncertain. But not long after this learned Italian put forth his anſwer. He had it under the preſs at Zurick in December 1558; and it came out the next year. Wherein, as he wrote to Calvin, he did unravel and confute all the ſophiſms and tricks of the Biſhop of Wincheſter. And it came forth very ſeaſonably, as Martyr hoped. For hereby the Engliſh Papalins might ſee, at this time eſpecially, that that book was not, as they boaſted hitherto, invincible. He gave this title to his book, *Defenſio Doctrinæ veteris et Apoſtolicæ de S. S. Euchariſtiæ Sacramento.* In the preface to which he ſhewed, "How "this work fell to his lot: not that that moſt reverend fa- "ther wanted an aſſiſtant, for he could eaſily have managed "Gardiner himſelf. For he knew how Cranmer, in many "and various diſputes formerly had with him, came off "with victory and great praiſe; but becauſe the Archbi- "ſhop, when in priſon, was forced to leave his anſwer, "which he had begun, unfiniſhed, by reaſon of his ſtrait "keeping, having ſcarce paper and ink allowed him, and no

Mart. Epiſt.

P. Martyr Ep.

"books to make uſe of; and being cut off ſo ſoon by death, "before he could bring to perfection what he had writ. "Wherein, as Martyr ſaid, he had harder meaſure by far "from the Papiſts, than Gardiner had from the Proteſtants "in King Edward's days, when he wrote his book."

Cranmer puts out his book of the ſacrament in Latin.

Gardiner, in that book of his under the name of M. Conſtantius, had ſhewn ſuch foul play with Cranmer's book, mangling it, and taking pieces and ſcraps of it here and there, and confounding the method of it, to ſupply himſelf with objections to give his own anſwers to with the moſt advantage; that the Archbiſhop thought, that if learned foreigners ſaw but his firſt book of the Sacrament, as he wrote it, it would be vindication enough againſt Gardiner's new book againſt it: and therefore he took order to have it tranſlated into the ſame language in which Gardiner wrote, that is, Latin, that impartial ſtrangers might be able to read and judge: and Sir John Cheke elegantly performed it for his friend the Archbiſhop. This book of Cranmer's, thus put into Latin, with ſome additions, came forth 1553. Before it he prefixed an epiſtle to King Edward VI. dated at Lambeth, idib. Mart. the ſame year: wherein he ſaid, "It "was his care of the Lord's flock committed to him, that "put him upon renewing and reſtoring the Lord's ſupper "according to the inſtitution of Chriſt. And that that was "the reaſon that, about three years ago, he ſet forth a book "in Engliſh againſt the principal abuſes of the papiſtical "maſs." Which book had great ſucceſs upon the people's minds, in bringing them to embrace the truth. "Whereby," he ſaid, "he perceived how great the force of truth was, "and underſtood the benefits of the grace of Chriſt, that "even the blind ſhould have their eyes opened, and partake "of the light of truth, as ſoon as it was revealed, and ſhew-"ed itſelf clearly to them. But that this gave great offence "unto Gardiner, then Biſhop of Wincheſter, ſo that he "thought nothing was to be done till he had anſwered the "book, ſuppoſing that there would be no helper of ſo de-261 "clining and forſaken a cauſe, unleſs he put to his hand." And ſo the Archbiſhop proceeded to ſhew how that Biſhop firſt put forth his Engliſh book, endeavouring to overthrow the true doctrine, and to reſtore and bring again into repute

Conſtantius libro Latine ſcripto, ita argumenta mea perſequitur, ut ſibi optimum

BOOK II.

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the maſs, with all its ſuperſtitions; and afterwards his Latin book, under a feigned name. In which Gardiner had ſo unfairly dealt with the Archbiſhop's arguments, chopping and changing, defacing and disfiguring them, that he could not know them for his own; and all that he might make it ſerve his own turn the better: inſomuch that he reſolved to have his own book tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin, that his true opinion and mind in this controverſy might the better be apprehended. The whole epiſtle is writ in a pure elegant Latin ſtyle, with a good ſharpneſs of wit.

videtur, et ut cauſam juvet; ſæpe truncata, ſæpe inverſa, ſæpe diſjecta, ſic introducit, ut non magis a me agnoſci potuerint, quam Medeæ liberi in multa membra diſſecti et deformati, &c.

The publication of this his Latin book he thought ſufficient for the preſent to entertain the world, till he ſhould put forth, in Latin alſo, a full anſwer to Gardiner, which he intended ſhortly to do. To this Latin book the Archbiſhop, occaſionally reviewing it while he was in priſon, made ſundry annotations and additions; not of any new arguments, but only of more authorities out of the Fathers and ancient writers. This valuable autograph fell into the hands of ſome of the Engliſh exiles at Embden, it may be by the means of Biſhop Scory, who was ſuperintendent of the Engliſh church there, or Sir John Cheke, who alſo for ſome time was in this place; both great friends of the Archbiſhop. In the year 1557, the exiles here printed it with this title, *Defenſio, &c. a Thoma Cranmero Martyre ſcripta. Ab Authore in vinculis recognita et aucta.* Before it is a new preface to the reader, made, as it is thought, by Sir John Cheke, relating to the Archbiſhop and this his book, ſhewing how well-weighed and well-thought on this doctrine of the Sacrament was, before he publiſhed it, and that he let it not go abroad till he had diligently compared and pondered all Scriptures and ancient authors, and confirmed it at laſt by his blood. In the body of the book, the places where any enlargements are, are ſignified by an hand pointing thereunto. In the margent is often to be found this word *Object.* with certain numbers added: which numbers ſhew thoſe places which Gardiner, under the name of Marcus Antonius, did endeavour to confute. The very original theſe Engliſh exiles here at Embden kept, as a great treaſure, among them, and as a memorial of the holy martyr.

Printed again at Embden.

Autographon ejus in noſtra apud Embdanos eccleſia pro theſauro quodam, et clariſſ. viri, ſanctique Chriſti martyris monumento ſervamus. In Epiſt.

CHAP. XXV. Anno 1551.

Beſides this, the Archbiſhop fully intended to have his vindication of his book, impugned by Gardiner, put into Latin alſo; but he lived not to ſee that done. But care was taken of this buſineſs among the exiles: inſomuch that both Sir John Cheke and John Fox were buſied about it at the ſame time. But the former ſurceaſed, and left the whole work to Fox, then at Frankford, after he had finiſhed the firſt part. In this piece done by Cheke, John a Laſco had an hand: for he put in the Latin ſchool-terms, inſtead of more pure good Latin, which Cheke had uſed. And it was judged fit that ſuch words ſhould be uſed, where the Archbiſhop in his Engliſh had uſed them. And this Cheke and A Laſco themſelves wrote to Fox. Fox undertook the reſt, by the incitation and encouragement of P. Martyr, and of Grindal and Pilkington, both biſhops afterwards: who gave him directions for the tranſ- 262
lating; and, as doubts occurred concerning the ſenſe of certain matters in the book, as he met with them, he conſulted with theſe men for their judgments therein. Grindal, in one letter, bad him write a catalogue of all paſſages by him doubted of, and ſend it to him. Fox finiſhed his tranſlation in the year 1557, before June: for which he had a congratulatory letter from Grindal, who was his chief aſſiſtant and counſellor herein. The work was diſpatched to the preſs, at Baſil I ſuppoſe; and, when one part was printed, the cenſors of the preſs thought it would be better to defer an argument of that nature to better times, the controverſy having been bandied up and down ſo much already: but Froſcover undertook the printing of the whole book. Fox would do nothing of himſelf; but, leaving himſelf to the judgment of his learned brethren, to commit the work now to Froſcover, or no, Queen Mary's death, and the return of the exiles, I ſuppoſe, ſtopped further progreſs in this matter. The original manuſcript, under Fox's own hand, in very cleanly elegant Latin, I have lying by me: it bears this title; *De tota Sacramenti Euchariſtiæ cauſa Inſtitutionum Libri V. Autore D.* THOMA CRANMERO *Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi. Quibus et Stephani Garneri Epiſcopi Wintonienſi, et* SMYTHI *Doctoris Theologi, impugnationibus, reſpondetur.*

Cranmer's ſecond book intended to be put into Latin. Fox. Epp. MSS.

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Some notes of Cranmer concerning the ſacrament. Miſcellan. A.

And, that I may bring here together all that relates to Cranmer, as to this matter of the ſacrament, I muſt not omit what I ſaw in the Benet library. There is a thin note-book of this Archbiſhop's, with this title, wrote by his own hand, *De re Sacramentaria;* which I verily believe are his meditations and concluſions, when he ſet himſelf accurately to examine the ſacramental controverſy, and fell off from the opinion of the carnal preſence. The notes conſiſt of nothing but quotations out of ancient eccleſiaſtical authors about the Lord's Supper; interlined in many places by the Archbiſhop's pen. On the top of ſome of the pages are theſe ſentences writ by himſelf, being doctrines proveable out of the ſentences there produced, and tranſcribed.

Panis vocatur corpus Chriſti, et vinum ſanguis.

Panis eſt corpus meum, et vinum eſt ſanguis meus; figurativæ ſunt locutiones.

Quid ſignificet hæc figura, edere carnem, et bibere ſanguinem.

Mali non edunt et bibunt corpus et ſanguinem Domini.

Patres Vet. Teſtamenti edebant et bibebant Chriſtum, ſicut et nos.

Sicut in Euchariſtia, ita in Baptiſmo, præſens eſt Chriſtus.

Contra Tranſubſtantiationem.

After this, follow theſe writings of the Archbiſhop's own hand, (which Archbiſhop Parker elſewhere tranſcribed for his own ſatisfaction.)

Multa affirmant craſſi Papiſtæ, ſeu Capernaitæ, quæ neque Scriptura neque ullus veterum unquam dixerat. Viz.

Quod accidentia maneant ſine ſubjecto.

Quod accidentia panis et vini ſunt Sacramenta: non panis et vinum.

263 *Quod panis non eſt figura, ſed accidentia panis.*

Quod Chriſtus non appellavit panem corpus ſuum.

Quod cum Chriſtus dixit, Hoc eſt corpus meum, pronomen Hoc non refertur ad panem, ſed ad corpus Chriſti.

Quod tot corpora Chriſti accipimus, aut toties corpus ejus accipimus, quoties, aut in quot partes, dentibus ſecamus panem.

Thus having ſet down divers aſſertions of Papiſts, or *Capernaites*, as he ſtyled them, which neither Scripture nor ancient Fathers knew any thing of; his notes proceed to ſtate wherein Papiſts and Proteſtants diſagree.

Præcipua capita in quibus a Papiſticis diſſentimus.

Chriſtum Papiſtæ ſtatuunt in pane, nos in homine comedente.

Illi in comedentis ore, nos in toto homine.

Illi corpus Chriſti aiunt evolare, maſticato vel conſumpto pane; nos manere in homine dicimus, quamdiu membrum eſt Chriſti.

Illi in pane ſtatuunt per annum integrum, et diutius, ſi duret panis: nos in homine ſtatuimus inhabitare, quamdiu templum Dei fuerit.

Illorum ſententia, quod ad realem præſentiam attinet, non amplius edit homo quam bellua, neque magis ei prodeſt, quam cuivis animanti.

Martyr ſucceeds Cranmer in this province.

Thus God made uſe of this Archbiſhop, who was once one of the moſt violent aſſerters of the corporal preſence, to be the chiefeſt inſtrument of overthrowing it. But this good work required to be carried on after Cranmer's death: for great brags were made of Gardiner's ſecond book; and it was boaſted, that none dared to encounter this their Goliath. P. Martyr was thought the fitteſt man to ſucceed Cranmer in this province, to maintain the truth that began now to ſhine forth. He, overcome by the ſolicitation of friends, compoſed a book againſt Gardiner, as was ſaid before, and printed it at Zurick. Wherein, 1. He defended the arguments of our men; which had been collected together, and pretended to be confuted, by Gardiner's book. 2. He defended thoſe rules which Cranmer had put forth in his tract of the ſacrament. 3. He maintained thoſe anſwers, whereby the arguments of the adverſaries were wont to be refuted. And, 4. He aſſerted the juſt and true interpretation of certain places out of the Fathers, which Gardiner and his companions brought for themſelves and their errors.

Writes againſt Gardiner.

BOOK II. Anno 1551. And Smith.

After this defence followed another by the ſame author, printed in the ſame town of Zurick, againſt two books of Dr. Rich. Smith, concerning the ſingle life of prieſts, and monaſtick vows: which he wrote at Lovain againſt Martyr. For when Martyr had read at Oxford upon 1 Corinthians, chap. vii. where the Apoſtle ſpeaks much of virginity and matrimony, (the notes of which readings Smith had very diligently taken, being conſtantly preſent at them;) from thence he compoſed two books, not ſo ſtrong as malicious, *Of the Celibacy of Prieſts*, and *Of Vows:* deſigning thereby to confute Martyr's arguments: which he therefore thought fit to vindicate. In this book he not only anſwered Smith's arguments, but whatever elſe he could meet with upon that
264 ſubject. But it was thought to be a very improper undertaking, and proved cauſe of mirth, that ſo filthy a fellow as Smith was known to be, and once taken in the act of adultery, ſhould write a book of prieſtly chaſtity. Which occaſioned theſe verſes made by Laur. Humfrey;

Haud ſatis affabre tractans fabrilia Smithus,
Librum de vita cælibe compoſuit, &c.
Dumque pudicitiam, dum vota monaſtica laudat,
Stuprat, ſacra notans fœdera conjugii.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Duke of Somerſet's death. New Biſhops.

The Duke of Somerſet's death.

THE Archbiſhop of Canterbury this year loſt the Duke of Somerſet, whom he much valued, and who had been a great aſſiſtant to him in the reformation of the church, and a true friend to it. His violent death exceedingly grieved the good Archbiſhop, both becauſe he knew it would prove a great let to religion, and was brought about by evil men, to the ſhedding of innocent blood, for the furthering the ends of ambition: and begat in him fears and jealouſies of the King's life. It is very remarkable what I meet with in one of my manuſcripts. There was a

Inter Pauli MSS.

woman, ſomewhat before the laſt apprehenſion of the Duke, wife of one Woocock of Pool in Dorſetſhire, that gave out, that there was a voice that followed her, which ſounded theſe words always in her ears; "He whom the King did "beſt truſt ſhould deceive him, and work treaſon againſt "him." After ſhe had a good while reported this, Sir William Barkley, who married the Lord Treaſurer Wincheſter's daughter, ſent her up to London to the council, with two of his ſervants. She was not long there, but, without acquainting the Duke of Somerſet, whom it ſeemed moſt to concern, (he being the perſon whom the King moſt truſted,) was ſent home again with her purſe full of money. And, after her coming home, ſhe was more buſy in that talk than before. So that ſhe came to a market-town called Wimborn, four miles from Pool, where ſhe reported, that the voice continued following her as before. This looked, by the circumſtances, like a practice of ſome popiſh prieſts, accuſtomed to dealing in ſuch frauds, to make the world the more inclinable to believe the guilt of the good Duke, which Somerſet's enemies were now framing againſt him. And ſo ſome of the wiſer ſort thereabouts did ſeem to think; for there were two merchants of Pool that heard her, and took a note of her words, and came to the houſe of Hancock, miniſter of Pool, who was known to the Duke, counſelling him to certify my Lord of her. Which Hancock accordingly did, and came to Sion, where the Duke then was, and told him of the words. He added, "Whom the King doth beſt truſt we do "not know, but that all the King's loving ſubjects did "think that his Grace was moſt worthy to be beſt truſted; "and that his Grace had been in trouble: and that all "the King's loving ſubjects did pray for his Grace to. the 265
"Almighty to preſerve him, that he might never come in "the like trouble again."

Then the Duke aſked him whether he had a note of the words: which when he had received from Hancock, he ſaid to him, ſuſpecting the plot, "Ah! ſirrah, this is "ſtrange, that theſe things ſhould come before the coun-"ſellors, and I not hear of it. I am of the council alſo." He aſked Hancock, before whom of the council this

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

matter was brought? who replied, he knew not certain, but as he ſuppoſed. The Duke aſked him, whom he ſuppoſed? He anſwered, Before the Lord Treaſurer, becauſe his ſon-in-law, Sir W. Barkley, ſent her up. The Duke ſubjoined, It was like to be ſo. This was three weeks before his laſt apprehenſion. This I extract out of Mr. Hancock's own narration of himſelf and his troubles: to which he added, that, at his firſt apprehenſion, the report was, that the Duke, what time as he was fetched out of Windſor Caſtle, having the King by the hand, ſhould ſay, "It is not I that "they ſhoot at; this is the mark that they ſhoot at;" meaning the King. Which by the ſequel proved too true. For that good, godly, and virtuous Prince lived not long after the death of that good Duke.

Winchester ſuppoſed to be in the plot.

Indeed it ſeemed to have been a plot of the Papiſts, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter at the bottom of it. This is certain, when, in October 1549, the Duke was brought to the Tower, the Biſhop was then born in hand he ſhould be ſet at liberty: of which he had ſuch confidence, that he prepared himſelf new apparel againſt the time he ſhould come out; thinking verily to have come abroad within eight or ten days. But finding himſelf diſappointed, he wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lords within a month after, to put them in remembrance, as Stow writes.

Articles againſt the Duke.

The articles that were drawn up againſt the Duke, upon his ſecond apprehenſion and trial, were in number twenty, which I ſhall not repeat here, as I might out of a manuſcript thereof, becauſe they may be ſeen in Fox. But I do obſerve one of the articles is not printed in his book, namely, the tenth, which ran thus: "Alſo, you are charged, that "you have divers and many times, both openly and pri-"vately, ſaid and affirmed, That the nobles and gentlemen "were the only cauſes of the dearth of things, whereby "the people roſe, and did reform things themſelves." Whence it appears, that one cauſe of the hatred of the nobility and gentry againſt him was, becauſe he ſpake againſt their debauches and exceſſes, covetouſneſs and oppreſſions. But that which I chiefly obſerve here is, that the draught of theſe articles, which I have ſeen, were made by Biſhop

Gardiner, being his very hand, unleſs I am much miſtaken. So that he, I ſuppoſe, was privately dealt with and conſulted (being then a priſoner in the Tower) to be a party in aſſiſting and carrying on this direful plot againſt the Duke, to take away his life: notwithſtanding his outward friendſhip and fair correſpondence in letters with the ſaid Duke. But Gardiner was looked upon to be a good manager of accuſations; and he was ready enough to be employed here, that he might put to his hand in taking off one that was ſuch a great inſtrument of promoting the reformation. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1551. 266

He is generally charged for the great ſpoil of churches and chapels; defacing ancient tombs and monuments, and pulling down the bells in pariſh-churches, and ordering only one bell in a ſteeple, as ſufficient to call the people together. Which ſet the commonalty almoſt into a rebellion. What he is blamed for.

As the Archbiſhop the laſt year had procured amendments and alterations in the book of public prayers, and had conſulted therein with the two learned foreign divines, Bucer and Martyr; ſo this year, in January, an act was made by the parliament for authorizing the new book, and obliging the ſubjects to be preſent at the reading of it. In this book the general Confeſſion was added, and the Abſolution. At the beginning of the ſecond ſervice was added the recital of the Ten Commandments, with the ſhort ejaculation to be ſaid between each commandment. Something was left out in the conſecration of the ſacrament, that ſeemed to favour a corporal preſence. Several rites were laid aſide, as that of oil in confirmation, and extreme unction, and prayer for the dead, which was before uſed in the communion-office, and that of burial: together with the change and aboliſhing of ſome other things that were offenſive or ſuperſtitious: as may be ſeen by thoſe that will take the pains to compare the two books, the one printed in the year 1549, and the other 1552. And this was brought about by the great and long diligence and care of our pious Archbiſhop, and no queſtion to his great joy and ſatisfaction: ſo that I look upon that but as an improbable report, that was carried about in Frankford in thoſe unſeemly branglings The new book of Common Prayer eſtabliſhed.

BOOK II. among the Engliſh exiles there, that Bullinger ſhould ſay, "That Cranmer had drawn up a book of prayers an hundred times more perfect than that which was then in being; but the ſame could not take place, for that he was matched with ſuch a wicked clergy and convocation, with other enemies." But as his authority was now very great, ſo there was undoubtedly a great deference paid to it, as alſo to his wiſdom and learning, by the reſt of the divines appointed to that work: ſo that as nothing was by them inſerted into the Liturgy but by his good allowance and approbation, ſo neither would they reject or oppoſe what he thought fit ſhould be put in or altered.

Anno 1551. Troubles at Frankford.

Coverdale made Biſhop of Exon.

The learning, piety, and good deſerts of Miles Coverdale, in tranſlating the holy Scriptures into the Engliſh tongue, and in a conſtant preaching of the Goſpel, and ſticking to the true profeſſion for many a year; and withal, very probably, their ancient acquaintance in Cambridge, were reaſons that made our Archbiſhop a particular friend to him. When the Lord Ruſſel was ſent down againſt the rebels in the weſt, he was attended by Coverdale to preach among them. Coverdale afterwards became coadjutor to Veyzy, the Biſhop of Exeter, who ſeldom reſided, and took little care of his dioceſe. But this year, whether voluntarily, or by ſome order, he reſigned up his biſhoprick, having firſt greatly ſpoiled it of its revenues. And when ſome wiſe and bold perſon, and excellent preacher, was found extremely needful to be ſent thither to inſpect the clergy and eccleſiaſtic matters in thoſe parts, the late rebellion having been raiſed chiefly by prieſts in hatred to the religion, heating and diſaffecting the minds of the common people, Coverdale was judged a very fit perſon to ſucceed in that charge. Being now Biſhop elect of Exon, he had long attended at court to get his matters diſpatched; namely, the doing of his homage, and the obtaining a ſuit to be excuſed the payment of his firſt fruits, being but a poor man. But ſuch at that time were the great and urgent affairs of the ſtate, or the ſecret hinderers of the Goſpel, that he found nothing but delays. So that he was forced to apply himſelf unto his friend the Archbiſhop, to forward his buſineſs: who forthwith ſent his letters to Secretary Cecyl,

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making Coverdale himſelf the bearer, entreating him to uſe his intereſt to get this Biſhop diſpatched, and that with ſpeed: urging this for his reaſon, (becoming his paternal care over his province,) that ſo he might without further delay go down into the weſtern parts, which had great need of him. And alſo becauſe he was minded, on the 30th of Auguſt, to conſecrate him and the Biſhop of Rocheſter, [Scory,] according to the King's mandate.

Scory Biſhop elect of Rocheſter.

This Scory was at firſt preferred by the Archbiſhop to be one of the ſix preachers at Canterbury: and always continued firm to the purity of religion, and endured trouble for the good and wholeſome doctrine that he preached; having been preſented and complained of, both in the ſpiritual courts, and to the juſtices at their ſeſſions, when the ſix Articles were in force. He was a married man, and ſo deprived at the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, fled beyond ſea, and was ſuperintendent of the Engliſh congregation at Embden in Friezland. There, in the year 1555, he wrote and printed *A comfortable Epiſtle unto all the Faithful that be in Priſon, or in any other Trouble for the defence of God's Truth. Wherein he doth as well by the promiſes of Mercy, as alſo by the Examples of divers holy Martyrs, comfort, encourage, and ſtrengthen them patiently, for Chriſt's Sake, to ſuffer the manifold cruel and moſt tyrannous Perſecutions of Antichriſtian Tormentors.* As the book bears title.

The Archbiſhop appoints a guardian of the ſpiritualties of Lincoln.

There were divers biſhopricks vacant this year: as that of Lincoln by the death of Holbech. The Archbiſhop deputed the ſpiritualties to John Pope, LL. B. and Chancellor of that church. The church commending unto the Archbiſhop this Pope, and two more; *viz.* John Prin, LL. D. Subdean of the church, and Chriſtopher Maſſingberde, LL. B. Archdeacon of Stow. So he choſe the firſt: but yet he committed a ſpecial truſt to Taylor, the Dean of Lincoln, (whom he knew to be tight to religion,) ſending a commiſſion fiduciary to him, before Pope entered upon his office, to give the ſaid Pope his oath, "legally and faithfully to perform his office committed to him by the "Archbiſhop, and to anſwer to the ſaid Archbiſhop for all "obventions coming to him by virtue of his juriſdiction and "office; and that he ſhould not, by malice or wrong,

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"ſqueeze the ſubjects of the King, and of that dioceſe, "whether clerks or laicks; that he ſhould not knowingly "grieve them in their eſtates or perſons: and that he ſhall "abſtain from oppreſſions, extortions, and unlawful exac- "tions: and that he ſhall renounce the Biſhop of Rome his "uſurped juriſdiction and authority, according to the ſta- "tutes of parliament." And of all this he wrote a letter to the ſaid Pope, ſignifying that he required ſuch an oath of him to be taken before the Dean. The tenor of the Archbiſhop's letter to the Dean went on further, "requiring him by "his ſound counſel, ſingular prudence, and by the aſſiſtance "of his ſincere judgment, to be preſent with him in any "hard caſes, and of great moment; and that he would not "be wanting to him in any matters of that ſort, being a "perſon of that knowledge in ſacred and profane learning, "of that prudence, circumſpection, and dexterity in manag- "ing buſineſs. And ſo finally joined him with Pope to per- "form all this piouſly and catholicly, according to the rule "of evangelic religion, and the exigency of the laws and "ſtatutes of this kingdom." And deputed him his vice-gerent. This letter was dated at Croydon, the 20th of Auguſt. This commiſſion ſeemed to be ſomewhat extraordinary: the occaſion whereof might be, becauſe the Archbiſhop did not confide in this Chancellor of the church, ſuſpecting his religion, and compliance with the King's proceedings, therefore he thought good to aſſociate him with Taylor the Dean, of whom he was well aſſured.

And of Wigorn.

The church of Worceſter became alſo vacant by the deprivation of Hethe the Biſhop. The Archbiſhop committed the ſpiritualties thereof to John Barlo, Dean of the ſaid church, and Roland Taylor, LL. D. his domeſtic chaplain. Theſe he conſtituted his officials to exerciſe all epiſcopal juriſdiction. This commiſſion was dated at Lambeth, Jan. 10, 1554, by an error of the ſcribe for 1551, as appears by a certificate ſent from the church to that Archbiſhop, ſignifying the vacation of it.

Cranm. Regiſt.

And of Chicheſter.

Upon the vacancy of the church of Chicheſter by the deprivation of Day, the Archbiſhop made John Worthial, Archdeacon of Chicheſter, and Robert Taylor, LL. B. Dean of the deanery of South Malling, his officials. This com-

miſſion to them, dated November 3, 1551, was to viſit, &c. CHAP. XXVI.

Upon the vacaney of the church of Hereford by the death of Skip, late Biſhop there, the ſpiritualties were committed to Hugh Coren, LL. D. Dean of that church, and Rich. Cheny, D. D. Archdeacon of Hereford. Their commiſſion was to viſit, &c. Anno 1551. And of Hereford.

Upon the vacancy of the biſhoprick of Bangor, either by the death of Bulkly the Biſhop, or his reſignation upon his blindneſs, the Archbiſhop made his commiſſaries, Griffin Leyſon, his principal Chancellor and Official; Rowland Merick, a Canon of St. David's; and Geofrey Glynn, LL. DD. The church of Rocheſter alſo became this year vacant by the tranſlation of Scory to Chicheſter. In theſe vacancies the biſhopricks were lamentably pilled, by hungry courtiers, of the revenues belonging to them. And of Bangor.

This year Biſhop Hoper was by the council diſpatched down (as was ſaid before) into his dioceſe: where things were much out of order, and Popery had great footing; and therefore it wanted ſuch a ſtirring man as he was. That he might do the more good, he had the authority of the lords of the council to back him, by a commiſſion granted to him and others. He brought moſt of the pariſh-prieſts and curates from their old ſuperſtitions and errors concerning the doctrine of the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper. The recantation of one of them of more note, named Phelps, the incumbent of Ciciter, which he made publickly and ſubſcribed, may be ſeen in the Appendix. Hoper viſits his dioceſe. 269 No. LXIII.

This year there happened two learned conferences in Latin, privately managed, about the corporeal preſence in the ſacrament. The one on the 25th of November, in the houſe of Sir William Cecyl, Secretary of State, performed by the ſaid Cecyl, Sir John Cheke; Horne, Dean of Durham; Whitehead, and Grindal, on the proteſtant ſide: and Feckenham and Yong on the popiſh. But firſt, before they began, Cecyl under his ſolemn proteſtation aſſured them, that every man ſhould have free liberty to ſpeak his mind, and that none ſhould receive any damage or incur any danger. Cheke began by propounding this queſtion; *Quis eſſet verus et germanus ſenſus verborum Cœnæ,* Hoc eſt corpus Two diſputations concerning the ſacrament.

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

meum? *Num quem verba ſenſu grammatico accepta præ ſe ferebant, an aliud quiddam?* To whom Feckenham anſwered. There were preſent, beſides thoſe that diſputed, theſe noble and learned perſons; the Lord Ruſſel, Sir Anthony Coke, Mr. Hales, Mr. Wroth, Mr. Frogmartin, Mr. Knolles, Mr. Harrington. The ſecond diſputation was December 3. following, in Mr. Morifin's houſe: where were preſent the Marquis of Northampton, the Earl of Rutland, the Lord Ruſſel, and thoſe above named, and Watſon added on the Papiſts' ſide. Then Cheke again propounded the queſtion, "Whether the words of the ſupper are to be underſtood in "a grammatical, or in a figurative ſenſe?" To which Watſon reſponded. Both theſe diſputations are too large for this place, but they are ſet down in one of the manuſcript volumes of the Benet library.

Miſcellan. C.

Dr. Redman dies.

In November died Dr. John Redman, Maſter of Trinity college in Cambridge, and one of the great lights of that univerſity, for the bringing in ſolid learning among the ſtudents: a prebendary of the church of Weſtminſter; and who, in the year 1549, aſſiſted in the compiling the Engliſh book of Common Prayer, and preached a ſermon upon the learned Bucer's death the day following his funeral. He was a perſon of extraordinary reputation among all for his great learning and reading, and profound knowledge in divinity: ſo that the greateſt divines gave a mighty deference to his judgment. And therefore, when he lay ſick at Weſtminſter, many learned men repaired to him, deſiring to know his laſt judgment of ſeveral points, then ſo much controverted. And he was very ready to give them ſatisfaction. Among the reſt that came, were Richard Wilks, Maſter of Chriſt's college, Cambridge; Alexander Noel, afterwards Dean of Paul's; and Yong, a man of fame in Cambridge for his diſputing againſt Bucer about juſtification. In theſe conferences with theſe learned men, he called the ſee of Rome *ſentina malorum*, "a ſink of evils;" he ſaid, "that pur-"gatory, as the ſchoolmen taught it, was ungodly; and that "there was no ſuch kind of purgatory as they fancied. "That the offering up the ſacrament in maſſes and trentals "for the ſins of the dead, was ungodly. That the wicked

Becon's Reports. Fox's Acts.

270 "are not partakers of the body of Chriſt, but receive the

" outward ſacrament only. That it ought not to be carried " about in proceſſion. That nothing that is ſeen in the ſa " crament, or perceived with the outward ſenſe, is to be " worſhipped. That we receive not Chriſt's body *corpo-* " *raliter*, groſsly, like other meats, but ſo *ſpiritualiter*, that " nevertheleſs *vere*, *truly*. That there was not any good " ground in the old doctors for tranſubſtantiation, as ever " he could perceive; nor could he ſee what could be an- " ſwered to the objections againſt it. That prieſts might by " the law of God marry wives. That this propoſition, *Faith* " *only juſtifies*, ſo that this faith ſignify a true lively faith, " reſting in Chriſt, and embracing him, is a true, godly, " ſweet, and comfortable doctrine. That our works cannot " deſerve the kingdom of God. And," he ſaid, " that it " troubled him that he had ſo much ſtrove againſt juſtifica- " tion by faith only." A treatiſe whereof he compoſed, which was printed at Antwerp, after his death, in the year 1555. He ſaid alſo to Yong, " that *conſenſus eccleſiæ* was " but a weak ſtaff to lean to; and exhorted him to read the " Scriptures, for there was that which would comfort him, " when he ſhould be in ſuch a caſe as he was then in." One aſked him concerning the doctrine of the ſchool-doc- tors, that bread remained not after conſecration. He re- plied, " there was none of the ſchool-doctors knew what " *conſecratio* did mean." And, pauſing awhile, ſaid, It was *tota actio, the whole action* in miniſtering the ſacrament, as Chriſt did inſtitute it. After the conference with him was ended, Yong, retiring into another chamber, ſaid to Wilks, that Dr. Redman ſo moved him, that whereas he was before in ſuch opinion of certain things, that he would have burned and loſt his life for them; now he doubted of them. " But I " ſee," ſaid he, " a man ſhall know more and more by pro- " ceſs of time, and by reading and hearing others. And " Mr. Dr. Redman's ſaying ſhall cauſe me to look more di- " ligently for them." Ellis Lomas, Redman's ſervant, ſaid, he knew his maſter had declared to King Henry, that faith only juſtifieth, but that he thought that doctrine was not to be taught the people, leſt they ſhould be negligent to do good works. All this I have related of this divine, that I may in ſome meaſure preſerve the memory of one of the

BOOK II. Anno 1551.

learnedeſt men of his time; and lay up the dying words of a Papiſt, ſignifying ſo plainly his diſlike and diſallowance of many of their doctrines.

The ſweating ſickneſs.

The ſweating ſickneſs breaking out this year in great violence, (whereby the two ſons of the Duke of Suffolk were taken off,) letters from the council, dated July 18, were ſent to all the biſhops, to perſuade the people to prayer, and to ſee God better ſerved.

The Archbiſhop and others appointed to reform the eccleſiaſtical laws.

It being enacted, 1549, that the King might, during three years, appoint ſixteen ſpiritual men, and ſixteen temporal, to examine the old eccleſiaſtical laws, and to compile a body of eccleſiaſtical laws, to be in force in the room of the old: this third year, October 6, a commiſſion was iſſued out to the ſame number of perſons, authorizing them to reform the canon laws; that is to ſay, to eight biſhops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common. Whoſe names, as they occur in an original, are as follow:

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BISHOPS.

The Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Ely, Exeter, Gloceſter, Bath, Rocheſter.

DIVINES.

Mr. Taylor of Lincoln; Cox, Almoner; Parker of Cambridge, Latimer, Cook, [Sir Anthony, I ſuppoſe,] Peter Martyr, Cheke, Johannes a Laſco.

CIVILIANS.

Mr. Peter, Cecyl, Sir Tho. Smith, Taylor of Hadeligh, Dr. May, Mr. Traheron, Dr. Lyel, Mr. Skinner.

LAWYERS.

Juſtice Hales, Juſtice Bromly, Goodrick, Goſnal, Stamford, Carel, Lucas, Brook, Recorder of London.

The method they obſerved.

It was ſo ordered, that this number ſhould be divided into four diſtinct claſſes, or companies; each to conſiſt of two biſhops, two divines, two civilians, and two common lawyers. And to each company were aſſigned their ſet parts: which when one company had finiſhed, it was tranſmitted to the other companies, to be by them all well conſidered and inſpected. But out of all the number of two and thirty, eight eſpecially were ſelected, from each rank two; *viz.* out of

the biſhops, the Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of Ely; out of the divines, Cox and Martyr; out of the civilians, Taylor and May; out of the common-lawyers, Lucas and Goodrick: to whom a new commiſſion was made, November 9, for the firſt forming of the work, and preparation of the matter. And the Archbiſhop ſuperviſed the whole work. This work they plied cloſe this winter: but, leſt they ſhould be ſtraitened for time, the parliament gave the King three years longer for accompliſhing this affair. So, Feb. 2, a letter was ſent from the council to make a new commiſſion to the Archbiſhop, and to the other biſhops and learned men, civilians and lawyers, for the eſtabliſhment of the eccleſiaſtical laws, according to the act of parliament made in the laſt ſeſſion. This was a very noble enterprize, and well worthy the thoughts of our excellent Archbiſhop: who with indefatigable pains had been, both in this and the laſt King's reign, labouring to bring this matter about; and he did his part, for he brought the work to perfection. But it wanted the King's ratification, which was delayed, partly by buſineſs, and partly by enemies. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1561.

Biſhops conſecrated.

Auguſt the 30th, John Scory, Ponet being tranſlated to Wincheſter, was conſecrated Biſhop of Rocheſter, at Croyden, by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, aſſiſted by Nicolas Biſhop of London, and John Suffragan of Bedford. Scory. Cranm. Regiſt.

Miles Coverdale was at the ſame time and place conſecrated Biſhop of Exon, all with their ſurplices and copes, and Coverdale ſo habited alſo. Coverdale.

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Anno 1559.

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CHAP. XXVII.

The Articles of Religion.

The Articles of Religion framed and publiſhed.

OUR Archbiſhop, and certain of the biſhops and other divines, but whom by name I find not, were this year chiefly buſied in compoſing and preparing a book of Articles of Religion; which was to contain what ſhould be publickly owned as the ſum of the doctrine of the church of England. This the Archbiſhop had long before this bore in his mind, as excellently ſerviceable for the creating of a concord and quietneſs among men, and for the putting an end to contentions and diſputes in matters of religion. Theſe articles the Archbiſhop was the penner, or at leaſt the great director of, with the aſſiſtance, as is very probable, of Biſhop Ridley. And ſo he publickly owned afterwards, in his anſwer to certain interrogatories put to him by Queen Mary's commiſſioners; *viz.* that the Catechiſm, the book of Articles, and the book againſt Wincheſter, were his doings. Theſe Articles were in number forty-two, and were agreed to in the convocation 1552. And in the year 1553. they were publiſhed by the King's authority both in Latin and Engliſh. After they were finiſhed, he laboured to have the clergy ſubſcribe them: but againſt their wills he compelled none; though afterwards ſome charged him falſely to do ſo: which he utterly denied, as he declared before the ſaid Queen's commiſſioners. But to enter into ſome particulars concerning ſo eminent a matter eccleſiaſtical as this was.

Fox.

The Archbiſhop's diligence in them.

In the year 1551, the King and his privy-council ordered the Archbiſhop to frame a book of Articles of Religion for the preſerving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in this church, that, being finiſhed, they might be ſet forth by public authority. The Archbiſhop, in obedience hereunto, drew up a ſet of Articles, which were delivered to certain other biſhops to be inſpected and ſubſcribed, I ſuppoſe, by them. Before them they lay until this year 1552. Then, May 2, a letter was ſent from the council to our Archbiſhop, to ſend the Articles that were delivered the laſt year

to the biſhops, and to ſignify whether the ſame were ſet forth by any public authority, according to the minutes. The Archbiſhop accordingly ſent the Articles, and his anſwer, unto the lords of the council. In September I find the Articles were again in his hands. Then he ſet the book in a better order, and put titles upon each of the Articles, and ſome additions, for the better perfecting of the work, and ſupply of that which lacked. And ſo tranſmitted the book again from Croydon, September 19, to Sir William Cecyl and Sir John Cheke, the one the King's principal ſecretary, and the other his tutor, being the two great patrons of the reformation at the court: deſiring them together to take theſe Articles into their ſerious conſiderations; for he well knew them to be both wiſe and good men, and very well ſeen in divine learning. And he referred it to their wiſdoms, whether they thought beſt to move the King's Majeſty therein before his coming to court; as though he conceived the King might make ſome demur in ſo weighty 273
an affair, till he ſhould conſult with the Metropolitan, in order to the coming to a reſolution; or that there were ſome great perſons about the King, that might caſt ſome ſcruples and objections in his mind concerning it, which he by his preſence might prevent, or be ready at hand to reſolve. Cecyl and Cheke thought it more convenient the Archbiſhop ſhould offer them to the King himſelf. So, coming to court ſoon after, he delivered the book to the King, and moved him for their publiſhing and due obſervation. And ſo, leaving them before the King and council, they were then again delivered unto certain of the King's chaplains, who made ſome alterations. For I find that, Council-Book.
"October 2, a letter was directed to Mr. Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to conſider certain Articles (which muſt be theſe Articles of Religion) exhibited to the King's Majeſty, to be ſubſcribed by all ſuch as ſhall be admitted to be preachers or miniſters in any part of the realm; and to make report of their opinions touching the ſame."

CHAP. XXVII. Anno 1552.

The time of the year declined now towards the latter end of November; and the Archbiſhop being retired down from Croydon to his houſe at Ford near Canterbury, the privy-

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council, November 20, diſpatched, by a meſſenger, the Articles unto him to be reviewed, and for his laſt hand, that they might be preſented before the convocation, and allowed there; and ſo be publiſhed by the royal authority. The Archbiſhop received the book and letter from the council, November 23. And, making ſome notes upon it, encloſed them in a letter to the lords, and ſent them, together with the book, the next day; beſeeching them to prevail with the King, that all biſhops ſhould have authority to cauſe their reſpective clergy to ſubſcribe it: and "then he truſted, "(as he wrote,) that ſuch a concord and quietneſs in reli-"gion would ſoon follow, as otherwiſe would not be in "many years. And thereby God would be glorified, the "truth advanced, and their lordſhips rewarded by him, as "the ſetters forth of his true word and Goſpel." This pious letter may be read in the Appendix.

No. LXIV.

The Archbiſhop retires to Ford.

The King went a progreſs this ſummer; and the Archbiſhop retired to Croydon: where I find him in July, Auguſt, and September. And thence, October 11, he went to Ford, to ſpend ſome time in his dioceſe. Now he was abſent from the court, and the King abroad at that diſtance that he could not frequently wait upon him, and be preſent at the council; his enemies were at work to bring him into trouble, as we ſhall ſee by and by.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Perſons nominated for Iriſh Biſhopricks.

Conſulted with for fit perſons to fill the Iriſh ſees.

THERE were certain biſhopricks in Ireland about this time vacant; one whereof was that of Armagh: and it was thought convenient to have them filled by divines out of England. In the month of Auguſt the Archbiſhop was con-

274 ſulted with for this; that ſo, by the influence of very wiſe and learned men, and good preachers, the Goſpel might be the better propagated in that dark region. But becauſe it was foreſeen to be difficult to procure any Engliſhmen, ſo endowed, to go over thither, therefore Secretary Cecyl,

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

being then with the King in his progreſs, ſent a letter to the Archbiſhop at Croyden, to nominate ſome worthy perſons for thoſe preferments, and whom he thought would be willing to undertake them. He returned him the names of four; *viz.* Mr. Whitehead of Hadley, Mr. Turner of Canterbury, Sir Thomas Roſſe, and Sir Robert Wiſdome. He ſaid, "he knew many others in England that would be "meet perſons for thoſe places, but very few that would "gladly be perſuaded to go thither:" for it ſeems the Engliſh were never very fond of living in Ireland. But he added concerning theſe four which he had named, "that he "thought they, being ordinarily called, for conſcience-ſake "would not refuſe to beſtow the talent committed unto "them, whereſoever it ſhould pleaſe the King's Majeſty to "appoint them." He recommended likewiſe a fifth perſon for this promotion, one [1]Mr. Whitacre, a wiſe and well-learned man, (as he characters him,) who was chaplain to the Biſhop of Winchester [Poynet.] But he doubted whether he would be perſuaded to take it upon him.

Some account of the four divines nominated by him for the Archbiſhoprick of Armagh.

It may not be amiſs to make ſome inquiry who and what thoſe four before-mentioned perſons were.

Mr. Whitehead.

Mr. Whitehead was an exile in Queen Mary's reign, and paſtor of the Engliſh congregation at Frankford. And at the conference in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's government, he was one of the nine diſputants on the proteſtant ſide, and one of the appointed eight to reviſe the Service-Book. The writer of the *Troubles at Frankford* mentions three, *viz.* Coverdale, Turner, and this Whitehead; of whom he ſaith, "that they were the moſt ancient preachers "of the Goſpel, and the moſt ancient fathers of this our "country; and that from their pens, as well as their "mouths, moſt of Queen Elizabeth's divines and biſhops "firſt received the light of the Goſpel." Why Cranmer ſhould ſtyle him Whitehead of Hadley, I do not apprehend; ſeeing Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, was now Parſon of Hadley, who not long after was there burnt: and one

[1] I ſuppoſe this might be a ſlip of the Archbiſhop's pen or memory, writing Whitacre for Goodacre, who afterwards was placed in that Iriſh ſee, and had been Poynet's chaplain.

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Yeomans was Taylor's curate there, who alſo was afterwards burnt at Norwich. But I ſuppoſe this was ſome other Hadley.

Mr. Turner.

I find two about this time bearing the name of Turner; both eminent men, and preachers: the one was named William Turner, a doctor in phyſic, and greatly befriended by Sir John Cheke and Sir William Cecyl. This man, a native of Northumberland, was the firſt Engliſhman that compiled an herbal; which was the groundwork of that which Gerard laid the laſt hand unto. He was a retainer to the Duke of Somerſet in Edward the Sixth's time, and was phyſician in ordinary to his family: and the year before this, *viz.* 1551, I find him Dean of Wells. The other was Richard Turner, a Staffordſhire man, in former time Curate of Chartam in Kent, and commonly called Turner of Canterbury, living in the family of Mr. Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, (of whom afterwards,) who held the impropriation of that parſonage, and had preſented this man to the vicarage. For his free and bold preaching againſt popiſh errors, and aſſerting the King's ſupremacy, and for the extraordinary ſucceſs of his miniſtry in bringing multitudes of people in thoſe parts out of ignorance and ſuperſtition, he was put to much trouble and danger. He was firſt complained of to the King: and being brought up, the Archbiſhop, and other eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, were commanded to examine him upon certain articles. But, by the ſecret favour of the Archbiſhop, and his own prudent anſwers, he was then diſcharged. Soon after, upon ſome falſe reports told of him, King Henry was ſo offended, that he ſent for the Archbiſhop, willing him to have him whipt out of the country. But the Archbiſhop pacified the King, and ſent him home the ſecond time. Afterwards, a third time, his old enemies, the popiſh clergy, got him convented before the privy-council, and committed for doctrines preached by him before he came into Kent. The Archbiſhop being then down in his dioceſe, Turner was ſent back to him with an order to recant: to whom, when his faſt friend and patron, Mr. Morice, had applied himſelf in his behalf, the Archbiſhop himſelf, being now under ſome cloud, dared not to interpoſe, becauſe, as he then ſaid, it had been put into

the King's head that he was the great favourer and maintainer of all the heretics in the kingdom. Morice then, that he might prevent this recantation, if poſſible, which would have been ſuch a reflection to the doctrine he before had preached, addreſſed his letters to Sir Anthony Denny, gentleman of the King's bed-chamber, and Sir William Butts, his phyſician; relating at large Turner's caſe. And by their means the King became better informed of the man, and, in fine, commanded him to be retained as a faithful ſubject. This ſtory is at large related by Fox. And this I judge to be that Turner, whom the Archbiſhop nominated for Ireland, having lived long in his dioceſe, and ſo well known to him; and whom he had, I ſuppoſe, removed to Canterbury, to a prebend, or ſome other preferment there. Here he did this remarkable and bold piece of ſervice, that when, about three years paſt, the rebels were up in Kent, he then preached twice in the camp near Canterbury: for which the rebels were going to hang him. But God preſerved him. In Queen Mary's time he fled to Baſil; where he expounded upon St. James, the Hebrews, and the Epheſians, to the exiles there: when James Pilkington expounded Eccleſiaſtes, and both Epiſtles of Peter, and the Galatians; and Bentham, the Acts of the Apoſtles. CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552. Bale's Cent

Thomas Roſſe, or Roſe, was alſo as memorable a man; very eminent both for his preachings and ſufferings. He was a weſt-country man, but by providence was removed into Suffolk: and at Hadley had preached againſt purgatory and worſhipping images, about the time that Bilney and Latimer did the like in Cambridge, (which was five and twenty or thirty years paſt;) whereby he had brought many to the knowledge of the truth in that town. About the year 1532, when certain perſons, out of their zeal againſt idolatry, had ſtolen by night the rood out of the church at Dover Court in Eſſex, for which, being found guilty of felony, they were hanged; Roſe ſeemed to have been privy hereunto; for with the rood they conveyed away the ſlippers, the coat, and the tapers belonging to it: which coat Roſe burnt. Whether for this, or ſome other thing, he was complained of to the council, and brought before them, and by the Biſhop of Lincoln was committed to priſon: where Thomas Roſſe, or Roſe. 276

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he lay for ſome days and nights with both his legs in an high pair of ſtocks, his body lying along on the ground. Thence he was removed to Lambeth, in the year that Cranmer was conſecrated, (which was 1533,) who ſet him at liberty. Afterward he was admitted by Crumwel to be his chaplain, that thereby he might get a licence to preach. After various toſſings from place to place, for ſafety of his life, he fled into Flanders and Germany, and came to Zurick, and remained with Bullinger; and to Baſil, where he was entertained by Grineus. After ſome time he returned back into England: but was glad to fly beyond ſea again. Three years after, in his voyage back to his own country again, he was taken priſoner by ſome French, and carried into Diep, where he was ſpoiled of all he had. His ranſom was ſoon after paid by a well-diſpoſed perſon, who alſo brought him over into England. Then the Earl of Suſſex received him, and his wife and child, privately into his houſe. But when this was known, the Earl ſent him a ſecret letter to be gone: and ſo he lurked in London till the death of King Henry VIII. King Edward gave him the living of Weſt Ham, near London, in Eſſex. Being deprived upon Queen Mary's coming to the crown, he was ſometime preacher to a congregation in London. But was taken at one of their meetings in Bow-church-yard. Which, I ſuppoſe, was in the year 1555. For then he was in the Tower: and thence, in the month of May, by the council's letters, he was delivered to the Sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the Biſhop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or to proceed againſt him according to law. Much impriſonment and many examinations he underwent, both from the Biſhops of Wincheſter and Norwich; but eſcaped at laſt, by a great providence, beyond ſea, where he tarried till the death of Queen Mary. And after theſe his haraſſings up and down in the world, he was at laſt, in Queen Elizabeth's happy reign, quietly ſettled at Luton in Bedfordſhire, where he was preacher, and lived to a very great age.

Robert Wiſdome.

The fourth was Robert Wiſdome, a man eminent, as the reſt, both for his exemplary converſation and for his preaching, together with his ſufferings attending thereon. In

Henry the Eighth his reign he was a perſon of fame among the profeſſors of the Goſpel in the ſouth parts of the nation: whence, after many painful labours and perſecutions, he fled into the north; as did divers other preachers of the pure religion in thoſe times. There in Staffordſhire he was one of thoſe that were entertained by John Old, a pious profeſſor, and harbourer of good men: and Thomas Becon was another, who was taken up with Bradford in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and committed to the Tower. Of this Old the ſaid Becon, in a [m] treatiſe of his, printed in Edward the Sixth his reign, gives this character: "That he was to him and Wiſdom, as Jaſon was to "Paul and Silas: he received us joyfully into his houſe, 277 "and liberally, for the Lord's ſake, miniſtered to our ne- "ceſſities. And as he begun, ſo did he continue, a right "hearty friend, and dearly loving brother, ſo long as we re- "mained in the country." [n] While Wiſdom was here, he was ever virtuouſly occupied, and ſuffered no hour to paſs without ſome good fruit: employing himſelf now in writing, as he had before in preaching. Beſides other books formerly writ by him, he penned here a very godly and fruitful expoſition upon certain pſalms of David: of the which he tranſlated ſome into Engliſh metre. There is one of them, and I think no more, ſtill remaining in our ordinary ſinging pſalms; namely, the hundred twenty-fifth: which in the title is ſaid to be compoſed by R. W. There is alſo a hymn of his preſerved, and ſet uſually at the end of our Engliſh ſinging pſalms, in our Bibles, beginning, *Preſerve us, Lord, by thy dear word.* He writ here alſo many godly and learned ſermons upon the Epiſtles and Goſpels, read on Sundays. He tranſlated a poſtil of Antonius Corvinus, a Lutheran divine, and divers other learned men's works. And ſome of his adverſaries having laid certain errors to his charge very unjuſtly, he writ a confutation thereof; a book, it ſeems, repleniſhed with all kind of

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

[m] The Jewel of Joy.

[n] They were both forced to recant openly at St. Paul's Croſs, in the year 1544, together with one Shingleton. And hereupon, I ſuppoſe, they conveyed themſelves into the north parts for ſecurity.

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godly learning. Theſe, and ſeveral other things, he writ while he was here, but they were not publiſhed. After his abode in this place ſome time, he was by letters called away again among his former friends and acquaintance. And what became of him afterwards, I find not; until here, in Edward the Sixth's reign, he was nominated by our Archbiſhop to be made Archbiſhop of Armagh. But in Queen Mary's reign he fled to Frankford, where he remained one of the members of the Engliſh congregation there. And when an unhappy breach was made there among them, ſome being for the uſe of the Geneva diſcipline and form, and others for the continuance of that form of prayers that had been uſed in England in King Edward's days; and the faction grew to that head, that the former ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, and departed to Geneva: this Wiſdome did, in a ſermon preached at Frankford, vindicate the Engliſh book, and ſomewhat ſharply blamed them that went away, calling them *madheads*. As one Tho. Cole wrote from thence to a friend, with this cenſure on him; "That he ſo called them, he would "not ſay, *unwiſely*, [alluding to his name *Wiſdom*,] but he "might well ſay, *uncharitably*."

I have thought good to give this account of theſe men, that we may perceive hence the good judgment of our Archbiſhop in propounding them for thoſe Iriſh preferments; ſo fit and well qualified for them, as in other reſpects of prudence and learning, ſo eſpecially for their tried zeal and boldneſs in preaching the Goſpel, and their conſtancy in ſuffering for it; which were virtues that there would be great occaſion for in Ireland.

The character the Archbiſhop gave of the two former.

Of all theſe four, our Archbiſhop judged Mr. Whithead the fitteſt; giving this character of him, "That he was endued with good knowledge, ſpecial honeſty, fervent zeal, "and politic wiſdom." And the next to him in fitneſs he judged Turner: of whom he gives this relation; "That he "was merry and witty withal, *Nihil appetit, nihil ardet,* 278 "*nihil ſomniat, niſi Jeſum Chriſtum*. And, in the lively "preaching of him and his word, declared ſuch diligence, "faithfulneſs, and wiſdom, as for the ſame deſerveth much "commendation."

CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552.

In fine, Turner was the man concluded upon by the King for the archbiſhoprick of Armagh: Whithead either being not overcome to accept it, or otherwiſe deſigned. And the Archbiſhop had order from court to ſend to Canterbury for him to come up: which accordingly he did. And now, about the middle of September, much againſt his will, as not liking his deſigned preferment, Turner waited upon the Archbiſhop: who, urging to him the King's will and pleaſure, and his ordinary call unto this place, and ſuch-like arguments, after a great unwillingneſs, prevailed with him to accept it. But the Archbiſhop told the Secretary, that Turner ſeemed more glad to go to hanging, (which the rebels three years before were juſt going to do with him, for his preaching againſt them in their camp,) than he was now to go to Armagh. He urged to the Archbiſhop, "That if he went thither, he ſhould have no auditors, "but muſt preach to the walls and ſtalls; for the people "underſtood no Engliſh." The Archbiſhop, on the other hand, endeavoured to anſwer all his objections. He told him, "They did underſtand Engliſh in Ireland; though "whether they did in the dioceſe of Armagh, he did "indeed doubt. But, to remedy that, he adviſed him to "learn the Iriſh tongue: which with diligence, he told him, "he might do in a year or two: and that there would this "advantage ariſe thereby, that both his perſon and doc-"trine would be more acceptable, not only unto his dioceſe, "but alſo throughout all Ireland." And ſo, by a letter to Secretary Cecyl, recommended him to his care; entreating, "that he might have as ready a diſpatch as might "be, becauſe he had but little money."

Turner deſigned for Armagh.

This letter of the Archbiſhop is dated Sept. 29, 1552. So that it muſt be a miſtake in the late excellent hiſtorian, when he writes, that Bale and Goodacre were ſent over into Ireland to be biſhops in the month of Auguſt: which cannot agree with this letter of Cranmer, which makes Turner to be in nomination only for that ſee a month after. And by certain memorials of King Edward's own hand, which I have, it appears, that as Turner at laſt got himſelf off from accepting that biſhoprick, ſo by the date thereof it is evident, it was vacant in October following:

But declines it.

Hiſt. Ref. vol. i. p. 205.

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for the King, under that month, put the providing for that place, which Turner refuſed, among his matters to be remembered. The Archbiſhop's letters concerning this Iriſh affair are in the Appendix.

No. LXV, LXVI.

Goodacre made Archbiſhop of Armagh.

So that at laſt this charge fell upon Hugh Goodacre, the laſt man, as it ſeems, nominated by the Archbiſhop; whom he termed "a wiſe and learned man." He and Bale, as they came together out of Biſhop Poynet's family unto their preferments, ſo they were conſecrated together by Brown, Archbiſhop of Dublin, February 2; aſſiſted by Thomas Biſhop of Kildare, and Eugenius Biſhop of Down and Connor: which makes me think they were not come over long before. Goodacre died about a quarter of a year after at Dublin, and there buried, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon, by procurement of certain prieſts of his dioceſe, for preaching God's verity, and rebuking their common vices,

279 as Bale writes. He left many writings of great value behind him, as the ſaid Bale, his dear friend, relates; but none, as ever I heard of, publiſhed. As he was a ſober and virtuous man, ſo he was particularly famed for his preaching. He was at firſt, I ſuppoſe, chaplain to the Lady Elizabeth; at leaſt to her he had been long known. And for him, about the year 1548, or 1549, ſhe procured a licence to preach from the Protector; as appears by a letter ſhe wrote from Enfield to Mr. Cecyl, who then attended on him: of which Goodacre himſelf was the bearer. Wherein ſhe gave this teſtimony of him; "That he "had been of long time known unto her to be as well of "honeſt converſation, and ſober living, as of ſufficient "learning and judgment in the Scriptures, to preach the "word of God. The advancement whereof," as ſhe ſaid, "ſhe ſo deſired, that ſhe wiſhed there were many ſuch to "ſet forth God's glory. She deſired him therefore, that as "heretofore, at her requeſt, he had obtained licence to "preach for divers other honeſt men, ſo he would re-"commend this man's caſe unto my Lord, and therewith "procure for him the like licence as to the other had been "granted."

Vocation of John Bale.

Beatæ memoriæ in Hibernia concionatorem vigilantiſſimum, ac theologica eloquentia non immerito commendatum. Balæi Centur.

Letters from the council to

And laſtly, that Goodacre and his colleague Bale might find the better countenance and authority, when they

ſhould exerciſe their functions in that country, the privy-council wrote two letters to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland; the one, dated October 27, in commendation of Bale, Biſhop elect of Oſſory; and the other, dated November 4, in commendation of Goodacre, Biſhop elect of Armachan. CHAP. XXVIII. Anno 1552. Ireland, recommending the Iriſh biſhops. Council-Book.

CHAP. XXIX.

The Archbiſhop charged with Covetouſneſs.

To divert the King after the loſs of his uncle, whom he dearly loved, Northumberland took him in progreſs in the ſummer of this year. While he was in this progreſs, ſome about his perſon, that they might the better make way for their ſacrilegious deſigns, and to make the King the more inclinable to lay hands on the epiſcopal demeans, or at leaſt to clip and pare them, buzzed about the court rumours, how rich the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the other biſhops were; and withal, how niggardly and unſuitably they lived to their great incomes, laying up, and ſcraping together to enrich themſelves and their poſterities; whereby hoſpitality was neglected, which was eſpecially required of them. Hereupon Sir William Cecyl the Secretary, who was now with the King, and took notice of theſe diſcourſes, and ſaw well the malicious tendency thereof, (and moreover thought them perhaps in ſome meaſure to be true,) laboured to hinder the ill conſequence: for he was ever a very great favourer, as of the reformed clergy, ſo of their eſtate and honours. This put him upon writing a private letter from court to the Archbiſhop, deſiring him favourably to take a piece of good counſel at his hands, as he intended it innocently and out of a good mind, acquainting him with the reports at the court of his riches, and of his covetouſneſs; reminding him withal of that paſſage of St. Paul, "They that will be rich "fall into temptation and a ſnare;" meaning probably

A rumour given out of the Archbiſhop's covetouſneſs and wealth.

Which Cecyl ſends him word of.

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Anno 1552.

thereby, the danger that he and the reſt of his brethren might expoſe their revenues to thereby. The Archbiſhop ſeemed ſomewhat nettled, and, perceiving the ill deſigns, diſpatched an anſwer hereunto, giving a true account of his own condition, and of the other biſhops, as to temporal things, and letting him underſtand, how much the world was miſtaken in him and the reſt: "That for himſelf he feared not that ſaying of St. Paul half ſo much as he did ſtark beggary. That he took not half ſo much care for his living, when he was a ſcholar of Cambridge, as he did at that preſent: for although he had now much more revenue, yet," he ſaid, "he had much more to do withal. That he had more care now to live as an Archbiſhop, than he had at that time to live like a ſcholar. That he had not now ſo much as he had within ten years paſt by an hundred and fifty pounds of certain rent, beſides caſualties. That he paid double for every thing he bought: and that if a good auditor had this account, he ſhould find no great ſurpluſage to grow rich upon." And then, as for the reſt of the biſhops, he told him, "that they were all beggars, but only one ſingle [o] man of them: and yet he dared well ſay, that he was not very rich. And that if he knew any biſhop that were covetous, he would ſurely admoniſh him. Entreating the Secretary, that, if he could inform him of any ſuch, he would ſignify him, and himſelf would advertiſe him, thinking he could do it better than the other." Who ſeemed to have hinted his mind to the Archbiſhop, that he intended to do it. This letter will be found among the reſt in the Appendix.

The Archbiſhop's anſwer for himſelf and the other biſhops.

No. LXVII.

No doubt the Archbiſhop was thus large and earneſt on this ſubject to ſupply the Secretary with arguments to confute that malicious talk at court concerning the biſhops, and to prevent the miſchiefs hatching againſt them.

Nor indeed was this the firſt time this Archbiſhop was thus ſlandered. For ſome of his enemies, divers years before, had charged him to his loving maſter, King Henry

This very ſlander raiſed upon him to King Henry.

[o] He probably was Holgate, Archbiſhop of York.

CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1552.

VIII. with covetouſneſs and ill houſe-keeping: and the chief of theſe, that raiſed this report, was Sir Thomas Seimour. But the King made him to convince himſelf, by ſending him to Lambeth about dinner time upon ſome pretended meſſage: where his own eyes ſaw how the Archbiſhop lived in far other ſort than he had told the King, keeping great and noble hoſpitality. So that, when he returned, he acknowledged to his Majeſty, that he never ſaw ſo honourable a hall ſet in this realm, beſides his Majeſty's, in all his life, with better order, and ſo well furniſhed in each degree. And the King then gave this teſtimony of him, "Ah, good man! all that he hath he ſpendeth in "houſekeeping." Fox.

King Henry promiſed him lands.

For this reaſon probably it was, as well as upon the account of his good ſervice, and alſo of the exchanges he was forced to make, that the ſaid King gave him a promiſe of a grant of ſome lands, and by a general clauſe in his will ſignified as much; which was, "That certain perſons 281
"ſhould be conſidered." Accordingly I find in the fore-mentioned manuſcript-book of ſales of King's lands, that Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury did, in the firſt year of King Edward VI. partly by purchaſe, and partly by exchange of other lands, procure divers lands of the King. He obtained the rectory of Whalley, Blackbourn, and Rachdale, in the county of Lancaſter, lately belonging to the monaſtery or abbey of Whalley in the ſame county; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Lancaſter, Kent, Surrey, London, Bangor. And this partly in conſideration of King Henry VIII. his promiſe, and in performance of his will; and partly in exchange for the manor and park of Mayfield in the county of Suſſex; and divers other lands and tenements in the counties of Middleſex, Hertford, Kent, Buckingham, and York. This purchaſe he made, I ſuppoſe, not for himſelf, but for his ſee. About the ſame time he alſo bought of the King, for the ſum of five hundred and eighty pounds eight ſhillings and four pence, the manor of Sleford in the county of Lincoln, and of Middleton Cheny in the county of Northampton, and divers other lands and tenements in the ſaid counties. He made another purchaſe of the King the ſame year, that

This promiſe performed by King Edward.

His purchaſes.

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is, the firſt of his reign, for four hundred twenty-nine pounds, fourteen ſhillings and two pence, and "for the fulfilling the laſt will of the late King, and in conſideration "of ſervices," as it is expreſſed in the ſaid book of ſales. This purchaſe was the priory of Arthington in the county of York, and divers other lands and tenements in York, Nottingham, and Kent. An extract of which three purchaſes, exactly taken out of the ſaid book, with the value of the lands, and the rent reſerved, and the time of the iſſues, and the teſt of the patent, I have thought fit to inſert in the Appendix: which probably may not be unacceptable to curious perſons.

Num. LXVIII.

The archbiſhoprick fleeced by King Henry.

Which purchaſes when we conſider, we might be ready to make a ſtand, to reſolve ourſelves how the Archbiſhop could repreſent his condition ſo mean as he did in the letter before-mentioned, as though he feared he ſhould die a beggar. But it will unriddle this, if we think how the archbiſhoprick had been fleeced by King Henry VIII. in ten years before: inſomuch that the rents were leſs by an hundred and fifty pounds per annum, than they were before; beſides the loſs of fines, and other accidental benefits, as it is mentioned by the Archbiſhop in his letter. Add thoſe extraordinary expences he was at in the maintenance of divines and ſcholars, ſtrangers, that were exiles for religion, and the ſalaries, and penſions, and gratuities, ſent to learned men abroad: beſides his great and liberal houſekeeping, and conſtant table, and large retinue.

Lands paſt away to the crown by exchange.

But, to make appear more particularly in this place how King Henry pared his revenue, I will give one inſtance of what was paſt away at one clap by exchange: which was indeed ſo conſiderable, that it was commonly called *The great exchange*. This way of exchanging lands was much uſed in thoſe times; wherein the princes commonly made good bargains for themſelves, and ill ones for the biſhopricks. This exchange, made by Cranmer with the King, was on the firſt day of December, in the twenty-ninth
282 year of his reign, being the very year of the ſuppreſſion of the greater abbeys and religious convents. They were the ancient demeans belonging to the archbiſhoprick, conſiſting of many noble manors, whereof ſome had palaces

annexed to them. I ſhall name only thoſe that lay in the county of Kent, as I find them diſperſed in Philpot's book of Kent. CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1552.

I. The manor and palace of Maidſtone; which palace, Leland ſaith, was once a caſtle. Villare Cantian.

II. The manor and palace of Charing.

III. Wingham.

IV. Wingham-Barton, in the pariſh of Alresford. But in this Philpot is miſtaken; for this was let to Sir Edward Bainton for ninety-nine years, by means of the King's own ſolicitation to the Archbiſhop.

V. Wrotham.

VI. Saltwood; that had in times paſt a magnificent caſtle and park; and many manors held of it by knights' ſervice: which made it called an Honour.

VII. Tenham.

VIII. Bexley.

IX. Aldington. Where was a ſeat for the Archbiſhop, a park, and a chaſe for deer, called Aldington-Frith. Beſides Clive or Cliff; and Malingden, a manor appendant thereunto: which King Henry took away from this ſee and Biſhop, without any ſatisfaction, as far as I can find. Alſo Pynner, Heyes, Harrow, Mortlake, &c. were part of this great exchange. In lieu of theſe demeans paſt over to the crown by way of exchange, the King conveyed ſeveral manors to the Archbiſhop, all which had appertained to the lately diſſolved religious houſes. Namely, theſe among others: Lands made over to the Archbiſhop.

I. Piſing; a parcel of the abbey of St. Radigunds.

II. Brandred; another manor belonging to the ſaid abbey.

III. The college of Bredgar.

IV. Raculver; another abbey ſuppreſſed.

V. Dudmanſcomb; belonging to the priory of St. Martin's in Dover.

One author, *viz.* Kilburn, that hath wrote of Kent, makes Cranmer alſo to have made over to the King the ſumptuous palace of Otford, built by Archbiſhop Warham, which coſt him thirty-three thouſand pounds, (a vaſt ſum in thoſe days,) as Lambard tells us. Philpot, another writer of that county, ſaith, that this was incorporated into the revenue of the The Archbiſhop parted alſo with Knoll and Otford to the King.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

crown by the builder himſelf, Archbiſhop Warham, about the twelfth year of that King's reign; together with the magnificent ſeat of Knoll near Sevenoke; exchanging both with the King for other lands, "to extinguiſh the paſſions of "ſuch as looked with regret and deſire upon the patrimony of "the church." But it appears, by a writing of Cranmer's own ſecretary, that this Archbiſhop parted with both Otford and Knoll at once to the King, after he had poſſeſſed them ſome years; and not Warham, as Philpot miſtakes.

MSS. C.C.C.C.

What moved him to make theſe exchanges.

The world is apt to blame Cranmer for parting with theſe revenues of the ſee. But ſurely it was a true apology that the author before-named made for the Archbiſhop's great exchange; namely, "Becauſe he, finding that the 283 "ſpreading demeans of the church were in danger to be "torn off by the talons of avarice and rapine, to mortify "the growing appetites of ſacrilegious cormorants, ex-"changed them with the crown." Which may be enough to ſtop any clamours againſt this moſt reverend prelate for this his doing: eſpecially conſidering what I ſhall add upon this argument hereafter, from his own ſecretary.

His cares and fears for the King.

His care and concern for the welfare of the Engliſh church made him ever moſt earneſtly to love the King, and to have a very tender regard for the ſafety of his perſon. Who in the ſummer of this year, as was hinted before, went a progreſs, accompanied by the Duke of Northumberland; brought about probably by him to get more into the King's affections, and to have his own deſigns the better to take effect, and with the leſs oppoſition and control: and poſſibly, that the King might be the further off from the Archbiſhop to conſult withal. But he had now a more eſpecial concern upon him for his Majeſty at this time, as though his mind had prophetically preſaged ſome evil to befal the King in that progreſs; (and indeed it was the laſt progreſs that ever he made.) And ſo methinks do theſe expreſſions of the Archbiſhop ſound, in a letter, dated in July, to Cecyl, then attending the court; "beſeeching Almighty God to pre-"ſerve the King's Majeſty, with all his council and family, "and ſend him well to return from his progreſs." And in a letter the next month, "he thanked Cecyl for his news; "but eſpecially," ſaid he, "for that ye advertiſe me that the

" King's Majeſty is in good health: wherein I beſeech God " long to continue his Highneſs." And when, in the latter end of the following month, the geſts (that is, the ſtages of his Majeſty's progreſs) were altered, which looked like ſome ill deſign, the Archbiſhop entreated Cecyl to ſend him the new reſolved-upon geſts from that time to the end, that he might from time to time know where his Majeſty was; adding his prayer again for him, " that God would preſerve " and proſper him." CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1552.

CHAP. XXX.

His Care for the Vacancies. Falls ſick.

WHILE the King was thus abroad, and the Archbiſhop abſent, unworthy or diſaffected men were in a fairer probability of getting promotions in the church, while he was not at hand for to nominate fit men to the King, and to adviſe him in the beſtowing the vacant dignities and benefices. The Archbiſhop knew very well how much learning and ſobriety contributed towards the bringing the nation out of popery, and that nothing tended ſo effectually to continue it as the contrary. This matter the Archbiſhop ſeemed to have diſcourſed at large with Secretary Cecyl at parting: who therefore, by a letter ſent to the ſaid Archbiſhop, then at his houſe at Ford, deſired him to ſend him up a catalogue of learned men, and ſuch as he eſteemed fit for places of preferment in the church and univerſity: that ſo, as any place fell in the King's gift, the ſaid Secretary might be ready at the leaſt warning to recommend fitting and worthy men to ſupply ſuch vacancies, and to prevent any motion that might be made by any courtiers or ſimoniſts for ignorant perſons, or corrupt in religion. In anſwer to which letter, the Archbiſhop writ him word, that he would ſend him his mind in that matter with as much expedition as he could. And undoubtedly we ſhould have ſeen the good fruits of this afterwards in the church, had not the His care for filling the vacancies of the church. 284

BOOK II.

untimely death of that admirable Prince, that followed not long after, prevented this good deſign.

Anno 1552. Laboured under an ague this autumn.

This year the Archbiſhop laboured under two fits of ſickneſs at Croydon. The latter was cauſed by a ſevere ague; of which his phyſicians doubted whether it were a quotidian, or a double-tertian; and, ſeizing him in the declining of the year, was in danger to ſtick by him all the winter. But, by the care of his phyſicians, in the latter end of Auguſt, it had left him two days, which made him hope he was quit thereof; yet his water kept of an high colour. That ſecond day he wrote to Cecyl, and "deſired him to "acquaint Cheke how it was with him. And now the "moſt danger was," as he ſaid, "that if it came again that "night, it was like to turn to a quartan, a moſt ſtubborn "ague, and likelier to continue and wear him out." A diſeaſe, indeed, that carried off his ſucceſſor, Cardinal Pole, and was, as Godwin obſerved, a diſeaſe deadly and mortal unto elder folk.

The great mortality of agues about this time.

The Archbiſhop's friends had reaſon to fear his diſtemper, if we think of the ſeverity of agues in that age; greater, as it ſeems, than in this. Roger Aſcham complaineth to his friend John Sturmius, anno 1562; "that, for four years "paſt, he was afflicted with continual agues: that no "ſooner had one left him, but another preſently followed; "and that the ſtate of his health was ſo impaired and broke "by them, that an hectick fever ſeized his whole body; "and the phyſicians promiſed him ſome eaſe, but no ſolid "remedy." And I find, ſix or ſeven years before that, mention made of hot burning fevers, whereof died many old perſons; and that there died in the year 1556, ſeven aldermen within the ſpace of ten months. And the next year, about harveſt time, the quartan agues continued in like manner, or more vehemently than they had done the year before; and they were chiefly mortal to old people, and eſpecially prieſts: ſo that a great number of pariſhes became deſtitute of curates, and none to be gotten; and much corn was ſpoiled for lack of harveſt-men. Such was the nature of this diſeaſe in theſe days.

Stow's Chron.

But the ſeverity or danger of the Archbiſhop's diſtemper did not ſo much trouble him, as certain inconveniences that

attended it; *viz.* that it put him off from thoſe pious and holy deſigns that he was in hand with, for God's glory, and the good of the church. For ſo he expreſſed his mind to his friend the Secretary; "However the matter chance, "the moſt grief to me is, that I cannot proceed in ſuch "matters as I have in hand, according to my will and deſire: "this *terrenum domicilium* is ſuch an obſtacle to all good "purpoſes." So ſtrongly bent was the heart of this excellent prelate to the ſerving of God and his church. But out of this ſickneſs he eſcaped; for God had reſerved him for another kind of death to glorify him by. CHAP. XXX. Anno 1552. That which moſt concerned him in his ſickneſs. 285

A little before this ſickneſs befel him, ſomething fell out which gave him great joy. Cecyl knew how welcome good news out of Germany would be to him, and therefore in July ſent him a copy of the pacification; that is, the Emperor's declaration of peace throughout the empire, after long and bloody wars; which conſiſted of ſuch articles as were favourable unto the Proteſtants, after much perſecution of them: "as, that a diet of the empire ſhould ſhortly "be ſummoned, to deliberate about compoſing the dif-"ferences of religion; and that the diſſenſions about re-"ligion ſhould be compoſed by placid, and pious, and eaſy "methods. And that in the mean time all ſhould live in "peace together, and none ſhould be moleſted for religion; "with divers other matters." And in another letter, ſoon after, the ſaid Cecyl adviſed him of a peace concluded between the Emperor and Maurice, Elector of Saxony, a warlike prince, and who headed the proteſtant army: which being news of peace among chriſtians, was highly acceptable to the good father. But he wanted much to know upon what terms, out of the concern he had that it might go well with the proteſtant intereſt: and therefore, Cecyl having not mentioned them, the Archbiſhop earneſtly, in a letter to him, deſired to know whether the peace were according to the articles, meaning thoſe of the pacification, or otherwiſe. Which when he underſtood, (for upon the ſame articles that peace between the Emperor and Duke Maurice ſtood,) it created a great tranquillity to his pious mind. Thus were his thoughts employed about the matters of Germany, and the cauſe of religion there: which he The Secretary ſends the Archbiſhop the copy of the Emperor's pacification. Vid. Sleid. lib. 24.

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rejoiced not a little to ſee in ſo fair a way to a good concluſion.

CHAP. XXXI.

His kindneſs for Germany.

His kindneſs for Germany.

To this country he had a particular kindneſs; not only becauſe he had been formerly there in quality of ambaſſador from his maſter King Henry, and had contracted a great friendſhip with many eminent learned men there, and a near relation to ſome of them by marrying Oſiander's niece at Norinberg; but chiefly, and above all, becauſe here the light of the Goſpel began firſt to break forth and diſplay itſelf, to the ſpiritual comfort and benefit of other nations. He had many exhibitioners in thoſe parts, to whom he allowed annual ſalaries: inſomuch that ſome of his officers grumbled at it, as though his houſekeeping were abridged by it. For when once in King Henry's reign, one, in diſcourſe with an officer of his Grace, had ſaid, "He wondered "his Lordſhip kept no better an houſe;" (though he kept a
286 very good one:) he anſwered, "It was no wonder, for my "Lord," ſaid he, "hath ſo many exhibitions in Germany, "that all is too little to ſcrape and get to ſend thither."

His correſpondence with Germany,

He held at leaſt a monthly correſpondence to and from learned Germans: and there was one in Canterbury, appointed by him on purpoſe to receive and convey the letters: which his enemies once, in his troubles, made uſe of as an article againſt him. And Gardiner, a prebend of Canterbury, and preferred by the Archbiſhop, of this very thing treacherouſly, in a ſecret letter, informed his grand enemy and competitor Gardiner, the Biſhop of Winton.

and with Herman, Archbiſhop of Colen.

Among the reſt of his correſpondents in Germany, Herman, the memorable and ever-famous Archbiſhop and Elector of Colen, was one; who, by the counſel and direction of Bucer and Melanchthon, did vigorouſly labour a reformation of corrupt religion within his province and territories. But, finding the oppoſition againſt him ſo great, and lying

under the excommunication of the Pope for what he had done; and, being deprived thereupon by the Emperor of his lands and function, he reſigned his eccleſiaſtical honour, and betook himſelf to a retired life: which was done about the year 1547. But no queſtion, in this private capacity, he was not idle in doing what ſervice he could for the good of that cauſe which he had ſo generouſly and publickly eſpouſed, and for which he had ſuffered ſo much. I find that, in this year 1552, our Archbiſhop had ſent a meſſage to Secretary Cecyl, who accompanied the King in this ſummer's progreſs, deſiring him to be mindful of the Biſhop of Colen's letters. And in another letter, dated July 21, he thanked the Secretary for the good remembrance he had thereof. What the contents of theſe letters of the Archbiſhop of Colen were, it appeareth not: but I am very apt to think the purport of them was, that Cranmer would ſolicit ſome certain buſineſs in the Engliſh court, relating to the affairs of religion in Germany, and for the obtaining ſome favour from the King in that cauſe. But the King being now abroad, and the Archbiſhop at a diſtance from him, he procured the Secretary, who was ever cordial to the ſtate of religion, to ſolicit that Archbiſhop's buſineſs for him: ſending him withal that Archbiſhop's letters for his better inſtruction.

And this, whatever it was, ſeems to have been the laſt good office that Archbiſhop Herman did to the cauſe of religion; for he died, according to Sleidan, in the month of Auguſt; and our Archbiſhop's letter, wherein that Elector's letters are mentioned, was writ but the month before.

The ſuitableneſs of both theſe Archbiſhops' diſpoſitions.

And if one may judge of men's commencing friendſhip and love according to the ſuitableneſs of their tempers and diſpoſitions, our Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the Archbiſhop of Colen, muſt have been very intimate friends. It was ſaid of this man, that he often wiſhed, "That either he "might be inſtrumental to the propagating the evangelical "doctrine and reformation of the churches under his juriſdic-"tion, or to live a private life." And when his friends had often told him what envy he would draw upon himſelf by the changing of religion, he would anſwer, like a true chriſtian philoſopher, "That nothing could happen to him unexpectedly, 287

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"and that he had long ſince fortified his mind againſt every "event." Theſe two paſſages ſpake the very ſpirit and ſoul of Cranmer: which they may ſee that are minded to read what Fox ſaith of him, as to his undauntedneſs and conſtancy in the maintaining of the truth, againſt the many temptations and dangers that he met with during theſe three reigns ſucceſſively.

Their diligence in reforming.

And laſtly, as our Archbiſhop devoted himſelf wholly to the reforming of his church; ſo admirable was the diligence, pains, and ſtudy this Archbiſhop took in contriving the reformation of his. He procured a book to be writ concerning it, called *Inſtauratio Eccleſiarum*, which contained the form and way to be uſed for the redreſſing the errors and corruptions of his church. It was compoſed by thoſe great German divines, Bucer and Melancthon; which book was put into Engliſh, and publiſhed here, as a good pattern, in the year 1547. This book he intended to iſſue forth through his juriſdiction, by his authority to be obſerved. But firſt he thought fit well and ſeriouſly to examine it: and ſpent five hours in the morning, for five days, to deliberate and conſult thereupon: calling to him, to adviſe withal in this great affair, his coadjutor Count Stolberg, Huſman, Jenep, Bucer, and Melancthon. He cauſed the whole work to be read before him; and, as many places occurred wherein he ſeemed leſs ſatisfied, he cauſed the matter to be diſputed and argued, and then ſpake his own mind accurately. He would patiently hear the opinions of others for the information of his own judgment; and ſo ordered things to be either changed or illuſtrated. And ſo dexterouſly would he decide many controverſies ariſing, that Melancthon thought that thoſe great points of religion had been long weighed and conſidered by him, and that he rightly underſtood the whole doctrine of the church. He had always lying by him the Bible of Luther's verſion; and, as teſtimonies chanced to be alleged thence, he commanded that they ſhould be turned to, that he might conſider that which is the fountain of all truth: inſomuch that the ſaid Melancthon could not but admire and talk of his learning, prudence, piety, and dexterity, to ſuch as he converſed with; and particularly to John Ceſar, to whom in a letter he

gave a particular account of this affair. And it is to be noted by the way, that the ſaid book, according to which the reformation was to be modelled, contained only, as Melanchthon in his letter ſuggeſted, a neceſſary inſtruction for all children, and the ſum of the chriſtian doctrine: and the appointments for the colleges and eccleſiaſtical hierarchy were very moderate; the form of the eccleſiaſtical polity being to remain as it was, and ſo were the colleges, with their dignities, wealth, degrees, ornaments thereunto belonging; only great ſuperſtitions ſhould be taken away. Which the wiſe Melanchthon aforeſaid did ſo approve of, that he profeſſed he had often propounded it in diets of the German nation, as the beſt way to peace. And this I add, that it might be obſerved how Archbiſhop Cranmer went by the ſame meaſures in the reformation of the church of England; maintaining the hierarchy, and the revenues, dignities, and cuſtoms of it, againſt many in thoſe times that were for the utter aboliſhing them, as relicks of popery. Such a correſpondence there was between our Archbiſhop and the wiſeſt, moderateſt, and moſt learned divines of Germany. But let us look nearer home.

CHAP. XXXI. Anno 1552.

Mel. Epiſt. printed at Leyden, 1647. pag. 34.

Nec aliam video, niſi hanc unam, ut retineant Epiſcopi et Collegia ſua ἀξιώματα, et ſuas opes, et recipiant doctrinam piam. Ubi ſupra.

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CHAP. XXXII.

Troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal.

AS the laſt year we heard of the deprivation of two popiſh biſhops, ſo this year another underwent the like cenſure; I mean Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham: whoſe buſineſs I ſhall the rather relate, becauſe our Archbiſhop had ſome concern in it. September 21, "A commiſſion was iſſued out to the "Lord Chief Juſtice and his colleagues, to examine and de- "termine the cauſe of Tonſtal, Biſhop of Durham, and eight "writings touching the ſame; which he is willed to con- "ſider, and to proceed to the hearing and ordering of the "matter, as ſoon as he may get the reſt of his colleagues to "him." It was not long after, *viz.* about the midſt of October, that this Biſhop by theſe commiſſioners (whoſe

The troubles of Biſhop Tonſtal.

MS. of an old Council-Book.

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names, beſides the Chief Juſtice, do not occur) was deprived, and his eſtate confiſcated. "October ult. Sir John Maſon "was ordered by the council to deliver, to the uſe of Dr. "Tonſtal, (ſo he is now ſtyled,) remaining priſoner in the "Tower, ſuch money as ſhould ſerve for his neceſſities, "until ſuch time as further order ſhall be taken touching "his goods and money, lately appertaining to him. De- "cember 6, it was agreed by the council, that Dr. Tonſtal, "late Biſhop of Durham, ſhould have the liberty of the "Tower:" where he continued till the time of Queen Mary.

The cauſe of this Biſhop's puniſhment.

But we will look back to learn for what cauſe this ſevere puniſhment was inflicted upon this reverend grave Biſhop; and the rather, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum could not find, as he writes, what the particulars were. In the year 1550, a conſpiracy was hatching in the north, to which the Biſhop was privy at leaſt, if not an abettor: and he wrote to one Menvile in thoſe parts relating to the ſame. This Menvile himſelf related unto the council, and produced the Biſhop's letter: which was afterwards, by the Duke of Somerſet, withdrawn and concealed, as it ſeems, out of kindneſs to Tonſtal. But upon the Duke's troubles, when his cabinet was ſearched, this letter was found: upon which they proceeded againſt Tonſtal. This is the ſum of what is found in the Council-Book: viz. "May 20, 1551, the Biſhop of "Durham is commanded to keep his houſe. Aug. 2, he "had licence to walk in the fields. December 20. Whereas "the Biſhop of Durham, about July 1550, was charged by "Vivian Menvile to have conſented to a conſpiracy in the "north, for the making a rebellion: and whereas, for want "of a letter written by the ſaid Biſhop to the ſaid Menvile, "(whereupon great trial of this matter depended,) the final "determination of the matter could not be proceeded unto, "and the Biſhop only commanded to keep his houſe: the "ſame letter hath of late been found in a caſket of the "Duke of Somerſet's after his laſt apprehenſion. The ſaid "Biſhop was ſent for, and this day appeared before the "council, and was charged with the letter, which he could
280 "not deny but to be his own hand-writing: and, having "little to ſay for himſelf, he was then ſent to the Tower,

" there to abide till he ſhould be delivered by proceſs of CHAP
" law." Agreeable to this is that King Edward writes in XXXII.
his Journal: " December 20, the Biſhop of Durham was, Anno 1552.
" for concealment of treaſon written to him, and not diſ-
" cloſed, ſent to the Tower."

In the latter end of the year 1551, a parliament ſitting, it A bill in parliament to attaint Tonſtal.
was thought convenient to bring in a bill into the houſe of Lords, attainting him for miſpriſion of treaſon. But Archbiſhop Cranmer ſpake freely againſt it, not ſatisfied, it ſeems, with the charge laid againſt him. But it paſſed, and the Archbiſhop proteſted. But when it was carried down to the Commons, they would not proceed upon it, not ſatisfied with the bare depoſitions of evidences, but required that the accuſers might be brought face to face: and ſo it went no further. But when the parliament would not do Tonſtal's buſineſs, a commiſſion was iſſued out to do it, as is above ſpoken.

In the mean time, that the biſhoprick might not want a The care of the dioceſe committed to the Dean.
due care taken of it, during the Biſhop's reſtraint, Feb. 18, 1551, a letter was ſent from the council to the prebendaries of Durham, to conform themſelves to ſuch orders in religion and divine ſervice, ſtanding with the King's proceedings, as their Dean, Mr. Horn, ſhall ſet forth, whom the lords required them to receive and uſe well, as being ſent to them for the weal of the country by his Majeſty.

CHAP. XXXIII.

The new Common Prayer. The Archbiſhop in Kent.

THE book of Common Prayer having the laſt year been carefully reviſed and corrected by the Archbiſhop and others, the parliament in April this year enacted, that it ſhould begin to be uſed every where at All-Saints day next. And accordingly the book was printed againſt the time, and began to be read in St. Paul's church, and the like throughout the whole city. But becauſe the poſture of kneeling was excepted againſt by ſome, and the words uſed by the The new Common Prayer began to be uſed.

BOOK II. Anno 1552.

prieſt to the communicant, at the reception of the bread, gave ſcruple, as though the adoration of the hoſt were intended: therefore, to take off this, and to declare the contrary to be the doctrine of this church, October 27, a letter was ſent from the council to the Lord Chancellor, to cauſe to be joined to the book of Common Prayer, lately ſet forth, a declaration, ſigned by the King, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the communion. Which in all probability was done by the motion of the Archbiſhop, who, in his late book, had taken ſuch pains to confute the adoration; and now thought it neceſſary, that ſome public declaration ſhould be made in the church-ſervice againſt it. So now, the firſt of November being come, Dr. Ridley, the Biſhop of London, was the firſt that celebrated the new ſervice in St. Paul's church; which he did in the forenoon: and then, in his rochet only, without cope or veſtment, preached in the choir. And in the afternoon he preached at Paul's Croſs, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and citizens, preſent. His ſermon tended to the ſetting forth this new edition of the Common Prayer. He continued preaching till almoſt five a clock; ſo that the Mayor and the reſt went home by torch-light. By this book of Common Prayer, all copes and veſtments were forbidden throughout England. The prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the biſhops their croſſes, &c. as by act of parliament is more at large ſet forth.

Stow's Chron.

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This book put into French for the King's French ſubjects.

Proviſion alſo was made for the King's French dominions, that this book, with the amendments, ſhould be uſed there. And the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor, (a great forwarder of good reformation,) procured a learned Frenchman, who was a doctor of divinity, carefully to correct the former French book by this Engliſh new one, in all the alterations, additions, and omiſſions thereof. For the firſt Common Prayer-Book alſo was in French, for the uſe of the King's French ſubjects: being tranſlated by commandment of Sir Hugh Paulet, Governor of Calais: and that tranſlation overſeen by the Lord Chancellor and others at his appointment. The benefit of this laſt book was ſuch, that one of the French congregation in London ſought, by the means of A Laſco's intereſt with Secretary Cecyl, for a licence

under the King's letters patents, to tranſlate this Common Prayer, and the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, and to print it, for the uſe of the French iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey. But Cecyl, after a letter received from A Laſco in Auguſt to that effect, not willing to do this of his own head, and reckoning it a proper matter to be conſidered by the Archbiſhop, who were to be entruſted with the tranſlating of ſuch a book, deſired him, being now at Ford, to give him his advice and judgment herein, both as to the work and as to the benefit. To whom the Archbiſhop gave this anſwer; "That the commodity that might ariſe by printing of the "book was meet to come to them who had already taken "the pains in tranſlating the ſame." Informing the Secretary who they were; namely, thoſe formerly and now of late employed by Sir Hugh Paulet, and the Lord Chancellor. But I find this book was not preſently finiſhed, being not printed till the year 1553, for the uſe of Jerſey and Guernſey. CHAP. XXXIII. Anno 1552.

Notwithſtanding this cleanſing of the church from ſuperſtition and idolatry, and bringing in the knowledge of the Goſpel, by the Archbiſhop's conſtant pains and ſtudy, the people generally, even the profeſſors themſelves, were bad enough as to their morals; and religion had yet got but little hold of them. A clear ſight of the behaviour of theſe times may be ſeen by what Tho. Becon, a chaplain of Cranmer's, writ in his preface to a book put forth in thoſe days: "What a nomber of fals chriſtians lyve ther at thys preſent "day, unto the excedynge diſhonour of the chriſten profeſ- "ſion, which with theyr mouth confeſſe that they know "God, but with theyr dedes they utterly denye hym, and "are abhominable, diſobedient to the word of God, and "utterlye eſtranged from al good works? What a ſwarm of "groſſe goſpellers have we alſo among us, which can prattle "of the Goſpel very fynely, talk much of the juſtification of "faith, crake very ſtoutly of the free remiſſyon of all theyr "ſins by Chriſt's blood, avaunce themſelves to be of the "number of thoſe, which are predeſtinate unto eternal glory? "But how far do theyr life differ from al true chriſtianitie? "They are puffed up with al kynd of pryde: they ſwel with "al kynd of envy, malice, hatred, and enmity againſt theyr The age ſtill vicious. *Jewel of Joy.* 291

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" neghbour, they brenne with unquencheable luſts of carnal " concupiſcence, they walowe and tumble in al kynd of " beaſtly pleaſures: theyr gredy covetous affects are inſa- " tiable: thenlarging of theyr lordſhipps, thencreaſyng of " theyr ſubſtance, the ſcrapyng together of theyr worldly " poſſeſſions infynite, and knoweth no end. In fyne, all " theyr endeavours tend unto thys end, to ſhew themſelves " very ethnycks, and utterly eſtraunged from God in theyr " converſation, although in words they otherwiſe pretend. " As for theyr almes-dedes, theyr praying, theyr watchyng, " theyr faſtyng, and ſuch other godly exerciſes of the Spirit, " they are utterly baniſhed from theſe rude and groſs goſ- " pellers. All theyr religion conſiſteth in words and diſ- " putations; in chriſten acts and godly dedes nothyng at all." Theſe evil manners of the profeſſors themſelves looked with ſo ſad a face, that it made the beſt men aſſuredly expect a change, and woful times to follow.

A new ſect in Kent.

Council-Book.

September 27, a letter was ſent from the council to the Archbiſhop to examine a ſect newly ſprung up in Kent. Whereof there was now a book of examinations ſent him: and to commune with a man and a woman, (the informers,) bearers of the letter, who could inform him ſomewhat of the matter. And to take ſuch order in the ſame according to the commiſſion, that theſe errors might not be ſuffered thus to overſpread the King's faithful ſubjects. What this ſect was, appeareth not. The Anabaptiſts were taken notice of, and a commiſſion iſſued out againſt them, ſome years before. Theſe were ſectaries more new, and whereof the council very lately was informed. It may be they were of the family of Love, or David George his ſect, who made himſelf ſometime Chriſt, and ſometime the Holy Ghoſt. For a little before theſe times, divers ſects ſprang up under the profeſſion of the Goſpel, in High and Low Germany; ſome whereof diſperſed themſelves into England. Which ſects began to do ſo much hurt to the reformation among us, that the author before mentioned laments it in theſe words: " What wicked and ungodly opinions are there ſown now- " a-days of the Anabaptiſts, Davidians, Libertines, and ſuch " other peſtilent ſects, in the hearts of the people, unto the " great diſquietneſs of Chriſt's church, moving rather unto

" ſedition, than unto pure religion; unto hereſy, than unto " things godly!" CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1552. The Archbiſhop's buſineſs in Kent.

The examination of this new ſect was one of the buſineſſes the Archbiſhop was employed in while he was in his retirement at his houſe near Canterbury. Another was, the fitting upon a commiſſion to him, and other gentlemen of Kent, for inquiry after ſuch as had embezzled the plate and goods belonging to chauntries, &c. given by the parliament to the King, and converting them to their own uſes. But this being ſomewhat an odious work, he was not very forward to enter upon, eſpecially becauſe he thought, whatſoever he and the other commiſſioners ſhould recover, would be but ſwallowed up by the Duke of Northumberland and his friends, and the King be little the better. But, becauſe he did not make more haſte, he was charged by his enemies at court as a neglecter of the King's buſineſs. Which coſt him a letter in excuſe of himſelf to the ſaid Duke: ſignifying, that he omitted this buſineſs awhile till the gentlemen and juſtices of peace of Kent, who were then moſtly at London, were come home. 292

A letter for inſtalling Biſhop Hooper. Council-Book.

December 2, a letter was ſent from the council to the Archbiſhop, to grant out a warrant, *ad inſtallandum*, for the Biſhop of Worceſter and Gloceſter, without paying any fees for the ſame; becauſe he paid fees for another mandate, which ſerved to no purpoſe.

The Vicar of Beden. Council-Book.

February 20, an order was ſent to the Archbiſhop from the council to examine the Vicar of Beden in the county of Berks, according to an information encloſed, and to adverti ſe the lords of his proceedings therein. What this Vicar's crime was, I know not; but I obſerve about theſe times the prieſts and curates were very buſy men, and would take liberty, ſometimes to ſpeak againſt the King's proceedings, or his Archbiſhop, with bitterneſs enough, and ſometimes to vent fond opinions, ſo that oftentimes they were fetched up to the council-board; and, after an appearance or two, referred to the Archbiſhop to examine and puniſh: as being matters relating to religion; and ſo proper for his cognizance.

Sampſon and Knox.

About the latter end of this year, Thomas Sampſon was preferred to the deanery of Chicheſter, having been Parſon

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of Alhallowes, Bread-ſtreet, London. February the 2d, a letter was ſent from the privy-council to the Archbiſhop, to beſtow the ſaid living upon Mr. Knox, who was one of the King's chaplains, and in good eſteem in the court for his gift of preaching.

The council favour Knox. Collect. vol. ii. p. 42.

This Knox was the man whoſe name was ſo daſhed in the King's Journal, where the names of the King's ſix chaplains were inſerted, that Biſhop Burnet could not read it. The council bare a great favour to him, as appears by thoſe ſeveral letters they wrote in his behalf. One was mentioned before, ſent to the Archbiſhop for a living in London; but in that Knox ſucceeded not, the Archbiſhop preferring Laurence Saunders (afterwards a martyr) thereunto. Knox being ſent this year into the north one of the King's itinerary preachers, a warrant, dated October 27, was granted from the council to four gentlemen, to pay to him, his Majeſty's Preacher in the north, (ſo he is ſtyled,) forty pounds, as his Majeſty's reward. And again, December 9, a letter was ſent from the council to the Lord Wharton (who was Lord Warden in the northern borders) in commendation of Mr. Knox. And the next year, *viz.* 1553, being returned out of the north, and being then in Buckinghamſhire, that he might find the more acceptance and reſpect there, the council wrote a letter to the great men in thoſe parts, *viz.* the Lord Ruſſel, Lord Windſor, to the juſtices of the peace, and the reſt of the gentlemen within that county, in favour of the ſaid Knox the preacher.

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A Biſhop conſecrated.

John Taylor.

June 26, John Taylor, S. Th. P. Dean of Lincoln, a learned and pious man, was conſecrated Biſhop of Lincoln, at Croyden chapel, by the Archbiſhop; aſſiſted by Nicolas Biſhop of London, and John Biſhop of Rocheſter.

CHAP. XXXIV.

A Catechiſm. The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the Excluſion of the Lady Mary.

WE are now come to the laſt year of good King Edward's reign; when the Archbiſhop was as commonly at the council as he uſed to be before. For the counſellors made great uſe of him, and did not uſe to conclude any thing in matters relating to the church without him. And if he came not, they often ſent for him: and once the laſt year, in October, when he had fixed his day of going into Kent, they ſtayed him for ſome days, that they might confer with him about ſome certain matter; I ſuppoſe, relating to the Articles of Religion, that were then under their hands. To look no further than the latter end of the laſt year; he was at council at Weſtminſter in February, and this year in March and April. And the court being at Greenwich, where the King lay ſick, and died, the Archbiſhop was there at council in June: but not after the eighth day. The reaſon he came no more we may well conjecture to be, becauſe he did no ways like the methods that were now taking by Northumberland to bring the crown into his own family, and diſinherit the King's ſiſters. For ſoon after, *viz.* June 11, the Lord Chief Juſtice Mountague, and ſome other judges, with the King's Attorney and Solicitor, were ſent for to the council to conſult about drawing up the inſtrument.

Anno 1553.

Great uſe made of the Archbiſhop at council.

On one of theſe council-days he procured the King's letters in behalf of the book of Articles, which he had taken ſuch pains about the two laſt years, both in compoſing and in bringing to effect. The King had before given order to the Archbiſhop, by his letters, to put forth theſe Articles. And now they were put forth, he procured the King's letters alſo to his own officers, for to ſee the clergy of his dioceſe to ſubſcribe thereunto. So the King's letters were directed to the Official of the court of Canterbury, and the Dean of the deanery of the Arches, and to their ſurrogates, deputies, &c. ſetting forth, "That whereas he had given order unto Tho-

The Articles of Religion enjoined by the King's authority.

Cranm. Regiſt.

BOOK II. Anno 1553.

" mas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, in letters ſealed with his " ſignet, for the honour of God, and to take away diſſenſion " of opinion, and confirm conſent of true religion, that he " ſhould expound, publiſh, denounce, and ſignify ſome arti- " cles and other things, breathing the right faith of Chriſt, " for the clergy and people within his juriſdiction; the King
294 " therefore enjoined them, the Archbiſhop's officers, that " they ſhould cauſe all rectors, vicars, prieſts, ſtipendiaries, " ſchoolmaſters, and all that had any eccleſiaſtical employ- " ment, to appear in perſon before the Archbiſhop in his " hall at Lambeth, there further to obey and do, on the " King's part, according as it ſhall be ſignified, and to re- " ceive according to reaſon, and the office owing to the " King's royal dignity." And in obedience hereunto, the Official, John Gibbon, LL. D. Commiſſary of the deanery of the bleſſed Virgin of the Arches, ſignified by an inſtrument, dated June 2, to the Archbiſhop, that he had cited the clergy. I do not find the ſucceſs of this; only that the city-clergy made their appearance before the Archbiſhop at Lambeth: and that he did his endeavour, by perſuaſion and argument, to bring them to ſubſcribe: which, no queſtion, very few refuſed. But this matter afterwards ſerved Queen Mary's commiſſioners for one of their interrogatories to be put to the Archbiſhop, as though he had compelled many againſt their wills to ſubſcribe. Which he denied, ſaying, he compelled none; but exhorted ſuch to ſubſcribe as were willing firſt to do it, before they did it.

The Catechiſm for ſchools.

In the month of May, the King by his letters patents commanded a Latin catechiſm to be taught by ſchoolmaſters to their ſcholars. It was entitled, *Catechiſmus brevis, Chriſtianæ diſciplinæ ſummam continens.* The King in his letters, dated May 20, ſaid, " it was made by a certain " pious and learned man, and preſented to him; and that " he committed the diligent examination of it to certain " biſhops and other learned men, whoſe judgment was of " great authority with him." The ſame biſhops and learned men, I ſuppoſe, that were framing and preparing the Articles of Religion the laſt year. The author of this Catechiſm is not certainly known: ſome conjecture him to be Ponet, the Biſhop of Wincheſter. The learned Dr.

Ward, one of the Engliſh divines ſent to the ſynod of Dort, having this Catechiſm in his library, (now in the poſſeſſion of a friend of mine,) wrote therein theſe words; *Ar° N^llo autore, ſiquid ego divinare poſſum:* meaning probably Alexander Nowel, who was now, if I miſtake not, ſchoolmaſter of Weſtminſter, and afterwards Dean of St. Paul's. But whoſoever was the author, the Archbiſhop we may conclude to be the furtherer and recommender of it unto the King: it being that Prelate's great deſign by catechiſms, and articles of religion, and plain expoſitions of the fundamentals, to inſtil right principles into the minds of the youth and common people, for the more effectual rooting out Popery, that had been ſo long entertained by the induſtrious nurſelling up the nation in ignorance. CHAP. XXXIV. Anno 1553.

There was a Catechiſm that came forth about this time, (whether it were this or another, I cannot ſay,) allowed by the ſynod, or convocation. In the beginning of Queen Mary the popiſh divines made a great ſtir about this Catechiſm, and thought they had a great advantage againſt it, becauſe it was put forth as from the ſynod, whereas that ſynod knew nothing of it. Whereupon Weſton, the prolocutor in Queen Mary's firſt convocation, brought a bill into the houſe, declaring that Catechiſm, being peſtiferous and full of hereſies, to be foiſted upon the laſt ſynod fraudulently, and therefore that the preſent ſynod diſowned it. To which he ſet his own hand, and propounded that all the houſe ſhould do the like: which all but ſix conſented to. One whereof was Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter, who ſtood up and told them, in juſtification of thoſe that publiſhed the ſaid Catechiſm, that the ſynod, under King Edward, had granted to certain perſons, to be appointed by the King, to make eccleſiaſtical laws. And whatſoever eccleſiaſtical laws they or the moſt part of them did ſet forth, according to a ſtatute in that behalf provided, might well be ſaid to be done by the ſynod of London; although ſuch as were of the Houſe then had no notice thereof before the promulgation. And therefore in this point he thought the ſetters forth of the Catechiſm had nothing ſlandered the houſe, ſince they had that ſynodal authority unto them committed. And moreover he deſired the Prolocutor would

A Catechiſm ſet forth by the ſynod.

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BOOK II. Anno 1553.

be a means unto the lords, that ſome of theſe that were learned, and the publiſhers of this book, might be brought into the houſe, to ſhew their learning that moved them to ſet forth the ſame; and that Dr. Ridley, and Rogers, and two or three more, might be licenſed to be preſent at this diſputation, and be aſſociate with them. But this would not be allowed.

Fox.

The Archbiſhop oppoſeth the new ſettlement of the crown.

The laſt thing we hear of concerning our Archbiſhop in this King's reign was, his denial to comply with the new ſettlement of the crown, deviſed and carried on by the domineering Duke of Northumberland, for the ſucceſſion of Jane, daughter to Gray, Duke of Suffolk, whom he had married to one of his ſons. This he did both oppoſe, and, when he could not hinder, refuſed to have any hand in it. Firſt, he did his endeavour to ſtop this act of the King. He took the boldneſs to argue much with the King about it once, when the Marquis of Northampton, and the Lord Darcy, Lord Chamberlain, were preſent. And moreover he ſignified his deſire to ſpeak with the King alone, that ſo he might be more free and large with him. But that would not be ſuffered: but if it had, he thought he ſhould have brought off the King from his purpoſe, as he ſaid afterward. But, for what he had ſaid to the King, the Duke of Northumberland ſoon after told him at the council-table, "That "it became him not to ſpeak to the King as he had done, "when he went about to diſſuade him from his will." To the council the Archbiſhop urged the entailing of the crown by King Henry upon his two daughters, and uſed many grave and pithy reaſons to them for the Lady Mary's legitimation, when they argued againſt it. But the council replied, "That it was the opinion of the judges, and the "King's learned counſel in the law, that that entailing "could not be prejudicial unto the King; and that he, "being in poſſeſſion of the crown, might diſpoſe of it as he "would." This ſeemed ſtrange unto the Archbiſhop: yet, conſidering it was the judgment of the lawyers, and he himſelf unlearned in the law, he thought it not ſeemly to oppoſe this matter further. But he refuſed to ſign: till the King himſelf required him to ſet his hand to his will, and ſaying, "that he hoped he alone would not ſtand out, and be more

" repugnant to his will than all the reſt of the council " were." Which words made a great impreſſion upon the Archbiſhop's tender heart, and grieved him very ſore, out of the dear love he had to that King; and ſo he ſubſcribed. And, when he did it, he did it unfeignedly. All this he wrote unto Queen Mary. 296

To which I will add what I meet with in one of my manuſcripts. " When the council and the chief judges had " ſet their hands to the King's will, laſt of all they ſent for " the Archbiſhop, [who had all this while ſtood off,] requiring him alſo to ſubſcribe the ſame will, as they had done. " Who anſwered, that he might not without perjury: for " ſo much as he was before ſworn to my Lady Mary by " King Henry's will. To whom the council anſwered, that " they had conſciences as well as he; and were alſo as well " ſworn to the King's will as he was. The Archbiſhop anſwered, I am not judge over any man's conſcience, but " mine own only. For as I will not condemn their fact, no " more will I ſtay my fact upon your conſcience, ſeeing that " every man ſhall anſwer to God for his own deeds, and not " for other men's. And ſo he refuſed to ſubſcribe, till he " had ſpoken with the King herein. And being with the " King, he told the Archbiſhop, that the judges had informed him, that he might lawfully bequeath his crown " to the Lady Jane, and his ſubjects receive her as Queen, " notwithſtanding their former oath to King Henry's will. " Then the Archbiſhop deſired the King, that he might firſt " ſpeak with the judges: which the King gently granted. " And he ſpake with ſo many of them as were at that time " at the court, and with the King's Attorney alſo: who all " agreed in one, that he might lawfully ſubſcribe to the " King's will by the laws of the realm. Whereupon he returning to the King, by his commandment granted at laſt " to ſet his hand." Denieth before the council to ſubſcribe to the excluſion of the Lady Mary. Foxii MSS. Sets his hand.

From the whole relation of this affair we may note, as the honeſty, ſo the ſtoutneſs and courage of the Archbiſhop, in the management of himſelf in this cauſe againſt Northumberland, who hated him, and had of a long time ſought his ruin: and the ingratitude of Queen Mary, or at leaſt the implacableneſs of Cranmer's enemies; that the Queen ſoon The Archbiſhop ingratefully dealt with.

BOOK II. Anno 1558.

yielded her pardon to ſo many of the former King's council, that were ſo deep and ſo forward in this buſineſs, but would not grant it him; (who could not obtain it till after much and long ſuit:) and that it ſhould be put into two acts of her parliament (to make him infamous for a traitor to poſterity) that he and the Duke of Northumberland were the deviſers of this ſucceſſion, to deprive Queen Mary of her right: which was ſo palpably falſe and untrue on the Archbiſhop's part. But this was, no queſtion, Wincheſter's doing; through whoſe hands, being now Lord Chancellor, all theſe acts of parliament paſſed, and the wording of them.

The council ſubſcribe and ſwear to the limited ſucceſſion.

Finally, I have only one thing more to add concerning this matter: which is, that, beſides the inſtrument of ſucceſſion, drawn up by the King's council learned in the law, ſigned by himſelf and thirty-two counſellors, and dated June 21, according to the Hiſtory of the Reformation, there was another writing, which was alſo ſigned by twenty-four of the council. And to this I find our Archbiſhop's name. Herein they promiſed by their oaths and honours (being commanded ſo to do by the King) to obſerve all and every article contained in a writing of the King's own hand, touching the ſaid ſucceſſion, and after copied out and delivered to certain judges and learned men to be written in order. This writing thus ſigned, with the other writing of the King, being his deviſe for the ſucceſſion, may be ſeen in the Appendix, as I drew them out of an original.

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CHAP. XXXV.

The King dies.

The King dies.

THE good King made his moſt chriſtian departure July the 6th, to the ineffable loſs of religion and the kingdom; being in all likelihood, by his early beginnings, to prove an incomparable Prince to the Engliſh nation. It was more than whiſpered that he died by poiſon: and, however ſecretly this was managed, it was very remarkable, that this

rumour ran not only after his death, but, even a month or two before it, reports ſpread that he was dead. For which, as being raſh ſpeeches againſt the King, they ſtudiouſly took up many people, and puniſhed them. Before his father King Henry had him, his only ſon lawfully begotten, it was twenty-eight years from his firſt entrance upon his kingdom. And this heir made amends for the nation's ſo long expectation of a Prince: "His ſingular excellency in all "kind of princely towardlineſs (to uſe the words of one "who lived in thoſe times) was ſuch, that no place, no "time, no cauſe, no book, no perſon, either in public au- "dience, or elſe in private company, made any mention of "him, but thought himſelf even of very conſcience bound "to powdre the ſame with manifold praiſes of his incom- "parable vertues and gifts of grace." And again; "How "happy are we Engliſhmen of ſuch a King, in whoſe child- "hood appeareth as perfect grace, vertue, godly zeal, deſire "of literature, gravity, prudence, juſtice, and magnanimity, "as hath heretofore been found in Kings of moſt mature "age, of full diſcretion, of antient fame, and of paſſing high "eſtimation." And again; "That God hath of ſingular "favour and mercy towards this realm of England ſent "your Grace to reign over us, the thing itſelf, by the whole "proceſs, doth declare."

CHAP. XXXV.

Anno 1553.

Cooper's Chron.

His character.

Nic. Udal his Pref. to Eraſm. Paraphraſe.

The Archbiſhop delights in this Prince's proficiency.

The Archbiſhop his godfather took exceeding complacency in a Prince of ſuch hopes, and would often congratulate Sir John Cheke his ſchoolmaſter having ſuch a ſcholar, even with tears. His inſtructors would ſometimes give account to the Archbiſhop of his proficiency in his ſtudies, a thing that they knew would be acceptable to him. Thus did Dr. Cox his tutor in a letter acquaint the Archbiſhop "of the Prince's towardlineſs, godlineſs, gentleneſs, and all "honeſt qualities: and that both the Archbiſhop, and all "the realm, ought to take him for a ſingular gift ſent of "God. That he read Cato, Vives his Satellitium, Eſop's "Fables, and made Latin, beſides things of the Bible; and "that he conned pleaſantly and perfectly." The Archbiſhop, out of his dear love to him, and to encourage him, would ſometimes himſelf write in Latin to him: and one of his letters to him is yet extant in Fox. 298

King Edward's writings. His great parts might be ſeen by his letters, journals, memorials, diſcourſes, and writings; which were many: divers loſt, but of thoſe that are yet extant, theſe are the moſt:

Fox. A letter to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his godfather, from Ampthil, in Latin, being then but about ſeven years old.

Fox. Another in Latin to the Archbiſhop from Hartford: which was an anſwer to one from the Archbiſhop.

Mr. Petyt's MSS. A letter in French to his ſiſter, the Lady Elizabeth, writ December 18, 1546.

Sir W. H. MSS. A letter to his uncle, the Duke of Somerſet, after his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, 1547.

Sir W. H. MSS. To Queen Katharine Par, after her marriage with the Lord Admiral his uncle.

Sir W. H. MSS. Another letter to her.

Ibid. A letter to the Earl of Hartford, his couſin, in Latin.

Full. Ch. Hiſt. A letter to Barnaby Fitz-Patrick, concerning the Duke of Somerſet's arraignment.

Full. Ch. Hiſt. Another to B. Fitz-Patrick, conſiſting of inſtructions to him when he went into France.

Ibid. Another to Fitz-Patrick, giving him an account of his progreſs, in Auguſt 1552.

Mr. Petyt's MSS. Orders concerning the habits and apparel of his ſubjects, according to their degrees and qualities.

Mention is alſo made in the Hiſtory of the Reformation of letters in Latin to King Henry his father, at eight years old, and to Queen Katharine Par.

Cotton Lib. and Hiſt. Ref. His journal, writ all with his own hand, from the beginning of his reign 1547, until the 28th of November 1552.

Trinity Col. Libr. A collection of paſſages of Scripture againſt idolatry, in French; dedicated to the Protector.

Cott. librar. A diſcourſe about the reformation of many abuſes both eccleſiaſtical and temporal.

Cott. libr. A reformation of the Order of the Garter; tranſlated out of Engliſh into Latin by King Edward. Theſe four laſt are publiſhed in the Hiſtory of the Reformation, volume ii. among the Collections.

Sir W. H. MSS. A book, written in French by him at twelve years of age, againſt the Pope, entitled, *A l'encontre les abus du Monde.*

Sir W. H. MSS. A memorial, February 1551.

Another memorial, dated October 13, 1552. Sir W. H. MSS.
Another memorial. Ibid.
His prayer a little before his death. Fox.

I ſhall rehearſe none of theſe writings, but only one of the memorials; becauſe it bordereth ſo near upon our preſent Hiſtory, and ſhews ſo much this young Prince's care of religion, and for the good eſtate of the church, animated, admoniſhed, counſelled, and directed in theſe matters by the Archbiſhop.

For Religion. October 13, 1552. 299

I. A catechiſm to be ſet forth, for to be taught in all grammar-ſchools. The King's memorial for religion.

II. An uniformity of doctrine; to which all preachers ſhould ſet their hands.

III. Commiſſions to be granted to thoſe biſhops that be grave, learned, wiſe, ſober, and of good religion, for the executing of diſcipline.

IV. To find fault with the ſlightfulneſs of the paſtors, and to deliver them articles of viſitation, willing and commanding them to be more diligent in their office, and to keep more preachers.

V. The abrogating of the old canon-law, and eſtabliſhment of a new.

VI. The dividing of the biſhoprick of Durham into two; and placing of men in them.

VII. The placing of Harley into the biſhoprick of Hereford.

VIII. The making of more homilies.

IX. The making of more injunctions.

X. The placing of one in a biſhoprick in Ireland, which Turner of Canterbury hath refuſed.

Some of theſe things were already done, and ſome in hand. Hereby we may ſee what further ſteps in the reformation would have been made, had the good King lived. So that, in this King's reign, religion made a good progreſs, and ſuperſtition and idolatry was in a good manner purged out of the church. Which was the more to be wondered at, conſidering the minority of the King, the grievous factions at court, and the too common practice then of ſcoffing

BOOK II. Anno 1553. and buffooning religion, and the more conſcientious profeſſors of it. For of this ſort of men, ruffians and diſſolute livers, there were many followed the court, and were favourites to the leading men there; I mean, the two Dukes: and proved after baſe time-ſervers and flatterers in the reign of Queen Mary.

The Archbiſhop frequent at council. During this reign Archbiſhop Cranmer was a very active man, and great deference ſeemed to be given to his judgment, by the King and council, in the matters that were then tranſacting; eſpecially as concerning the reformation of religion. For I find him very frequently at the council-board, and often ſent for thither, or ſent unto when abſent. And here I will not think much to ſet down all the particular days when, and places where, he was preſent in perſon with the privy-counſellors; from the year 1550 beginning, unto the middle of the year 1553, near the time of the King's death; as it was extracted carefully out of a Council-Book, that commenceth at the above-ſaid year.

His preſence in council in the year 1550. Anno 1550. April 19, he was preſent at the council then at Greenwich. This month one Putto, who had been put to ſilence for his lewd preaching, [that is, againſt the ſteps made in the Reformation,] and did now nevertheleſs, of his own head, preach as lewdly as he had done before, was referred to the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Ely, to be corrected, April 28. The Archbiſhop preſent at council, May 2, 4, 7, 11, (on this day the Duke of Somerſet was called again to council,) and 15. At the Star-chamber, May 16. At Weſtminſter, May 28, June 5. At Greenwich, June 8, 11, 13, 20, 22. At Weſtminſter, June 28, 29, 30. and July 1: about which time the Archbiſhop ſeemed to depart into his dioceſe, and there to remain that ſummer. October 11. there was an order of council for a letter to be writ to him, in anſwer to his of complaint againſt the Vicar of Dertford, to impriſon him for his diſobedience unto him; and in priſon to endure, until the ſaid Archbiſhop ſhould come to court. October 18. was another order of council for three letters to be writ: the one to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, another to the Biſhop of Ely, and another to the Biſhop of Lincoln. "Becauſe (as the words run) the parliament "draweth near: before which time his Majeſty thinketh it

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" expedient to have ſome matters there to be conſulted. CHAP.
" Their lordſhips were required immediately to repair to the XXXV.
" court, where they ſhall underſtand his Majeſty's further Anno 1553.
" pleaſure. And that day his Grace was ſent for." November 11. he was preſent at council. At Weſtminſter, November 16, 17, 18, 26. December 4, when the Archbiſhop and Biſhop of Ely anſwered the Biſhop of Chicheſter, then before the council, as to the texts by him produced in behalf of altars. December 5, 9, 11, 13: on which day a letter was ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the Biſhop of Wincheſter to Lambeth before the Archbiſhop. January 13. he was preſent at the council at Greenwich, when Hoper was ordered to be committed to the Archbiſhop's cuſtody. Preſent again at council at Greenwich, February 8. At Weſtminſter the 16, 18: then, upon the report of the Archbiſhop made of one Young, a learned man, [I ſuppoſe he of Cambridge, that was Bucer's antagoniſt,] *viz.* that he had preached ſeditiouſly, [againſt the King's proceedings in religion,] it was ordered that the Archbiſhop, and the Biſhop of Ely, ſhould examine him, and thereupon order him, as they ſhould think good. He was preſent at council, ſtill at Weſtminſter, March 4, 8, (when he was appointed to receive a ſum of money in reſpect of his charges and pains in his proceſs againſt the late Biſhop of Wincheſter, now deprived,) 9, 11, 12, 22, 24.

Anno 1551. March 26, 31. At Greenwich, April the 8, 9, In the year
11, 26. May 4, 10, 24, 25. June 4, 14, (when a letter was 1551.
given to the Archbiſhop to ſend to the Lieutenant of the Tower, for the bringing White, Warden of New College in Wincheſter, and delivering him to the Archbiſhop, to remain with him till he might reclaim him,) 15, 21, 22. At Richmond, Auguſt 9. At Hampton-Court, October 1: when a licence was granted to Wolf, under the King's privilege, to print the Archbiſhop's book. At Weſtminſter, October 17, 19, 22, 28. November 2, 5, 9, 10, 15, 17, 21, 26. December 11, 12, (13, a letter was ſent from the council to the Archbiſhop to ſend them a book touching religion, ſent out of Ireland,) 17, 18, 19. January 24, 31. February 8, 16, 22, 28. March 22.

Anno 1552. He was preſent at the council now ſitting at In the year
1552.

BOOK II. Anno 1553. Weſtminſter, March 30. April 4, 5, 8, 9, 11, 18, 19, 24. From which time, till the month of October, he was not at the council, and yet ſeems to have been at home. October 7, the council ſent to him to ſtay his going into Kent till Tueſday, becauſe the lords would confer with him; that is, till October 11, when he was again preſent at council. The Archbiſhop now retired into his dioceſe, and was at his houſe at Ford: whither ſeveral meſſages and letters were ſent to him from the council: as, November 20, they ſent him the Articles of Religion (framed chiefly by him, and reviewed by the King's chaplains) for his laſt review, in order to the putting them into due execution. November 24, another ſent him, according to the minute, of ſome buſineſs unknown. December 2, another letter to him for the inſtalling of Hoper, without paying any fees. And another, February 2, in favour of Mr. Knox, to be by him collated to the living of Alhallows. This month he returned, and was at the council at Weſtminſter. Likewiſe February 21, 22, 25, 27, 28.

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Anno 1553. Anno 1553. March 25. April 1, 7. At Greenwich, June 2, 3, 6, 8: and that was the laſt time mentioned in the Council-Book, ending at June 17. Nor cared he to come afterwards, the buſineſs then in tranſaction not pleaſing him.

A Biſhop conſecrated.

John Harley. May 26. John Harley, S. T. P. was conſecrated (and was the laſt that was conſecrated in this King's reign) Biſhop of Hereford, upon the death of Skip, by the Archbiſhop, at Croyden chapel; Nicolas Biſhop of London, and Robert Biſhop of Carliſle, aſſiſting. This Harley was one of the King's ſix chaplains, Bill, Bradford, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, being the other five, that were appointed to be itineraries, to preach ſound doctrine in all the remoteſt parts of the kingdom, for the inſtruction of the ignorant in right religion to God, and obedience to the King.

The end of the Second Book.

MEMORIALS

OF

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Queen Mary ſoon recognized. The Archbiſhop ſlandered and impriſoned.

I FIND the Archbiſhop preſent among Queen Jane's counſellors: whoſe party ſeemed to be reſolute for her until the 19th of July. All theſe perſons of quality were with her in the Tower, conſulting of affairs for her ſervice: Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury; the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor; the Earl of Wincheſter, Lord Treaſurer; the Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland; the Earls of Bedford, Arundel, Shrewſbury, Pembroke; the Lords Darcy and Paget; Sir Thomas Cheiney, Sir Richard Cotton, Sir William Petre, Sir John Cheke, Sir John Baker, Sir Robert Bowes; being all of her council All which (excepting Northumberland) ſigned a letter, dated July 19, to the Lord Rich, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Eſſex, who had ſignified to them that the Earl of Oxford was fled to the Lady Mary. In their letter they exhorted him to ſtand true and tight to Queen Jane, as they ſaid they did, and would do. It was penned by Cheke; for Secretary Cecyl was abſent, and Petre, the other Secretary, though preſent, did it not, though he ſigned it. The letter is in the Appendix. The day before this letter was ſent, *viz.* July 18, there being a riſing in Buckinghamſhire, and the parts thereabouts, Queen

Anno 1553.

The Archbiſhop's and counſellors' concern with the Lady Jane.

No. LXIX.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

Jane herſelf, thinking herſelf ſure of Sir John Bridges and Sir Nicolas Poyntz, ſigned a letter to them, therein ordering them to raiſe with ſpeed all the power they could of their ſervants, tenants, officers, and friends, to allay that tumult: and ſo ſhe had written to other gentlemen in thoſe parts to do. This letter alſo I have put in the Appendix. No. LXX.

They declare for Queen Mary.

And yet, (to ſee the viciſſitude of men's minds, and uncertainty of human affairs,) July 20, divers of thoſe very counſellors, that but the day before ſet their hands reſolvedly to ſtand by Queen Jane, proclaimed Queen Mary in the city of London, and immediately diſpatched the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget unto her with a letter, writ from Baynard's Caſtle, (where they now were removed from the Tower.) In which letter "they beg her pardon, and "to remit their former infirmities, and aſſure her, calling "God to witneſs to the ſame, that they were ever in their "hearts her true ſubjects ſince the King's death: but could "not utter their minds before that time without great de-"ſtruction and bloodſhed of themſelves and others." The copy of this letter may be read in the Appendix. No. LXXI.

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And write to Northumberland to lay down his arms.

The ſame day the council wrote to the Duke of Northumberland their letters, dated from Weſtminſter, ſent by an herald: wherein the Duke was commanded and charged, in Queen Mary's name, to diſarm and diſcharge his ſoldiers, and to forbear his return to the city, until the Queen's pleaſure. And the ſame was to be declared to the Marquis of Northampton, and all other gentlemen that were with him. The herald was alſo, by virtue of his letters from the council, to notify in all places where he came, "that if the Duke "did not ſubmit himſelf to the Queen's Highneſs, he ſhould "be taken as a traitor, and they of the late King's council "would perſecute him to his utter confuſion." And thus far our Archbiſhop went. For this was ſigned by him, and the Biſhop of Ely, Lord Chancellor; the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Bedford, Shrewſbury, Pembrook; the Lord Darcy, Sir Richard Cotton; Petre and Cecyl, Secretaries; Sir John Baker, Sir John Maſon, Sir Robert Bowes. The Duke ſaw it in vain to oppoſe, and ſo ſubmitted to this order: and the plot that his

Stow.

ambition had been framing ſo long, and with ſo much art, fell on a ſudden. CHAP. I.

Anno 1558. The Queen owned by the ambaſſadors.

Very ſpeedily Queen Mary was owned abroad, as well as at home: Dr. Wotton, Dean of Canterbury; Sir William Pickering, Sir Thomas Chaloner, ambaſſadors in France, writ their letters to her and the council, acknowledging her, and ceaſing any further to act as ambaſſadors. She continued Dr. Wotton, and ſent for Pickering and Chaloner home; and ſent Sir Anthony St. Leger, the beginning of Auguſt, ambaſſador thither, joined with Wotton. This determination the council, Auguſt 12, ſignified to the ſaid three ambaſſadors.

The Archbiſhop miſreported to have ſaid maſs.

But now to caſt our eyes upon the ſtate of religion at this time. Upon this acceſs of Queen Mary to the crown, whoſe intereſt as well as education made her a zealous Papiſt, the good progreſs of religion was quite overthrown; and the pious Archbiſhop's pains and long endeavours in a great meaſure fruſtrated; and he himſelf ſoon after exerciſed with great afflictions. The firſt pretended occaſion of which was this: it was reported abroad, ſoon after King Edward's death, that the Archbiſhop had offered to ſing the maſs and *Requiem* at the burial of that King, either before the Queen, or at St. Paul's church, or any where elſe; and that he had ſaid or reſtored maſs already in Canterbury. This indeed had the Suffragan of Dover, Dr. Thornton, done; but without the Archbiſhop's conſent or knowledge.

Maſs at Canterbury.

But however, ſuch good impreſſions of religion had the Archbiſhop left at Canterbury, that, though maſs was ſet up there, and prieſts were through fear forced to ſay it, yet it was utterly contrary to their wills. And, about new-year's-tide, there was a prieſt ſaid maſs there one day, and the next came into the pulpit, and deſired all the people to forgive 305 him. For he ſaid, "he had betrayed Chriſt; but not as "Judas did, but Peter." And then he made a long ſermon againſt the maſs.

Which he makes a public declaration againſt.

But the aforeſaid ſlanderous report ſo troubled the Archbiſhop, that, to ſtay it, he wrote a letter to a friend of his, that he never made any promiſe of ſaying maſs, nor that he did ſet up the maſs in Canterbury: but that it was done by "a falſe, flattering, lying monk, Dr. Thornden," (ſuch a

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

character in his juſt anger he gave him,) who was Suffragan of Dover, and Vicedean of that church, in the abſence of Dr. Wotton, who was then abroad in embaſſy. This Thomden, ſaith my manuſcript, (writ but a few years after by Scory, or Becon, as I conjecture,) was "a man having neither wit, learning, nor honeſty. And yet his wit is very ready. For he preacheth as well *extempore*, as at a year's warning: ſo learnedly, that no man can tell what he chiefly intendeth or goeth about to prove: ſo aptly, that a groſs of points is not ſufficient to tie his ſermon together; not unlike to Jodocus a monk, of whom Eraſmus maketh mention in his Colloquies, who, if he were not garniſhed with theſe glorious titles, Monk, Doctor, Vicedean, and Suffragan, were worthy to walk openly in the ſtreets with a bell and cock's comb." Beſides this letter, the Archbiſhop reſolved to do ſomething in a more public manner, in vindication of the reformation, as well as of himſelf. So he deviſed a declaration: wherein he both apologized for himſelf againſt this falſe report, and made a brave challenge, with the aſſiſtance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by diſputation with any man, the reformation made under King Edward. This declaration, after a firſt draught of it, he intended to enlarge; and then, being ſealed with his own ſeal, to ſet it upon the doors of St. Paul's church, and other churches in London. This writing, wherein the good religion and doctrine practiſed and taught in the former reign was ſo nobly owned, and offered to be defended in ſuch a public manner, was not only read by ſomebody boldly in Cheapſide, but many copies thereof were taken; and ſo became diſperſed. It was alſo ſoon after printed in Latin, and, I ſuppoſe, in Engliſh too. Sure I am, in the year 1557, it was printed beyond ſea by the exiles: from which print I ſhall here tranſcribe it, being ſent from Grindal to John Fox, for his uſe in the writing his hiſtory.

Foxii MSS.

A Declaration of the Reverend Father in God Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, condemning the untrue and ſlanderous Report of ſome, which have reported, That he ſhould ſet up the Maſs at Canterbury, at the firſt coming of the Queen to her Reign 1553.

The declaration.

" AS the Devil, Chriſt's ancient adverſary, is a liar, and " the father of lying; even ſo hath he ſtirred his ſervants " and members to perſecute Chriſt, and his true word and " religion. Which he ceaſeth not to do moſt earneſtly at " this preſent. For whereas the moſt noble Prince of fa- " mous memory, King Henry VIII. ſeeing the great abuſes " of the Latin maſſes, reformed ſomething herein in his 306 " time; and alſo our late ſovereign Lord King Edward VI. " took the ſame whole away, for the manifold errors and " abuſes thereof, and reſtored in the place thereof Chriſt's " holy ſupper, according to Chriſt's own inſtitution, and as " the Apoſtles in the primitive church uſed the ſame in the " beginning: the Devil goeth about by lying to overthrow " the Lord's holy ſupper, and to reſtore the Latin ſatisfac- " tory maſſes, a thing of his own invention and device. And, " to bring the ſame more eaſily to paſs, ſome have abuſed " the name of me, Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury, bruit- " ing abroad, that I have ſet up the maſs at Canterbury, " and that I offered to ſay maſs before the Queen's High- " neſs, and at Paul's church, and I wot not where. I have " been well exerciſed theſe twenty years to ſuffer and bear " evil reports and lies; and have not been mych grieved " thereat, and have borne all things quietly. Yet when un- " true reports and lies turn to the hindrance of God's truth, " they be in no wiſe to be tolerate and ſuffered. Wherefore " theſe be to ſignify to the world, that it was not I that did " ſet up the maſs at Canterbury; but it was a falſe, flatter- " ing, lying, and diſſembling monk, which cauſed the maſs " to be ſet up there, without my advice or counſel.

" And as for offering myſelf to ſay maſs before the " Queen's Highneſs, or in any other place, I never did, as " her Grace knoweth well. But if her Grace will give me " leave, I ſhall be ready to prove againſt all that will ſay " the contrary; and that the Communion Book, ſet forth

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

" by the moſt innocent and godly Prince, King Edward VI.
" in his high court of parliament, is conformable to the
" order which our Saviour Chriſt did both obſerve and
" command to be obſerved, and which his Apoſtles and pri-
" mitive church uſed many years. Whereas the maſs, in
" many things, not only hath no foundation of Chriſt, his
" Apoſtles, nor the primitive church, but alſo is manifeſt
" contrary to the ſame: and containeth many horrible blaſ-
" phemies in it. And although many, either unlearned, or
" maliciouſly, do report, that Mr. Peter Martyr is un-
" learned; yet, if the Queen's Highneſs will graunt there-
" unto, I, with the ſaid Mr. Peter Martyr, and other four or
" five which I ſhall chooſe, will, by God's grace, take upon
" us to defend, that not only our Common Prayers of the
" churches, miniſtration of the ſacraments, and other rites
" and ceremonies, but alſo that all the doctrine and religion,
" by our ſaid ſovereign Lord King Edward VI. is more
" pure, and according to God's word, than any that hath
" been uſed in England theſe thouſand years: ſo that God's
" word may be the judge, and that the reaſon and proofs
" may be ſet out in writing. To thentent as well all the
" world may examine and judge them, as that no man ſhall
" ſtart back from their writing; and what faith hath been
" in the church theſe fifteen hundred years, we will joyne
" with them in this point: and that the doctrine and uſage
" is to be followed, which was in the church fifteen hun-
" dred years paſt. And we ſhall prove, that the order of
" the church, ſet out at this preſent in this church of Eng-
" land by act of parliament, is the ſame that was uſed in the
307 " church fifteen hundred years paſt. And ſo ſhall they never
" be able to prove theirs."

Appears before the commiſſioners at Paul's.

Some copies of this declaration ſoon fell into the hands of certain biſhops, who brought them to the council. The council ſent a copy to the Queen's commiſſioners: who ſoon after ordered him to appear before them, and to bring in an inventory of his goods. The reaſon, as is alleged, of his being ordered to bring in this inventory, was, becauſe it was then intended that he ſhould have a ſufficient living aſſigned him, and to keep his houſe, and not meddle with religion. So on the day appointed, which was Auguſt 27, the Arch-

biſhop, together with Sir Thomas Smith, Secretary of State to King Edward, and May, Dean of St. Paul's, came before the Queen's commiſſioners in the conſiſtory of Paul's: and the Archbiſhop brought in his inventory. We are left to gueſs what he was now cited for. I ſuppoſe, it was to lay to his charge hereſy, and his marriage; what more was done with him at this time I find not. He retired to his houſe at Lambeth, where he ſeemed to be confined. CHAP. I. Anno 1553.

For about the beginning of Auguſt, as may be collected from a letter of the Archbiſhop's to Cecyl, he was before the council, about the Lady Jane's buſineſs, without all queſtion. And then, with the ſevere reprimands he received, was charged to keep his houſe, and be forthcoming. At that time he eſpied Cecyl, who was in the ſame condemnation; and would fain have ſpoken with him, but durſt not, as he told him in a letter dated Auguſt 14; as it ſeems, out of his love and care of him, leſt his very talking with Cecyl might have been prejudicial to that pardon which he now lay fair for. But by letter he deſired him to come over to him to Lambeth, becauſe he would gladly commune with him, to hear how matters went, and for ſome other private cauſes, Cecyl being now at liberty. September 13. following, the Archbiſhop was again ſummoned to appear that day before the Queen's council. Then he appeared, and was diſmiſſed; but commanded to be the next day in the Star-chamber. And ſo he was. The effect of which appearance was, that he was committed to the Tower, partly for ſetting his hand to the inſtrument of the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion, and partly for the public offer he made a little before of juſtifying openly the religious proceedings of the deceaſed King. But the chief reaſon was, the inveterate malice his enemies conceived againſt him for the divorce of King Henry from the Queen's mother: the blame of which they laid wholly upon him, though Biſhop Gardiner and other biſhops were concerned in it as deep as he. In the Tower we leave the good Archbiſhop awhile, after we have told you, that, ſoon after the Queen coming to the Tower, ſome of the Archbiſhop's friends made humble ſuit for his pardon, and that he might have acceſs to her: but ſhe would neither hear him, nor ſee him. And before the council.

BOOK III. Holgate alſo, the other Archbiſhop, about the beginning of October, was committed to the Tower, upon pretence of treaſon, or great crimes: but chiefly, I ſuppoſe, becauſe he was rich. And, while he was there, they rifled his houſes at Batterſea and Cawood. At his former houſe they ſeized in gold coined three hundred pounds; in ſpecialties and good debts, four hundred pounds more; in plate gilt and parcel gilt, ſixteen hundred ounces: a mitre of fine gold with two pendants, ſet round about the ſides and midſt with very fine pointed diamonds, ſapphires, and baliſts, and all the plain with other good ſtones and pearls, and the pendants in like manner, weighing one hundred twenty-five ounces. Six or ſeven great rings of fine gold, with ſtones in them; whereof were three fine blue ſapphires of the beſt; an emerald, very fine; a good Turkeys, and a diamond; a ſerpent's tongue ſet in a ſtandard of ſilver, gilt and graven; the Archbiſhop's ſeal in ſilver, his ſignet, an old antick in gold: the counterpane of his leaſe of Wotton, betwixt the late Duke of Northumberland and him, with letters patents of his purchaſe of Scrowby.

Anno 1553. The Archbiſhop of York committed to the Tower; and his goods ſeized: C.C.C.C. Librar. Miſcell. B. 308

At Batterſea.

At Cawood. Taken from Cawood, and other places appertaining to the Archbiſhop, by one Ellis Markham; firſt, in ready money, nine hundred pounds: two mitres; in plate, parcel gilt, ſeven hundred and ſeventy ounces; and gilt plate, eleven hundred fifty-ſeven ounces; one broken croſs of ſilver gilt, with one image broken, weighing forty-ſix ounces; three obligations, one 37l. 5s. 10d; another for 15l; another for 10l. Sold by the ſaid Markham five ſcore beaſts, and four hundred muttons. Sold all the ſheep belonging to the Archbiſhop, ſuppoſed to be two thouſand five hundred. Moreover, he took away two Turkey-carpets of wool, as big and as good as any ſubject had: alſo a cheſt, full of copes and veſtments of cloth of tiſſue: two very good beds of down, and ſix of the beſt young horſes that were at Cawood. Proffered to make ſale of all his houſehould ſtuff in five houſes; three very well furniſhed, and two metely well. Sold all his ſtores of houſehold: wheat, two hundred quarters; malt, five hundred quarters; oats, ſixty quarters; wine, five or ſix tun. Fiſh and ling, ſix or ſeven hundred, with very much houſehold ſtore; as fuel,

hay, with many other things neceſſary for houſehold. Horſes at Cawood, young and old, four or five ſcore: they received rent of his own land, five hundred pounds yearly at the leaſt. This was done by this Markham, upon pretence that he was guilty of treaſon, or great crimes. He gave to many perſons money to the value of an hundred pounds and above, that they ſhould give information againſt him. Beſides, they took away good harneſs and artillery ſufficient for ſeven ſcore men. All this ſpoil was committed when he was caſt in the Tower. Of all this injury he made a ſchedule afterwards, and complained thereof to the lords. By this one inſtance, which I have ſet down at large, as I extracted it from a paper in the Benet college library, we may judge what havock was made of the profeſſors of religion, in their eſtates as well as their perſons; as this Biſhop was ſerved, before any crime was proved againſt him. Anno 1558.

Thus the other Archbiſhop (of York) was not to go without animadverſion, any more than he of Canterbury. The former lay eighteen months in the Tower, and was depoſed at laſt for being married, as well as Cranmer. Of this Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, in his ſermon at Paul's Croſs, (at which were preſent King Philip and Cardinal Pole,) gave, as he thought, this nipping gird: "Thus while we deſired to "have a ſupreme head among us, it came to paſs, that we "had no head at all; no, not ſo much as our two Arch-"biſhops. For that on one ſide, the Queen, being a woman, "could not be head of the church; and on the other ſide, "they were both convicted of one crime, and ſo depoſed." This Archbiſhop of York continued in priſon till 1554, when the Queen granted the requeſt of the new King for the liberty of a great many priſoners, whereof this Prelate was one. He died the next year through grief (as it is probable) and ſuffering. Gardiner's paſſage of the two Archbiſhops. 309

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

CHAP. II.

Proteſtant Biſhops and Clergy caſt into Priſons, and deprived.

This reign begins with rigour.

INDEED in this firſt entrance of Queen Mary's reign, it was a wonder to ſee that fierceneſs that it was uſhered in with; the Papiſts thinking that this rigour at firſt would terrify all out of their former principles of true religion, and bring them to the devotion of the church of Rome again. And it was as marvellous to obſerve the ſteadfaſtneſs of the generality of the profeſſors. "This Queen began her

Hales oration.

"reign after that manner, (I uſe the words of one that "lived in that time,) that it might be conjectured, what "ſhe was like after to prove: ſending up for abundance "of people to appear before the council, either upon the "Lady Jane's buſineſs, or the buſineſs of religion; and "committing great numbers into priſons. And indeed ſhe "boaſted herſelf a virgin ſent of God to ride and tame the "people of England."

The proteſtant biſhops deprived.

To explain ſomewhat theſe auſterities. They thought fit to begin with the proteſtant clergy, biſhops and others. For this purpoſe a commiſſion was directed to the Biſhops of London, Wincheſter, Chicheſter, and Durham, men ſufficiently ſoured in their tempers by what befel them in the laſt reign. Theſe were to diſcharge the proteſtant biſhops and miniſters of their offices and places, upon pretence either of treaſon, hereſy, or marriage, or the like, to make way for their own men. "Thus John Tayler,

Regiſtr. Eccl. Cant.

"Biſhop of Lincoln, was deprived, becauſe he had a bad "title, there being this clauſe in the letters patents, "whereby he was made biſhop, *Quamdiu bene ſe geſſerit*, "and becauſe he thought amiſs concerning the Euchariſt. "John Hoper was deprived of the biſhoprick of Worceſter "by the reſtitution of Nicolas Hethe, formerly deprived: "and removed from the ſee of Gloceſter for his marriage, "and other demerits. John Harley, Biſhop of Hereford, "deprived for wedlock and hereſy. Robert Farrar, Biſhop "of St. David's, deprived for wedlock and hereſy. Wil-

" liam Barlow, Biſhop of Bath, made a voluntary reſignation. " The biſhoprick of Rocheſter was void three years, ſince " Scory was tranſlated to Chicheſter. John Bird, an old " man, married, was deprived of the biſhoprick of Cheſter. " Thomas Cranmer, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, (for I do " but tranſcribe now out of the regiſter of the church " of Canterbury,) being called into queſtion for high " treaſon, by his own confeſſion was judged guilty thereof: " whence, in the month of December, the ſee of Can- 310 " terbury became vacant. Robert Holgate, Archbiſhop of " York, was deprived for wedlock, and was caſt into the " Tower, and led a private life. The like happened to " Miles Coverdale of Exeter, by the reſtoring John Vayſe, " who, out of fear, had formerly reſigned. Cuthbert " Biſhop of Durham, formerly deprived, was reſtored. " Edmund Bonner, Biſhop of London, reſtored: Nicolas " Ridley being removed from the ſaid ſee, and caſt into " priſon for making an ill ſermon, and being noted for " heretical pravity. Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Win- " cheſter, reſtored: John Poinet being ejected and impri- " ſoned, and deprived of epiſcopacy for being married." To which I muſt add, the ſee of Briſtol, reſigned by Paul Buſh, the Biſhop thereof.

The hard uſage of the inferior clergy.

How they proceeded with the inferior clergy in general for being married, may be meaſured by their proceedings with the clergy of London and Canterbury, which we ſhall ſee by and by: ſo that King Edward's clergy were now in the very beginning of this Queen very hardly uſed. " Some were deprived, never convict, no, nor never called [a]; " (I uſe the words of an [b] author that lived in that " Queen's reign, and felt her ſeverity;) ſome called that " were faſt locked in priſon, and yet nevertheleſs deprived " immediately [c]. Some deprived without the cauſe of mar- " riage after their orders [d]. Some induced to reſign upon " promiſe of penſion, and the promiſe, as yet, never per-

[a] Mr. Rich. Wilks.
[b] Dr. Parker.
[c] Mr. Bradford, Bullingham, and May.
[d] A great number.

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" formed [e]. Some ſo deprived, that they were ſpoiled of " their wages, for the which they ſerved the half year " before; and not ten days before the receipt ſequeſtered " from it. Some prevented from his half year's receipt, " after charges of tenths and ſubſidy paid, and yet not " deprived ſix weeks after. Some deprived of their receipts " ſomewhat after the day, with the which their fruits to " the Queen's Majeſty ſhould be contented. And in " general the deprivations were ſo ſpeedy, ſo haſtily, ſo " without warning, &c. The biſhops (ſaith another [f] writer " and ſufferer in theſe days) that were married were " thruſt out of the parliament-houſe, and all married deans " and archdeacons out of the convocation: many put " out of their livings, and others reſtored, without form of " law. Yea ſome noblemen and gentlemen were de- " prived of thoſe lands which the King had given them, " without tarrying for any law, leſt my Lord of Win- " cheſter ſhould have loſt his quarter's rent. Many churches " were changed, many altars ſet up, many maſſes ſaid, many " dirges ſung, before the law was repealed. All was done " in poſt haſte."

Preface to the *Defence of Prieſts' Marriage.*

Harbour for faithful Subjects.

Profeſſors caſt into the Marſhalſea.

Nor was their deprivation all they endured; but they, together with many other profeſſors of the religion, were taken up very faſt: for Wincheſter did reſolve to make quick work to reduce, if he could, the realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marſhalſea thick and threefold for religion, ſent by him thither. And, that they might be ſure to ſuffer hardſhip enough, when the Biſhop's almoner, Mr. Brooks, (he who was, I ſuppoſe, after Biſhop of Gloceſter,) came to this priſon with his maſter's alms-baſket, he told the porter, named Britain, that it was his lord's pleaſure that none of the hereticks that lay there, ſhould have any part of his alms. And that, if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that houſe ſhould never have it again ſo long as he lived. To which the porter replied, " That he would have a care of that, he " would warrant him; and that, if they had no meat till " they had ſome of his Lordſhip's, they ſhould be like to

Win-cheſter's alms.

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[e] Dr. Ponet, Tayler, Parker. [f] Mr. Aylmer.

"ſtarve. And ſo he bad him tell his lord: and added, "That they ſhould get no favour at his hand."

Theſe ſufferings P. Martyr, now gotten out of England, took notice of in a letter to Calvin, dated November 3; where, having related to him how the two Archbiſhops of Canterbury and York, the Biſhops of Worceſter and Exon, and many other learned and pious preachers, were in bonds for the Goſpel, and, together with them, many other godly perſons were in extreme danger, he proceeded to mention two things to Calvin, to mitigate the trouble he knew he conceived for this ill news. The one was, "That, "although the infirmity of ſome betrayed them, yet great "was the conſtancy of far more than he could have "thought. So that he doubted not England would have "many famous martyrs, if Wincheſter, who then did all, "ſhould begin to rage according to his will. The other "was, that it was the judgment of all that this calamity "would not be long: and therefore," ſaid Martyr, "let us "pray to God, that he would quickly tread down Satan "under the feet of his church."

Peter Martyr writes of this to Calvin.

P. Martyr's Epiſt.

The ſame learned man, ſpeaking in another letter concerning the good forwardneſs of religion at the firſt coming of Queen Mary to the crown, ſaid, "That he had "many ſcholars in England, ſtudents in divinity, not to be "repented of, whoſe harveſt was almoſt ripe: whom he "was forced to ſee, either wandering about in uncertain "ſtations, or remaining at home unhappily ſubverted. "And that there was in this kingdom many holy as well as "learned biſhops, that were then in hard confinement, and "ſoon to be dragged to the extremeſt puniſhments, as if "they were robbers. And that here was the foundation of "the Goſpel, and of a noble church laid: and by the "labours of ſome years the holy building had well gone "forward, and daily better things were hoped for. But "that unleſs Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῆς μηχανῆς, *God from above*, came to "the ſuccour of it, he thought there would not be a "footſtep of godlineſs left at laſt, as to the external pro-"feſſion."

The ſtate of the church now.

P. Martyr amico cuidam.

All the matters of the church the Queen left wholly to the management of the Biſhop of Wincheſter, whom ſhe

The Queen leaves all matters to Wincheſter.

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now advanced from a priſoner in the Tower, to be Lord High Chancellor of England. And indeed the governance of the whole realm was committed to him, with a few other. He ruled matters as he would, and that all England knew and ſaw plainly. Nay, the conſent of the whole parliament followed his head and his will. So that againſt their wills, and againſt the wills of many thouſand true hearts in the realm, as they of the parliament well knew, they condeſcended unto him: and what he could not do in one parliament, that he did in another. So that in a year and an half he had three parliaments: during which time, many things the parliament condeſcended unto againſt their wills. As that the Queen ſhould marry with a foreign Prince; that the ſervice in the Engliſh
312 tongue ſhould be taken away; that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have his old ejected authority here again: as one of
J. Rogers. the divines in thoſe times had intended to have told Wincheſter to his face, had he been permitted ſpeech.

The Queen crowned.

October 1, the Queen was crowned at the abbey-church at Weſtminſter. And then was proclaimed a pardon; but not over-gracious: for all the priſoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and ſixty-two beſides; whereof the printers of the Bible, Grafton and Whitchurch, were two. Moſt of theſe excepted were of the chief profeſſors of the Goſpel: no pardon for them. At the coronation, among other triumphal ſhows, Paul's ſteeple bare top and topgallant, like a ſhip with many flags and banners, and a man ſtood triumphing and dancing on the top. Whereat one Underhill, a gentleman that ſat on horſeback there to ſee the ſhow, ſaid to thoſe about him, "At the "coronation of King Edward I ſaw Paul's ſteeple lay at "anchor, and now ſhe wears top and topgallant: ſurely "the next will be ſhipwreck or it be long." And indeed there followed a ſhipwreck of the church.

The ſervice ſtill ſaid.

The ſervice eſtabliſhed in King Edward's days did not ceaſe upon Queen Mary's graſping the ſceptre: but the miniſters performed the worſhip of God, and celebrated the holy ſacrament, and uſed the Common Prayer diligently and conſtantly: and the people frequented the ſame with more ſerioufneſs than before. They foreſaw what

times were coming; which made them meet often together, while they might: lamenting bitterly the death of King Edward, and partaking of the ſacrament with much devotion. It was the Biſhop of Wincheſter's reſolution to redreſs this in London: for he was purpoſed to ſtifle the religion as ſpeedily and as vigorouſly as he could. And one way he had to do this was, to ſend his ſpies into all the churches in London: and theſe would come into the churches, and diſturb the miniſters with rude words and actions in their very miniſtration; and then go to the Biſhop, and make their informations. And ſo the miniſters were fetched up by the officers before him, and then committed, unleſs they would comply: and this in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, when the preachers did but according to the laws then in force, before the parliament had repealed the book of Common Prayer, and the reſt of King Edward's reformation. And there were forward men in moſt pariſhes, that were very active and violent for the reſtoring the old ſuperſtitions. For the Queen had ſet forth a proclamation, which did declare what religion ſhe did profeſs in her youth; "that ſhe "did continue in the ſame, and that ſhe minded therein "to end her life: willing all her loving ſubjects to embrace "the ſame." And this they reckoned to be ſufficient warrant to ſet up maſs, and introduce popiſh prieſts and popiſh uſages every where, without ſtaying for orders and acts of parliament.

The Queen's proclamation of her religion.

Nor was this change of religion, and theſe miſeries following it, unexpected. The learned and pious ſort in King Edward's time did reckon upon a great calamity impending over their heads: concluding thereupon, from two cauſes, among others. One was, the corrupt manners that generally overſpread the nation, notwithſtanding the light of the Goſpel, and the much and earneſt preaching up of ſobriety and virtue. The other was, the taking off by death divers moſt eminent men, the great ſtays of religion: ſo that the preachers did commonly in their ſermons declare and foretel, what afterwards indeed fell out. This Becon, an exile, in his epiſtle to thoſe in England that ſuffered perſecution for the teſtimony of

Signs of a change of religion.

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Chriſt's Goſpel, ſpake of in theſe words: "Divers ſigns "had we long before, beſides the godly admonitions of "the faithful preachers, which plainly declared unto us an "utter ſubverſion of the true chriſtian religion to be at "hand, except it were prevented by haſty and harty re- "pentance. What ſhall I ſpeak of that good and mighty "Prince Edward, Duke of Somerſet, which, in the time "of his protectorſhip, did ſo baniſh idolatry out of this our "realm, and bring in again God's true religion, that "it was a wonder ſo weighty a matter to be brought to "paſs in ſo ſhort a time. Was not the ungentle handling "of him, and the unrighteous thruſting him out of office, "and afterwards the cruel murthering of him, a man, "yea, a mirror of true innocency, and chriſtian patience, "an evident token of God's anger againſt us? The ſudden "taking away of thoſe moſt goodly and vertuous young "imps, the Duke of Suffolk and his brother, by the "ſweating ſickneſs, was it not alſo a manifeſt token of "God's heavy diſpleſure againſt us? The death of thoſe "two moſt worthy and godly learned men, M. Paulus "Fagius, and D. Martin Bucer, was it not a ſure prog- "noſtication, ſome great miſhap concerning chriſten re- "ligion to be at hand? But, paſſing over many other, "to come to that which is moſt lamentable, and can never "be remembered of any true Engliſh heart without large "tears, I mean the death of our moſt godly Prince and "chriſten King, Edward VI. that true Joſias, that earneſt "deſtroyer of falſe religion, that fervent ſetter up of God's "true honour, that moſt bounteous patron of the godly "learned, that moſt worthy maintainer of good letters "and vertue, and that perfect and lovely mirror of true "nobility, and ſincere godlineſs: was not the taking away "of him (alas! for ſorrow!) a ſure ſign and an evident "token that ſome great evil hanged over this realm of "England? Who, conſidering theſe things, perceived not a "ſhipwreck of the chriſten religion to be at hand?"

CHAP. III.

The Archbiſhop adviſeth Profeſſors to fly.

THE favourers of religion, ſeeing it was now determined to proceed in all manner of ſeverity againſt them, began to flee into other countries for their ſafety as faſt as they could. Indeed there were ſome that made a caſe of conſcience of it: among the reſt, one Mrs. Wilkinſon, a woman of good quality, and a great reliever of good men. Her the Archbiſhop out of priſon adviſed to eſcape, and avoid a place where ſhe could not truly and rightly ſerve God. He took off, with ſpiritual arguments, the objections which ſhe or others might make for their ſtay; as, their lothneſs to leave their friends and relations, and that it might look like a ſlandering of God's word, if they ſhould thus run away, and decline the open and bold defence of it. The letter of the Archbiſhop deſerves to be read, as it fell from that venerable Prelate's own pen: which I have therefore put in the Appendix. Num. LXXII.

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Though Cranmer himſelf refuſed to flee, being adviſed by his friends ſo to do, becauſe of the reports that were abroad, that he ſhould be ſpeedily carried to the Tower. For he ſaid, "It would be no ways fitting for him to go "away, conſidering the poſt in which he was; and to "ſhew that he was not afraid to own all the changes "that were by his means made in religion in the laſt "reign." Cranmer will not flee.

But great numbers fled, ſome to Straſburgh, ſome to Weſel, ſome to Embden, ſome to Antwerp, ſome to Duiſburgh, ſome to Wormes, ſome to Frankford, ſome to Baſil, Zuric, and Arrow in Switzerland, and ſome to Geneva, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. And theſe are the names of ſome of theſe refugees. Whither the profeſſors fly.

BISHOPS.

Poynet of Wincheſter, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chicheſter, Coverdale of Exon, and Bale of Offory. And who.

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DEANS.

Richard Cox, Dean of Chriſt's Church Oxon, and of Weſtminſter; James Haddon, Dean of Exeter; Robert Horn of Durham; William Turner of Wells; Thomas Sampſon of Chicheſter.

ARCHDEACONS.

Edmund Cranmer, the Archbiſhop's brother, Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Ælmer of Stow; Bullingham of Lincoln; Thomas Young, Precenter of St. David's.

DOCTORS of Divinity and Preachers.

Edmund Grindal, Robert King, Edwin Sands, Joh. Jewel, Reinolds; Pilkingtons, two brothers; John Joſeph, David Whitehead, John Alvey, John Pedder, John Biddil, Thomas Becon, Robert and Richard Turner, Edmund Allein; Levers, three brothers; John Pekins, Tho. Cottisford, Tho. Donel, Alex. Nowel, with his brother; Barthol. Traheron, John Wollock, John Old, John Medwel, Joh. Rough, John Knocks, John Appleby, John Perkhurſt, Edward Large, Galf. Jones, Robert Crowley, Robert Wiſdome, Robert Watſon, William Goodman, Ant. Gilby, Will. Whittingham, John Makebrey, Hen. Reynolds, James Perſe, Jugg, Edmunds, Cole, Mounteyn, two Fiſhers, Da. Simſon, John Bendal, Beaumont, Humfrey, Bentham, Reymiger, Bradbridg, Saul, &c.

Beſides, of noblemen, merchants, tradeſmen, artificers, and plebeians, [n] many hundreds. And God provided graciouſly for them, and raiſed them up friends in England, that
315 made large contributions from time to time for their relief, and for the maintenance of ſuch as were ſcholars and ſtudents in divinity eſpecially. And great was the favour that the ſtrangers ſhewed to their fugitive gueſts.

Duke of Northumberland put to death.

Here at home vengeance was taken upon thoſe that ſet up the Lady Jane. And the chief of all, the Duke of Northumberland, was brought to Tower Hill to loſe his head: who indeed was cared for by no body, and was the only inſtrument of putting the King upon altering the

[n] Chiliades. Pref. to Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, in Latin.

ſucceſſion; and who was broadly talked of to have been the ſhortener of that excellent Prince's life by poiſon, to make room the ſooner for his ſon's advancement, who had married the ſaid Jane. In priſon he was viſited by Biſhop Hethe, and afterwards pretended to be brought off by him to the acknowledgment of the Roman catholic religion. After his condemnation, he, with the Marquis of Northampton, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, Sir Thomas Palmer, heard a maſs within the Tower, and received the ſacrament in one kind, after the popiſh faſhion. The Duke of Northumberland was drawn hereunto by a promiſe that was made him, "That, if he would recant and "hear maſs, he ſhould have his pardon, yea, though his head "were upon the block." CHAP. III. Anno 1553.

In his ſpeech, Auguſt 22, when he was executed, he acknowledged, "how he had been miſled by others; and "called the preachers ſeditious and lewd, and adviſed the "people to return home to the old religion. And that, "ſince the new religion came among them, God had "plagued them by wars and tumults, famine and peſti-"lence. He propounded the example of the Germans, "how their new doctrine had brought ruin upon them: "and quoted that article in the Creed to them, *I believe* "*the catholic church*, to convince them of the Roman ca-"tholic faith." If this ſpeech were not of Hethe's inditing, to be uſed by the Duke, yet this argument from the Creed, I am apt to think, was his, it being his cuſtom to make uſe of it. For I find, in a conference betwixt this Biſhop and Rogers, he aſked him, if he did not know his Creed, and urged *Credo ſanctam eccleſiam catholicam*. But Rogers could tell him, that he did not find the Biſhop of Rome there. If any be minded to ſee the Duke's ſpeech at length, he may have recourſe to the Appendix, where I have ſet it down, as I found it in one of the Cottonian volumes. His ſpeech. Num. LXXIII.

But Gates and Palmer, notwithſtanding their hearing maſs at their execution the ſame day and place, confeſſed the faith they had learned in the Goſpel. The former confeſſed, "That he had lived as viciouſly and wickedly all "his life, as any in the world. And yet, that he was a Sir John Gates his ſpeech;

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"great reader of the Scripture; but a worſe follower there "was not living. For he read it, not to edify, but to "diſpute, and to make interpretations after his own fancy: "exhorting the people to take heed how they read "God's word, and played and gamed with God's holy "myſteries. For he told them, that, except they humbly "ſubmitted themſelves to God, and read his word chari- "tably, and to the intent to be edified thereby; it would "be but poiſon to them, and worſe. And ſo aſked the "Queen, and all the world, forgiveneſs."

And Palmer's.

Palmer thanked God for his affliction: for "that he 316 "had learned more in one little dark corner of the Tower, "than ever he learned by any travels, in as many places "as he had been. There he had ſeen God, what he was, "and his numerous works, and his mercies. And ſeen "himſelf thoroughly what himſelf was; a lump of ſin "and earth, and of all vileneſs the vileſt. And ſo con- "cluding, that he feared not death; that neither the "ſprinkling of the blood of two ſhed before his eyes, nor "the ſhedding thereof, nor the bloody axe itſelf, ſhould "make him afraid. And ſo, praying all to pray for him, he "ſaid ſome prayers, and without any daunting laid down "his head upon the block."

The Duke's labours to get his life. Wardword, p. 43.

But the Duke of Northumberland ſubmitted himſelf to baſe and mean practices to ſave his life. He renounced his religion: nay, diſavowed "that he ever was of the re- "ligion profeſſed in King Edward's days, (if we may believe "Parſons,) but only hypocritically, for worldly ends, com- "plied with it. And if he might but have lived, he could "have been contented to ſpend his days in a mouſe-hole." For from a prieſt I have this relation, and the Papiſts beſt knew the intrigues of Queen Mary's reign. After ſen- tence pronounced upon him, he made means to ſpeak with Biſhop Gardiner, who he knew could do moſt of any with the Queen. When the Biſhop came to him, in com- pany with another counſellor, to be witneſs of their diſ- courſe, (who himſelf told my author theſe paſſages,) the Duke aſked the Biſhop, "If there were no hope at all "for him to live, and to do ſome penance the reſt of his "days for his ſins paſt. Alas! (ſaid he,) let me live a

" little longer, though it be but in a mouſe-hole. The CHAP. III.
" Biſhop replied, That he wiſhed to God any thing could Anno 1553.
" have contented his Grace but a kingdom, when he
" was at liberty, and in proſperity. And even at that
" preſent he wiſhed it lay in his power to give him that
" mouſe-hole: for he would allow him the beſt palace
" he had in the world for that mouſe-hole. And did
" moreover then offer to do for him what he could poſſible.
" But becauſe his offence (he ſaid) was great, and ſen-
" tence paſſed againſt him, and his adverſaries many, it
" would be beſt for him to provide for the worſt: and
" eſpecially, that he ſtood well with God in matter of con-
" ſcience and religion. For to ſpeak plainly, (as he went
" on,) it was moſt likely he muſt die. The Duke an-
" ſwered, he would diſpoſe himſelf; and deſired he might
" have a learned prieſt ſent him for his confeſſion, and
" ſpiritual comfort. And as for religion, (ſaid he,) you
" know, my Lord Biſhop, that I can be of no other but
" of yours, which is the catholic. For I never was of any
" other indeed, nor ever ſo fooliſh as to believe any of that
" which we had ſet up in King Edward's days; but only
" to uſe the ſame for my own purpoſe of ambition: for
" which God forgive me. And ſo I mean to teſtify pub-
" lickly at my death: for it is true. The Biſhop (ſaith my
" author) went away with an afflicted heart, and ſhed many
" tears, as he returned: and went to the Queen, and
" entreated ſo earneſtly for him, as he had half gained her
" conſent for his life. Which ſo much terrified the Duke's
" adverſaries, as preſently they got the Emperor Charles,
" that was in Flanders, to write to the Queen a very re-
" ſolute and earneſt letter, that it was not ſafe for her, nor
" his eſtate, to pardon his life. And with that he was exe-
" cuted."

Whatever credit is to be given to the reſt of this relation, 317
I can hardly believe that paſſage that he is reported to ſay Whether he was always a Papiſt.
to the Biſhop, " that he was never otherwiſe than a Roman
" catholic, and that he did all along diſſemble his religion
" for worldly ends: and that he would teſtify as much at
" his death." Becauſe this doth no ways comport with his
ſpeech upon the ſcaffold; wherein he mentioneth no ſuch

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thing, but rather the contrary. Nor did he declare any ſuch thing when he came to die. He ſaid, indeed, that he was *deceived and miſled*, but no where that he *diſſembled*. And if he were deceived, he diſſembled not.

CHAP. IV.

Peter Martyr departs. A Parliament.

P. Martyr departs.

THE ſtrangers had this piece of mercy ſhewn them, that they were ſuffered to depart the kingdom. Among the reſt that went away this year was Peter Martyr, the famous and learned profeſſor of divinity in Oxford. But with much ado; for at firſt he was not only forbid to read his lectures, but not to ſtir a foot out of the city of Oxon, nor to convey any of his goods away. He obeyed, and afterwards was permitted by the council to depart. He came firſt to Lambeth to the Archbiſhop; but, when he was committed to priſon, Martyr went to London, where he remained in great danger, both for his religion, and for his great familiarity with the Archbiſhop, and other pious proteſtant biſhops. However, he thought not fit to tranſport himſelf without leave from the government. He ſignified to them, that he came not hither on his own head, but that he was ſent for by King Edward, and ſent from the town of Straſburgh: and produced his broad-ſeals from both. And ſo, ſince there was no further need of him, he deſired leave to depart: which he obtained by letters from the Queen herſelf. But the Papiſts, his fatal enemies, cried out, that ſuch an enemy of the popiſh religion ought not to be diſmiſſed, but to be fetched out of the ſhip, and carried to priſon, and puniſhed. He underſtood alſo by his friends, that, when he was got over the ſea, the danger was not paſt: for there were ſnares for him in Flanders and Brabant; whereby they made no doubt to take him. But he uſed his wits to ſave

himſelf: for, when other congregations of proteſtant ſtrangers went ſtraight, ſome for Freezland, and ſome for Denmark, by veſſels they had hired, (among which was John a Laſco's congregation,) he procured an honeſt and godly ſhipmaſter, who kept him fourteen days in his own houſe, that ſo all might think he was gone with the other ſtrangers, and his enemies ceaſe making ſearch for him in the veſſels that were bound for foreign parts. And then the Maſter ſailed away with P. Martyr to Antwerp, going into that place by night for the more privacy. And by him he was brought to his friends; and by them, before day, conveyed in a waggon out of town, and ſo travelled ſafely, through countries that hated him, unto Straſburgh. And by God's goodneſs, and his own celerity, he arrived ſafe among his friends, who received him with the greateſt joy. And the ſenate conferred upon him his old place which he enjoyed before he went for England. CHAP. IV. Anno 1553. 318 Vit. P. Mart. per Simler.

Malice towards him.

And Martyr needed not to be diſcontented that he was gotten out of England, conſidering how inſufferably he was affronted, undermined, belied by the popiſh party in Oxon: who, one would think, might have better entreated a man of quality by birth; a man, beſides, of great learning, integrity, and reverence, and whom the King had thought good, for his great parts, to place for his profeſſor of divinity in that univerſity; and a man who alſo had always carried himſelf inoffenſively unto all. The blame of this inhoſpitable uſage might lie upon the Engliſh nation, and be a reflection upon the natives, were it not more truly to be laid to the furious ſpirit that popiſh principles inſpire men with. This Peter Martyr did reſent, and took notice of to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury in his epiſtle dedicatory, before his book of the Euchariſt. There he writes, "That he could not have thought there were any in the "world, unleſs he had found it, that with ſuch crafty wiles, "deceitful tricks, and bitter ſlanders, would rage ſo againſt "a man that deſerved no manner of evil of them, nor ever "hurt any one of them either in word or deed. And yet "they tore his name with moſt ſhameleſs lies; and would "never make an end." And if they did thus rudely carry themſelves towards him in King Edward's time, what then

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

may we conclude they would do, when the government favoured them?

A ſcandal of the Queen.

In this firſt year of Queen Mary, a very foul ſcandal was blown about of her, that ſhe was with child by her Chancellor, Biſhop Gardiner; however it was raiſed, whether of her enemies to render her odious, or of ſome zealots of popiſh religion, to ſhew the deſire they had of her matching with him, or ſome other round Roman catholic, as he was, and for whom ſhe carried a very great reverence. A great reflection upon her chaſtity, and might have ſpoiled her marriage. It fled as far as Norfolk, and there ſpread itſelf. But ſuch an infamous report not being fit to be put up, Henry Earl of Suſſex, being Lord Lieutenant of that county, took upon him to examine this ſcandal, and to ſearch it to the very firſt reporter. And ſo I find a bill drawn, in the Cotton library, ſubſcribed by that Earl's own hand, which ſet forth that Laurence Hunt, of Diſſe in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief conſtable, and told him, "That he "did hear ſay, that the Queen's Majeſty was with child by "the ſaid Biſhop, and that his wife did tell him ſo." And when his wife was examined, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had it of her huſband. And when he was examined, he ſaid, he had it of one Wilby of Diſs. And Wilby examined, ſaid, he had it of one John Smith of Cock-ſtreet. And John Smith ſaid, he heard it of one widow Miles. And ſhe, being examined, ſaid, ſhe had it of two men, but what they were ſhe could not tell, nor where they dwelt. And then, after this bill, follow all their examinations diſtinctly: which, I ſuppoſe, was drawn up for the council, ſigned with Suſſex's hand. And what followed of this I know not: only in another manuſcript there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in Norfolk, who in the firſt of the Queen was indicted for ſaying, "That the Queen was with child by Win-"cheſter."

Titus B. 3.

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A parliament.

A parliament met this year in the month of October. The Queen knew how difficult it would be to obtain her purpoſe, to overthrow all that had been eſtabliſhed concerning religion in her brother's days; and therefore, when

this parliament was to be ſummoned, ſhe impeached the free election of members by diſpatching abroad into the ſeveral counties her letters directing the choice. And ſuch knights and burgeſſes were choſen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to ſerve her turn. And divers that were duly choſen, and lawfully returned, were thruſt out; and others, without any order or law, put in their places. For the people were aware what the Queen intended this parliament ſhould do; and therefore did beſtir themſelves in moſt places to return honeſt men. In the upper Houſe, Taylor, Biſhop of Lincoln, was in his robes violently thruſt out of the Houſe. In the Houſe of Commons, Alexander Nowel, and two more, choſen burgeſſes, lawfully choſen, returned, and admitted, were ſo ſerved: which, according to the judgment of ſome, made the parliament actually void, as by a precedent of the parliament holden at Coventry in the 38th of Henry VI. it appeareth. As alſo her third parliament was reckoned by many to be void, becauſe in the writs, from Philip and Mary, part of the title of the Kings of England, *viz. Supreme Head of the Church of England*, was left out: which by a ſtatute made in the 35th of Henry VIII. was ordained to be united and annexed for ever to the imperial crown of this realm. In which third parliament of the Queen they repealed what was done by King Henry VIII. for the reſtitution of the liberty of the realm, and extinguiſhing the uſurped authority of the Biſhop of Rome. This flaw Gardiner the Lord Chancellor well ſeeing, thought craftily to excuſe by ſaying, (as may be ſeen in a piece of the ſtatute made in the ſame parliament, cap. 8.) "That it lay in the "free choice and free liberty of the Kings of this realm, "whether they would expreſs the ſame title in their ſtyle, "or no." But it is replied to this, that though any man may renounce his own private right, yet he may not renounce his right in that which toucheth the commonwealth, or a third perſon. And this title and ſtyle more touched the commonwealth and the realm of England, than the King.

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1553. Hales oration.

In this firſt parliament an act was made for confirmation of the marriage of the Queen's mother to her father

The parliament repeal Queen

BOOK III. King Henry. Herein the leading men ſhewed their malice againſt the good Archbiſhop by their wording of the preamble: as, "that Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop, "did, moſt ungodly and againſt law, judge the divorce "upon his own unadviſed underſtanding of the Scriptures, "and upon the teſtimonies of the univerſities, and ſome "bare and moſt untrue conjectures." And they declared the ſentence given by him to be unlawful. But I cannot let this paſs, for the reputation of the Archbiſhop, without taking notice of the cenſure, that the Biſhop of Sarum doth worthily beſtow upon Biſhop Gardiner, whom he concludes to be the drawer up of this act: "That he ſhewed "himſelf herein to be paſt all ſhame, and that it was as "high a pitch of malice and impudence, as could be de-"viſed. For Gardiner had been ſetting this on long before "Cranmer was known to the King, and had joined with "him in the commiſſion, and had given his conſent to the "ſentence. Nor was the divorce merely grounded upon "Cranmer's underſtanding the Scriptures, but upon the "fulleſt and moſt ſtudied arguments that had perhaps "been in any age brought together in one particular caſe. "And both houſes of convocation had condemned the mar-"riage before his ſentence."

Anno 1553. Katherine's divorce; and Cranmer taxed for it.

Hiſt. Reform. vol. ii. p. 254.

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CHAP. V.

The Archbiſhop attainted.

The Archbiſhop attainted of treaſon.

THIS parliament attainted Cranmer, with the Lady Jane and her huſband, and ſome others. And in November he was adjudged guilty of high treaſon at Guildhall. And under this judgment he lay for a good while: which was very uneaſy to him, deſiring to ſuffer under the imputation of hereſy under this government, rather than treaſon. He was now looked upon as diveſted of his archbiſhoprick, being a perſon attainted: and the fruits of his biſhoprick were ſequeſtered.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1553.

Canterbury being now without an Archbiſhop, the Dean, Dr. Wotton, acted in that ſtation, according to his office, in the vacancy of the ſee. So he ſent out many commiſſions. There was a commiſſion from him to John Cotterel and William Bowerman, to exerciſe juriſdiction in the ſee of Wells, by the reſignation of Barlow, Biſhop there. Another commiſſion to the ſee of Briſtol, upon the reſignation of Buſh. Another for the ſee of Litchfield, upon the death of Richard Sampſon: which commiſſion was directed to David Pool, LL. D. dated 1554. September ult. Another to exerciſe juriſdiction in the ſee of Exon, vacant by the death of Veyſy, February 9, 1554. Another for the conſecration of Gilbert Bourn Biſhop of Bath and Wells, John White Biſhop of Lincoln, Morice Griffith of Rocheſter, John Cotes of Cheſter, Henry Morgan of St. David's, James Brook of Gloceſter: who were all conſecrated together in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, April 1, 1554. This commiſſion, I ſuppoſe, was to the Biſhop of Wincheſter. Another commiſſion for the conſecration of Hopton Biſhop of Norwich, dated October 6, 1554, conſecrated October 28. following. Another commiſſion to conſecrate Holiman Biſhop of Briſtol, and Bayn Biſhop of Litchfield, dated November 16, 1554, conſecrated November 18. following. Another commiſſion to conſecrate James Turbervil Biſhop of Exon, who was conſecrated September 8, 1555. And for William Glin, Biſhop of Bangor, the ſame date. All theſe five laſt named were conſecrated in a chapel of the Biſhop of London in London.

The Dean of Canterbury acts in the vacancy. Ex Reg. Eccl. Cant.

The poor Archbiſhop moſt inſtantly ſued to the Queen for his pardon, acknowledging his fault in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner that could be. But though ſhe had granted pardons to divers others that had ſigned King Edward's will, and made no ſuch boggle to do it as the Archbiſhop did, yet the Archbiſhop remained unpardoned. He ſent divers humble petitionary letters to the Queen and her council for the obtaining this favour. In one letter to her, he called it his "hainous folly and offence:" and ſaid, "that he never "liked it; nor that any thing that the Queen's brother ever "did, grieved him ſo much: and that if it had been in his "power, he would have letted the doing of it: that divers

The Archbiſhop ſues for pardon of treaſon.

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BOOK III. Anno 1553.

" of the Queen's council knew what he had ſaid to the " King and the council againſt proceeding in it: and that " he endeavoured to talk to the King alone about it, but " was not permitted: and that when he could not diſſuade " him from this will, he was hardly brought to ſign it, not- " withſtanding what the judges told him, to ſatisfy him in " point of law. And that at laſt it was the King's earneſt " requeſt to him, that he would not be the only man that " refuſed it: which, with the judgment of the lawyers, " overcame him to ſet his hand." But I refer the reader to the Appendix to weigh this whole letter, as it is there tranſcribed. Another petition the next year, 1554, he ſent up from Oxon, by Dr. Weſton, to the council. And therein he begged them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon. But Weſton, carrying it half way to London, and then opening it, and ſeeing the contents of it, ſent it back again to the Archbiſhop, and refuſed to be the meſſenger.

Num. LXXIV.

Obtains it.

This at length was the reſolution that was taken concerning him in this matter: (becauſe for ſhame they could not deny him a pardon, when others, far more guilty, and deeper in the buſineſs, had it:) that he ſhould be pardoned the treaſon as an act of the Queen's grace, and then he ſhould be proceeded againſt for hereſy; for die they were reſolved he ſhould. When this pardon was at length obtained, he was right glad; being very gladly ready to undergo afflictions for the doctrine that he had taught, and the reformation he had ſet on foot, becauſe this he reckoned to be ſuffering for God's cauſe, and not as an evil-doer.

He deſires to open his mind to the Queen concerning religion.

The Archbiſhop looked now with weeping eyes upon the preſent ſad condition of religion, and the miſerable apoſtaſy of the church, lapſed into all the formerly rejected ſuperſtitions. Nor could he now procure any redreſs. Yet he felt a preſſure upon his ſpirit to do ſomething towards it. So he attempted, in a letter to the Queen, to get liberty from her freely to open to her his mind about the ſtate of religion: hoping that when ſhe heard plainly and truly the reaſons that moved her father and brother to do what they did, (a thing ſtudiouſly concealed from her,) ſhe might be better inclined. He told her, " that indeed it lay not in him, nor in " any private ſubject, to reform things, but only in her Ma-

"jeſty, but quietly to ſuffer what they could not amend; CHAP. V.
"yet he thought it his duty, conſidering what place he once Anno 1553.
"bore, and knowing what he did, and bearing a great part
"in all the alterations made in religion, to ſhew the Queen
"his mind. And when he had done this, then he ſhould
"think himſelf diſcharged. And therefore he earneſtly ſued
"to her for her leave." But I do not find that ever he obtained it.

CHAP. VI. 322

A Convocation.

THERE was now a convocation; which was ſo packed, or ſo compliant, that ſix only of the whole houſe publickly owned King Edward's reformation: Haddon, Dean of Exon; Philips, Dean of Rocheſter; Young, Chanter of St. David's; Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter; Elmer, Archdeacon of Stow; and Cheiny, Archdeacon of Hereford; which laſt owned the preſence with the Papiſts, but denied the tranſubſtantiation. The Queen commanded this convocation to hold a public diſputation, at St. Paul's church, concerning the natural preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament of the altar: which, how well it was oppoſed by four or five of the ſix, (for Young went away,) in the preſence of abundance of noblemen and others, recourſe is to be had to Fox. There was a true report of the diſputation of theſe men at this convocation, which Philpot, one of the diſputants, wrote, and had it printed: which he owned at one of his examinations before the Biſhop of London and others; and perhaps may be the ſame we have extant in Fox's Monuments. A convocation.

But becauſe both Fox and Biſhop Burnet are brief concerning the opening of this convocation, therein I ſhall be more large and particular. The Biſhop of London's chaplain, Harpsfield, began in a ſermon at Paul's to the clergy then aſſembled. That finiſhed, thoſe of the upper Houſe adviſed thoſe of the lower to chooſe a Prolocutor. And they How it opened.

BOOK III. Anno 1558.

choſe Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter: who by Py, Dean of Chicheſter, and Wymbeſly, Archdeacon of London, was preſented by ſpeeches to the biſhops. At which time Weſton made his gratulatory oration to the Houſe, and the Biſhop of London anſwered him. Which ſermon and four orations were put together in a book, printed in December 1553, by Cawood. Harpsfield's text was, *Attendite vobis, et univerſo gregi, &c.* Act. xx. Whence he took occaſion to treat of three things: "I. How well Paul took heed to himſelf and "his flock. II. How ill the paſtors of late regarded each. "III. What way was to be uſed, that they might take "heed to themſelves and their flocks. Under the firſt head "he ſhewed how St. Paul took heed to himſelf by keeping "under his body, and bringing it into ſubjection: by tak- "ing heed of three peſts of an eccleſiaſtical life, *flattery*, *ava-* "*rice*, and *vainglory*: and that he might in all things pro- "pound himſelf a pattern to believers. And, ſecondly, as "he thus took heed to himſelf, ſo he took heed to the "flock in three particulars: in the doctrine which he "preached; in his diligence to preſerve his flock from "wolves; and in his impoſition of hands, whereby he pro- "vided fit miniſters for the church." And then, when he came unto the ſecond head in the diviſion of his diſcourſe, he took occaſion at large to vent his malice againſt the reformed miniſters in King Edward's days; ſhewing how they failed in all the particulars before ſaid: "That they were "belly-gods; gave themſelves over to junketings and pam-
322 "pering of their carcaſes: that they were unchaſte, taking to "themſelves wives, ſome that had lived three ſcore years "ſingle. That they were flatterers, inſinuating themſelves "into the favour of the courtiers: covetous alſo, keeping no "hoſpitality; vainglorious, vaunting themſelves to under- "ſtand the holy Scripture as well as any of the ancients, "daring to compare themſelves with Hierom, Auguſtin, "Ambroſe, &c. And ſome of them from a ſhop, endued "with no liberal diſcipline, not ſo much as grammar, would "mount the pulpit, and there give out themſelves for "learned men, if they did but rail againſt whatſoever was "holy, and boaſt that they had the Spirit. No vice of the "laity, but they were guilty of it. And then, as to their

"neglect of the flock, their doctrine was such, as they "might well repent and be ashamed of. How did they tear "the Lord's flock, and how many souls send to hell, and "what pernicious doctrines bring into the kingdom! That "they brought into the ministry, and to preach God's word, "coblers, dyers, weavers, fullers, barbers, apothecaries, beg-"gars, jesters, fitter for the plough-tail than the ministry of "the word." And with a great deal more of such railing stuff were the minds of the clergy to be prepared vigorously to overthrow all the Reformation, and to bring back Popery again.

The Archbishop and three more crowded together in the Tower.

The Tower, as well as the Fleet and Marshalsea, was crowded with prisoners: all that were supposed to favour religion, or that made any whisper against the popish religion, or that had any the least hand in Queen Jane's business, being taken up and committed. The Tower being so full, our Archbishop Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all thrust together into one chamber: which however inconvenient it were, yet they were very glad to be together; that they might have the opportunity of conferring with one another, and establishing one another. There they read over the New Testament together with great deliberation and study; on purpose to see if there were any thing that might favour that popish doctrine of a corporal presence. But, after all, they could find no presence but a spiritual: nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But they found in that holy book that the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good; and that God did require none other, nor that it should be ever done again: as Latimer, one of the four, related in his protestation given to Weston.

BOOK III.

Anno 1553.

CHAP. VII.

The Queen ſends to Cardinal Pole.

The Queen ſends to Pole.

THE Queen, out of that great opinion ſhe had of Cardinal Pole, either to make him her huſband, or her Archbiſhop in Cranmer's room, ſent letters to him, one dated from London, October 28, written in Latin, conveyed to him from the Emperor's court: probably brought thither by Commendone, who had been ſent by the Pope's legate in that court a private agent unto her: and another, dated January
324 28. The Cardinal was coming now from the Pope, as his legate, and in his journey ſtaid, for ſome reaſon of ſtate, in the Emperor's dominions. In this ſtay he thought fit, in anſwer to both her letters, to ſend his mind at large by his meſſenger Thomas Goldwel; who was once, if I miſtake not, Prior of the church of Canterbury; but long ſince fled out of England, and lived with Pole; and by the Queen afterwards preferred to the biſhoprick of St. Aſaph.

The contents of her letters.

Concerning the ſupremacy.

The contents of the Queen's former letter conſiſted in two points: the one concerning the difficulty ſhe feared in renouncing the title of the ſupremacy. For ſhe writ him, that, when the parliament yielded to the aboliſhing of the laws, wherein her mother's matrimony was made illegitimate, the lower Houſe willingly agreed to the eſtabliſhment of her right of ſucceeding to the crown, but made a great boggle of abolithing the title of the ſupremacy; thinking that might be a way to the introducing the Pope's authority again, which they could not gladly hear of: and therefore neither did they like to hear of a legate from the Pope. Hence the Queen, who knew Pole was now commiſſioned by the Pope for his legate in this kingdom, and ready to come, did entreat him to ſtop for a while. And ſhe deſired his advice, in caſe the parliament would not be brought to let go the law, wherein the ſupremacy was placed in the crown imperial of this land. The other point, wherein the Queen deſired information of the Cardinal, was, how the commiſſion ſhe had privately given to Commendone was

CHAP. VII.

published in the consistory of Rome, as her ambassador, resident at Venice, had certified her.

Anno 1553.

The sum of her other letter to the Cardinal was, concerning certain persons that she had in her intentions to make bishops in the void sees: they were Morgan, White, Parfew, Coates, Brooks, Holiman, and Bayn: how they might be put into those sees without derogation to the authority of the see apostolick. For she intended not to extend the power of the crown further than it was in use before the schism. She sent him also the two acts that had passed in the parliament, the one of the legitimation of the matrimony of Queen Katharine with King Henry, and the other of the sacraments to be used in that manner as they were used the last year of King Henry VIII. which she sent to him, because she knew they would be matter of comfort and satisfaction to him.

Concerning the new bishops.

As to both these letters of the Queen, he gave instructions to Goldwel to signify to her Majesty what his thoughts were. As to the first, his advice was, "that the authority "and acceptableness of the person goes a great way to "make any proposition well entertained and received by "the people. And that, seeing there were none, neither of "the temporalty nor spiritualty, but that had either spoke "or writ against the Pope's supremacy; therefore he thought "that her Majesty herself would be the fittest person to pro-"pound it with her own mouth. Which was the course "the Emperor took to justify his war with the French King. "He did it by his own mouth before the Pope and Cardi-"nals. He would have her at the same time to let the par-"liament know plainly, that he, (Cardinal Pole,) being the "Pope's legate, was to be admitted and sent for. And 325 "therefore that, in order to this, the law of his banishment "might be repealed, and he restored in blood." As to the second point, which seemed to offend the Queen, that Commendone had revealed that in the consistory which she told him in much secrecy, Pole said, "that he kept her counsel, "and told nothing that he heard from her mouth, but only "what he had heard of certain devout catholicks that knew "the Queen's mind. Which was in general concerning the "devout mind her Majesty bare to God and the church:

Pole's advice to the Queen.

Instructions to Goldwel. Titus B. 2.

BOOK III. Anno 1558.

"but that nothing was ſpoken of that particular matter, that "ſhe would have none but the Pope made acquainted with." Which private matter, it ſeems, was, that ſhe deſired the Pope to make Pole his legate to England.

Diſguſts his ſtop.

But that he ſhould be thus ſtopped in his journey, when the Pope had ſent him upon ſuch a weighty errand, the Cardinal ſignified in the ſame letter his diſguſt of. And, "he feared it might be ſo ill taken by the Pope and Car- "dinals, that they might ſend for him back again to Rome, "and not permit him to go on that intended charitable de- "ſign. And that it was contrary to her firſt commiſſion; "when ſhe ſhewed more fervency to receive the obedience "of the church: (as he took the confidence to tell her.) "And that therefore he was in ſome ſuſpicion, that the next "commiſſion he ſhould receive from the Pope ſhould be to "return back into Italy again: becauſe the Pope might "think that he had done his part touching his demonſtra- "tion of his care of the Queen and her realms, when he "offered both ſo readily all graces that tended to make a "reconciliation of both to the church. In which perhaps "(ſaid he) the cardinals would think his Holineſs had been "too liberal. And, that they might take his ſtop, without "their conſent, for a great indignity. And this revocation he "ſtill more feared, if his way ſhould be deferred any longer "ſpace."

Sends to Rome about this his ſtop.

The Cardinal, upon this his way, ſent a ſervant of his by poſt to Rome to make a fair excuſe for this ſtop; namely, that the Queen hardly truſted that the matters of the par- liament ſhould have that ſucceſs that the Cardinal de- ſired: which was the effect of a letter the Queen writ to one Henry Penning, his ſervant. He alſo let the Pope know, by the aforeſaid meſſenger, that it was the Emperor's advice that the Queen ſhould proceed in matters of religion warily and ſlowly, and not to be too haſty, until temporal matters were better ſettled.

And to the Emperor.

He alſo wrote letters to the Emperor, which he ſent by his ſervant Penning, to perſuade him to remove this ſtop: and had his ſaid ſervant to repair to the Emperor's confeſſor, that he ſhould perſuade with him, and by all means poſſible move the Emperor to let the Cardinal go forward.

As to the two acts of parliament which the Queen sent him, he wrote her, "that they were partly to his satis- "faction, and partly not. For the act of ratification of the "matrimony was defective, in that the parliament, mention- "ing the wisdom of the parents in making the match, did "make no mention of their wisdom; in that, besides their "own consent, they procured the Pope's dispensation, and "the authority of the see apostolick; whereby the impedi- "ments of conjunction, by the laws of the church, were "taken away: which (he added) ought by all means to "have been mentioned. As to the other act for confirma- "tion of the sacraments, the defect of that (he said) lay, "in that this act made those capable of partaking of the "sacraments that were not yet entered into the unity of "the church, and remained still in schism." But, to receive more full satisfaction in these matters, I refer the reader to the instructions given by the Cardinal to Goldwel, as they may be read in the Appendix. No. LXXV.

CHAP. VII. Anno 1558. His judgment of two late acts of parliament. 326

CHAP. VIII.

The Dealings with the married Clergy.

THE marriage of the clergy gave great offence to those that were now uppermost. For many of both persuasions, Papists as well as Protestants, had taken wives; it being allowed by a law in King Edward's days; but would now no longer be endured, and was pretended to be against an oath they had taken, when they received holy orders. For the Queen sent a letter and instructions, dated March 4, to all the bishops; some of the contents whereof were, "to "deprive all the married clergy, and to amove them from "their benefices and promotions ecclesiastical; and besides "this, not to suffer them to abide with their wives, or "women, (as the Papists now chose rather to style them,) "but to divorce and punish them. But that such priests "should be somewhat more favourably dealt withal, that, "with the consent of their wives, did openly promise to

The married clergy deprived and divorced.

BOOK III. Anno 1556.

"abſtain. Theſe nevertheleſs were to be enjoined penance "by the biſhop, and then it lay in him to admit them again "to their former miniſtration; but not in the ſame place "they were in before. Of which they were to be deprived; "and a part of that benefice they were outed of was to be "allowed them, according to the biſhop's diſcretion." According to theſe inſtructions of the Queen, a ſad havock was made among the clergy; ſome thouſands being computed to be put out of their livings upon this account. And a good expedient it proved to get rid of the ſoberer clergy, that were not for the preſent turn.

That the reader may take ſome proſpect of theſe tranſactions with the married clergy, I will here ſet down what was done with ſome of them under the juriſdiction of Canterbury by the Dean and Chapter, our Archbiſhop being now laid aſide.

Married prieſts in London cited to appear.

Of thoſe prieſts, beneficed in London, that pertained to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction there, nine were cited, by a citation, March 7, (that is, but three days after the Queen's letter,) from the Dean and Chapter, *Sede Cant. tunc vacante*, (as it is ſaid in the ſaid citation,) to appear in Bow-church, London, before Henry Harvey, LL. D. Vicar-general, for being married men. Theſe perſons thus cited were theſe: John Joſeph, Rector of the church of St. Mary le Bow; Stephen Green, Rector of St. Dionys back-church; Laurence Saunders, Rector of the church of Alhallowes in
327 Bred-ſtreet; Peter Alexander, Rector of Alhallowes, Lumbard-ſtreet; Chriſtopher Aſhburn, Rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane; Thomas Mountain, Rector of St. Michael's in Rio-lane, John Turnor, Rector of St. Leonard's in Eaſt-cheap; Richard Marſh, Rector of St. Pancrace; John Eliot, ſchoolmaſter in the pariſh of St. Leonard, Eaſt-cheap. It may not be amiſs to ſet down the tenour, wherein the citation ran, *viz.*

Ex Regiſt. Eccl. Cant.

"That ſince it was (alas!) notoriouſly manifeſt, *Quod* "*rectores et preſbyteri, quorum nomina in pede hujus edicti* "*ſpecificantur, contra jura eccleſiæ, ſanctorum patrum decreta,* "*et laudabiles eccleſiæ catholicæ generatim obſervatas et uſita-* "*tas conſuetudines, ſeſe prætextu fœderis conjugalis cum non-* "*nullis fœminis illicite conjunxerint, ſub falſa matrimonii ap-* "*pellatione, cum iiſdem publice cohabitaverint, et impudice vix-*

" *erint, in voti ſui alias emiſſi violationem, animarum ſuarum* CHAP. VIII.
" *detrimentum, ac aliorum Chriſti fidelium exemplum longe* Anno 1553.
" *pernicioſum, in Chriſti eccleſia non ferendum; unde pro*
" *officii noſtri debito, et tantorum ſcelerum ab eccleſia Chriſti*
" *eliminatione penitus eradicandum, &c. juxta illuſtriſſimæ*
" *Dominæ noſtræ Reginæ monitionis in hac parte continentiam*
" *procedere volentes, &c.*" The citation was returned by the apparitor: who declared, that he found and perſonally cited Richard Marſh and John Turnor, and that he affixed the citation of the reſt on the church-doors belonging to the reſpective rectors, on March 8. And no wonder the apparitor met with no more of them, ſome being fled, and ſome in priſon, and ſome already violently turned out of their churches and gone. On March 16, according to the citation, Marſh and Turnor made their perſonal appearance, and were ſworn to make true anſwer to ſuch interrogatories as ſhould be put to them. What thoſe interrogatories were, I ſhall ſet down by and by. Theſe perſons confeſſed, that they made profeſſion of religious vows; and, after holy orders, were married, and lived with their wives. Hereupon ſentence was denounced againſt them, to prohibit them to officiate, and to ſuſpend them from the profits of their benefices; and, on Monday following, to appear again to receive further ſentence of deprivation, divorce, &c. John Eliot, ſchoolmaſter, it ſeems, ſubmitted to penance: for he was not preſently thruſt out of his ſchool, but enjoined not to teach his ſcholars matins, pſalter, or the like, in Engliſh, but in Latin; ſo as they might be able to anſwer the prieſt that officiated. The reſt, that appeared not, were declared contumacious; and to be proceeded againſt, on Monday following, by deprivation, &c.

The interrogatories miniſtered unto theſe men, and to be miniſtered to all other married prieſts, were theſe: Interrogatories for the married clergy.

I. *An fuit religioſus: cujus ordinis; et in quo monaſterio ſive domo.*

II. *An fuit promotus ad ſacros ordines, dum fuit in monaſterio.*

III. *In quo et quibus ſacris: et an miniſtravit in altaris miniſterio; et quot annis.*

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

IV. *An citra profeſſionem regularem conjunxit ſe mulieri ſub appellatione matrimonii.*

V. *Cum qua: et in qua eccleſia fuit ſolemnizatio matrimonii; et per quem.*

328 VI. *Quam duxit, eratne ſoluta, an vidua.*

VII. *An cohabitavit cum ea in una et eadem domo, ut vir cum uxore.*

VIII. *An prolem vel proles ex ea ſuſtentaverit, necne.*

IX. *An poſt et citra matrimonii hujuſmodi ſolemnizationem, aſſecutus fuit, et eſt, beneficium eccleſiaſticum, habens curam animarum, et quot annis illud obtinuit.*

X. *An officium ſacerdotis poſt et citra aſſertum matrimonium hujuſmodi contractum, in altaris miniſterio ſe immiſcuit, et ſacramentis et ſacramentalibus miniſtrandis ſe ingeſſit.*

XI. *An præmiſſa omnia et ſingula fuerunt et ſunt vera.*

According to theſe articles, the confeſſions of Marſh, Turnor, and Eliot, are regiſtered at large. On Monday, March 19, ſentence was pronounced againſt Marſh and Turnor. 1, Of deprivation from their benefices. 2. Of ſuſpenſion from their prieſtly function. 3. Of inhibition to cohabit with their wives. 4. Of nulling and voiding the pretended bond of matrimony; and, 5. of declaration of further puniſhments, according to the canons of the church. And, March 20, the like ſentence was pronounced againſt the reſt that did not appear. Next, the ſentence of divorce againſt John Turnor and his wife was pronounced: and he was ordered to do penance on May 14, 1554, in his late pariſh-church of Eaſt-cheap, by holding a burning wax taper, and making a ſolemn confeſſion openly and diſtinctly, with a loud voice, ſtanding in the body of the church, before the face of the people, in theſe words following:

Turnor's confeſſion. Ex Regiſt. Eccl. Cant.

"Good people, I am come hither, at this preſent time, to "declare unto you my ſorrowful and penitent heart, for "that, being a prieſt, I have preſumed to marry one Amy "German, widow; and, under pretence of that matrimony, "contrary to the canons and cuſtom of the univerſal church, "have kept her as my wife, and lived contrary to the canons "and ordinances of the church, and to the evil example of

" good chriſten people: whereby now, being aſhamed of " my former wicked living here, I aſk almighty God mercy " and forgiveneſs, and the whole church; and am ſorry " and penitent even from the bottom of my heart therefore. " And in token hereof, I am here, as you ſee, to declare " and ſhew unto you this my repentance; that before God, " on the latter day, you may teſtify with me of the ſame. " And I moſt heartily and humbly pray and deſire you all, " whom by this evil example doing I have greatly offended, " that for your part you will forgive me, and remember me " in your prayers, that God may give me grace, that here- " after I may live a continent life, according to his laws, " and the godly ordinances of our mother the holy catholick " church, through and by his grace. And do here before " you all openly promiſe for to do, during my life." The manner of the reſtitution of theſe prieſts, thus performing their penance, may be ſeen in the Appendix. No. LXXV.

Boner deprives the married clergy in London, without order.

And this is ſome account of the church of Canterbury's doings, in purſuance of the Queen's inſtructions before mentioned. But Biſhop Boner, with his zeal, was beforehand with the Queen; not ſtaying for any orders from above in dealing with his clergy; but of his own power, in the latter end of February, deprived all married prieſts, in his dioceſe in London, from their livings. And, after this done, commanded them all to bring their wives within a fortnight, that they might be divorced from them. 329

Married prebendaries in Canterbury proceeded againſt.

Theſe were ſome of the doings with the married prieſts in London. And in the ſame manner did they proceed about this time in Canterbury with Edmund Cranmer, the Archbiſhop's brother, Archdeacon and Prebendary of that church; together with William Willoughby, William Deveniſh, and Robert Goldſon, Prebendaries; and divers others. For March 15, at the chapter-houſe in Canterbury, before Henry Harvey, LL. D. Vicar-general; Richard Biſhop of Dover, Subdean; Richard Parkhurſt and John Mills, Prebendaries of the ſaid church; perſonally appeared the ſaid Archdeacon and Prebendaries; Thomas Brook and Thomas Stevens, preachers; and Sherland and Goodrick, petty canons of the ſaid church: who all ſubſcribed with their own hands to a confeſſion of certain articles exhibited againſt

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

them, touching their being married. And, being asked what they could ſay why they ſhould not be ſuſpended and deprived for the ſaid pretended marriages, they gave this anſwer, as it is ſet down in the regiſter of that church; *Se nihil habere dicendum, &c.* "That they had nothing to ſay "that might be profitable for them; the eccleſiaſtical law, "and the decrees of the holy fathers, ſtanding in their full "force; but, by the law of God, they thought they had "lawfully married their wives; and, being married, might "not forſake them with a ſafe conſcience." Then ſentence of ſuſpenſion from prieſtly function, ſequeſtration, deprivation, and prohibition to live with their wives, was pronounced. It is regiſtered, "that they acquieſced in theſe "ſentences againſt them; no one of them appealing, but all "remaining ſilent." This is the account of the good Archbiſhop's brother, his manner of deprivation, and his peaceable behaviour under it.

Edmund Cranmer deprived of all.

Reg. Eccl. Cant.

Thus he was deprived of his prebend, and one Robert Collins was admitted into the ſame: of his rectory of Ickham, and Robert Marſh ſucceeded him there, April 18, 1554: and of his archdeaconry, and Nicolas Harpsfield was admitted thereunto. Who at the ſame time entered into obligation to pay, out of the profits of the ſaid archdeaconry, unto William Warham, late Archdeacon, during his life, a yearly penſion of forty pounds ſterling, March 31, 1554. But ſome of the church then appeared not, being either fled, or in priſon; and thoſe were pronounced contumacious, *viz.* John Joſeph, Peter Alexander, and Bernard Ochin, prebendaries; Lancelot Ridley, Richard Turner, Thomas Becon, and Richard Beſely, preachers.

The injuſtice of theſe proceedings.

Theſe doings in all quarters of the realm raiſed great admiration among the people, upon divers and ſundry conſiderations, incident and depending upon ſuch proceedings: ſince theſe marriages were no more than what were agreeable to the laws of the land. So that theſe married preachers, in marrying themſelves, were no tranſgreſſors of the law: and yet underwent as great puniſhments, as though they were ſo in ſome high degree. And the proceedings ſeemed contrary even to the Queen's commiſſion, compriſed in cer-

330 tain articles (before mentioned) to her biſhops: which was,

"That they ſhould proceed, according to learning and diſ- CHAP.
"cretion, in theſe weighty matters, and that they ſhould not VIII.
"put any other canons and conſtitutions of the church in Anno 1553.
"exerciſe, than ſuch as might ſtand with the law of the
"realm." Yet they went in moſt places both againſt learning and diſcretion, and the laws of the land.

For the bringing this to paſs, they firſt poſſeſſed the Queen with great prejudices againſt theſe marriages. They cried in her ears, how uncomely theſe copulations were; how againſt God and his honour; how againſt the church's decrees and diſcipline; and how worthy to be diſſolved again. And when they had obtained their ends with the Queen, and gotten out her letter and inſtructions for that purpoſe, and by warrant thereof executed their purpoſes; then, for the giving a better countenance to a thing that looked ſo odious, and had ſo much ſeverity in it, to the ruining of ſo many thouſand families, books were thought fit to be publiſhed; the purpoſe of which was, to make married prieſts contemptible, and to ſhew how unlawful and wicked marriage was in men of holy orders. Dr. Thomas Martin's book made the greateſt noiſe; a book writ with a brow of braſs, ſo did it abound with confident untruths and falſehoods. And, to the further accumulation of the heavy ſtate of the miniſters deprived, were added in this book moſt ſlanderous accuſations, and untrue matters ſurmiſed againſt them to the Queen and realm. The author greatly pretended antiquity and authority all along for his doctrine: whereas indeed it was nothing but counterfeited imitation of authority, and belying antiquity. And, in ſhort, (to give you the ſenſe of ones who wrote againſt the book, and did ſufficiently expoſe it,) "it was mere ſubtilty without "ſubſtance, wit without wiſdom, zeal without knowledge, "and heat without charity." To give but one inſtance of the unfair and falſe dealing of the author, he ſaith, in his book, "that the hereticks affirmed, that all prieſts and "biſhops muſt of neceſſity marry, whether they have the "gift of ſole life, or no; and that they were ſo beaſtly and "ignorant, that they ſhould teach that the fellowſhip and

Martin's book againſt Prieſts' Marriage.

* Suppoſed to be Biſhop Ponet.

BOOK III. Anno 1553.

"company of a woman, in a ſpiritual man, is a means to "perfect religion, and that ſingle life was an hinderance "to the ſame, and that they ſhould deſpiſe all manner of "virginity and ſingle life in them that had the gift of God; "and that they pronounced it wicked and abominable, and "termed it a doctrine of devils, and the invention of An-"tichriſt." All which Biſhop Ponet, in the name of all the Proteſtants, in his book did utterly deny that ever they ſaid, writ, or thought ſo.

Wherein Winchester had the greateſt hand.

This book was indeed made by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, when he was in the Tower, (and he borrowed much of it from Albertus Pighius,) and publiſhed about that time. Martin being then a ſtudent at the univerſity of Bourges in France, it once happened, in ſome converſation there, that Edward the King of England was commended, whether it were for his virtue, or learning, or abilities, beyond his years; whereat Martin began, as it ſeemed, to eclipſe the King's honour, by mentioning the impriſonment of Winchеſter, ſaying, that there was a head Papiſt priſoner in England, meaning him. Upon which ſeveral aſked him,

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whether it was not the ſame Wincheſter that had ſet out an hodge-podge concerning marriage of prieſts? He, laughing, anſwered, "It was even he." But that no man ought to marvel; for that Wincheſter was more meet for warlike than for eccleſiaſtical diſputations. Which paſſage I have from Bale; who was acquainted at that univerſity with Franciſcus Baldwin, the learned profeſſor of law there. Out of this book Martin framed that which went under his name, with Wincheſter's privity: and this was well enough known to Bale and others in thoſe times. Ponet ſaid, that Martin was abuſed by others, who ſet him a-work to bear the name, and to deſire the fame of ſo gay a book, rather than he was the author of it indeed.

Declaration of Boner's articles, 1554.

Thomas Martin, or Wincheſter under that name. fol. 15. Mr. Martin, Wincheſter's own voice. fol. 40. Gardiner in his book lately ſpread under the name of Thomas Martin. fol. 77. Bale's declar.

The ſaid Ponet, or Poinet, late Biſhop of Wincheſter, but now an exile, very learnedly anſwered this book in two ſeveral treatiſes. The firſt was entitled, *An Apology againſt Thomas Martin's Blaſphemies*. In this treatiſe, upon occaſion of the Papiſts' prohibition of marriage to prieſts, he proved that the ſaid Papiſts were hereticks, and had taken part in the moſt principal parts with all the hereticks that

Anſwered by Ponet.

had corrupted the true Church of Chriſt. The ſecond treatiſe, repleniſhed with great learning, he lived not to finiſh; (though ſome doubt whether he were the author of this book;) but the copy falling into the hands of Matthew Parker, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, he publiſhed it, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, with very large and excellent additions of his own. Ponet had thoroughly ſtudied this point, and I believe was put upon the ſtudy of it by Archbiſhop Cranmer, whoſe chaplain he was: for before this he put forth two books upon this argument, *viz. Of the Marriage of Miniſters*; and *a Defence of that Marriage.* CHAP. VIII. Anno 1556.

The laſt thing I have to ſay concerning theſe orders taken with the married clergy, is, that there were two things thought very hard, which were put upon thoſe that were willing to comply, and put away their wives. The one was in relation to the public confeſſions they were to make: which were put into their mouths by others, and drawn up for them in that manner, as made them tell horrible lies. They muſt ſpeak their own ſhame in bills of their penance: lying againſt themſelves moſt vilely and moſt ſhamefully; diſabling their credit and eſtimation for ever. And to give an inſtance: one ſuch confeſſion, which was much cried out againſt, was made by one Sir John Buſby of Windſor, June 29, in the year 1555. Which Ponet calleth a goodly confeſſion of his hearty and earneſt repentance. "Which," ſaith he, "was ſo finely penned, and ſo catholickly tracted, "that I warrant you it was none of the ſmalleſt fools that "forged it." The confeſſions of the married prieſts. Def. of Pr. Marr. p. 269.

The other thing was, that, after theſe poor men had thus done their penances, and ſpoke their confeſſions, the impoſers of theſe penalties upon them were not ſo good as they pretended they would be, and as the Queen's inſtructions required them to be, towards them: not reſtoring them to their miniſtration. Some, that had been two or three years parted from their wives, could not be admitted again to miniſtration: yet they muſt do open penance, and go by the croſs, without any redemption or entreaty, that could be made. Married prieſts that did their penance hardly dealt with.

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CHAP. IX.

Evils in this Change. A Parliament.

A twofold evil upon this turn of religion.

BY this time the face of the church was perfectly changed: and all the reformation that was made for twenty years before, namely, from Cranmer's firſt aſcent to the archiepiſcopal chair, to this time, was unravelled in leſs than a year, and aboliſhed. But the favourers of the Goſpel lamented it exceedingly: and Biſhop Ridley writ a treatiſe, wherein he ſhewed what a deplorable change in religion this was, by ſetting down at large what religion was in King Edward's days, and what it was at that preſent; laying the cauſe of this ſore judgment upon the vile and naughty lives of the people, ſo unſuitable to the good religion profeſſed. The profeſſors lamented two great evils, lighting upon the people upon this turn of religion; not only that it brought the people into error and ſuperſtition, but involved them univerſally in the crime of perjury: the blame of which they laid upon the popiſh clergy. For they not only had connived at, but allowed and encouraged, the caſting off the Pope's ſupremacy, and made both prieſts and laity ſwear to the King. And now they ſet up the Pope's authority again in England, and required all to ſwear to that. For they compelled not only ſuch as were prieſts to perjure themſelves, but all the laity, nobility, gentry, magiſtrates, merchants, and others; for hardly any were exempted the oath of ſupremacy in the former reigns. For in every law-day, the keepers of the ſame were ſworn to call all the young men of their hundred, even as they came to years of diſcretion, to ſwear never to receive the Biſhop of Rome, nor no other foreign potentate, to be head of the people of England, but only the King and his ſucceſſors. Which oath, if it were unlawful, as the clergymen now ſaid, then all the realm had reaſon of high diſpleaſure againſt them, that ſo led them and knew it.

The diſſimulation of the prieſts.

Such groſs diſſembling were the biſhops guilty of to the involving the people in guilt. And this diſſembling quality the prieſts ſtill retained in this Queen's days. For when

any came to ſome of them, ſhewing them that his conſcience was not ſatisfied in the preſent way of religion, the prieſt would tell him, "that he ſaid the truth; my conſcience," would he ſay, "is as yours; but we muſt bear "for a time: and that he himſelf looked for another "change." When another of a contrary opinion came to the prieſts, and talked about religion, they would ſay to him, "that they had been deceived; and thanks be to "God," ſaid they, "that ye kept your conſcience all this "while. And even ſo was mine; but I durſt not do any "otherwiſe, but truſted that this time would come, as is "now; thanks be to God." Nay, and ſometimes, in the ſame town, they would miniſter the ſervice two ways to the people, to pleaſe both: inſomuch that the biſhops and prieſts grew, for this cauſe, as well as for their cruelty, into great diſlike with the people. This more at large is ſhewed in a ſhort manuſcript treatiſe I have, made by a certain perſon nameleſs, impriſoned for religion, entitled thus; *All ſorts of people of England have juſt cauſe of diſpleaſure againſt the Biſhops and Prieſts of the ſame.* 333

CHAP. IX. Anno 1564.

There was this year, April 2, a new parliament; that the laſt year being diſſolved. Great was the ſadneſs that now poſſeſſed the hearts of the Engliſh nation, even of Papiſts themſelves, the moſt conſiderate and wiſeſt part of them, ſeeing the great ſlavery the kingdom was like to be enſnared in, by what the parliament was now in doing; that is to ſay, reſtoring the Pope's tyranny here in England, that had been ſo long and happily caſt out, and allowing the Queen's matching with Prince Philip; whereby a Spaniard ſhould become King of England. Which when P. Martyr had ſignified in a letter from Straſburgh to Calvin, May 8, he told him, *Tanta eſt rerum perturbatio, ut nullo pacto explicari queat:* "that it could not be told what a "diſturbance there now was;" and that all good men, that could, fled away from their own country, from all parts of the land: mentioning three noble knights to be come lately to Straſburg, not leſs famous for piety than learning, Morifin, Cheke, and Cook. At this parliament, wherein the maſs was ſet up, and confirmed by an act, all that were ſuſpected to favour the truth were turned out of the Houſe:

A parliament reſtore the Pope.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

which made Hoper out of priſon in one of his letters write; "Doubtleſs there had not been ſeen before our time "ſuch a parliament as this, that as many as were ſuſpected "to be favourers of God's word, ſhould be baniſhed out of "both Houſes."

A deſign to revive the ſix Articles.

In this parliament a ſtrong and certain report went, that the bloody act of the ſix Articles ſhould be revived and put in execution. This created abundance of terror in men's hearts. There was nothing but ſighs and lamentations every where: and a great many were already fled out of the realm; unto whom this rumour had reached. John Fox, a learned and pious man, who had an excellent pathetic ſtyle, was now ſet on work: who took his pen in his hand, and, in the name of the proteſtant exiles, wrote a moſt earneſt expoſtulatory letter to the Parliament, to diſſuade them from reſtoring this law again. He told them, "they had a "Queen, who, as ſhe was moſt noble, ſo ſhe was ready to "liſten to ſound and wholeſome counſel. And that they "had a Lord Chancellor, that, as he was learned, ſo of his "own nature he was not bad, were it not for the counſels "of ſome. But that, as among animals, ſome there were "that were born to create trouble and deſtruction to the "other: ſo there were among mankind ſome by nature "cruel and deſtructive; ſome to the church, and ſome to "the ſtate." The letter is worthy the reading: which I have therefore placed in the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it out of a manuſcript collection of Fox's letters. There was indeed ſuch a deſign in the Houſe of Commons of bringing again into force that act of the ſix Articles; but whether it were by the importunity of this and other petitions, or that the court thought it not convenient ſo much to countenance any of King Henry's acts, this buſineſs fell. And this parliament was ſhortlived, for in May it was diſſolved; by reaſon of a bill for confirming abbey-lands to the preſent poſſeſſors, which it ſeems gave offence to the court.

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CHAP. X. 334

Archbiſhop Cranmer diſputes at Oxon.

A CONVOCATION of the clergy now met in St. Paul's, but was adjourned, the prolocutor Dr. Weſton, Dean of Weſtminſter, and ſome other of the members, being ſent to Oxon (and it was generally thought the parliament would remove thither too) to diſpute certain points of religion in controverſy with three of the heads of the proteſtant party, Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Ridley, and old father Latimer, now all priſoners: who, for that purpoſe, in the month of April, were removed from the Tower, by the Queen's warrant to the Lieutenant, towards Windſor, and there taken into cuſtody of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Williams, who conveyed them to Oxford, there to remain in order to a diſputation. The convocation, while they ſat at London, agreed upon the queſtions to be diſputed; and they reſolved, that theſe three pious men ſhould be baited by both the univerſities; and therefore that they of Cambridge ſhould be excited to repair to Oxford, and engage in this diſputation alſo. The queſtions were theſe: Anno 1554. A convocation appoint a diſpute with Cranmer at Oxford.

I. *In ſacramento altaris virtute verbi divini a ſacerdote prolati, præſens eſt realiter, ſub ſpeciebus panis et vini, naturale corpus Chriſti, conceptum de Virgine Maria: item naturalis ejus ſanguis.* The queſtions.

II. *Poſt conſecrationem non remanet ſubſtantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla ſubſtantia, niſi ſubſtantia Chriſti, Dei et hominis.*

III. *In Miſſa eſt vivificum eccleſiæ ſacrificium pro peccatis, tam vivorum, quam mortuorum, propitiabile.*

Theſe queſtions the convocation ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge, requiring them ſeriouſly to weigh and deliberate upon them, and, if they contained true doctrine, then to approve of them. Accordingly the ſenate of that Univerſity met, and, after due deliberation, found them agreeable in all things to the catholick church, and the Scripture, and the ancient doctrine taught by the Fathers: and ſo did confirm Sent to Cambridge.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

and ratify them in their ſaid ſenate. And becauſe Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the heads of the hereticks that held contrary to theſe articles, were formerly members of their Univerſity, and being to be diſputed withal at Oxford concerning theſe points, they decreed, in the name of all the Univerſity, to ſend ſeven of their learned doctors to Oxford, to take their parts in diſputing with them, and to uſe all ways poſſible to reclaim them to the orthodox doctrine again. And accordingly the ſaid ſenate, April 10, made a public inſtrument to authorize them, in their names, to go to Oxford and diſpute: which inſtrument may be ſeen in the Appendix. They alſo wrote a letter, the ſame date, to the Univerſity of Oxford, to ſignify that they had appointed thoſe perſons to repair unto them, not ſo much to diſpute points ſo profeſſedly orthodox, and agreeable to the Fathers and general Councils, and the Word of God, as to defend thoſe truths in their names, and reduce thoſe patrons of falſe and corrupt doctrine, if poſſible, unto a ſound mind. This letter is alſo in the Appendix. So that this coming of the Cambridge divines to Oxford was to ſeem a voluntary thing, to ſhew their zeal for popery, and vindication of their Univerſity againſt liking or approbation of Crammer and his two fellow-priſoners. So roundly was the Univerſity already come about to the old forſaken religion.

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Num. LXXVIII.

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The diſputants of Oxford and Cambridge.

This Oxford diſputation was after this manner: Hugh Weſton, S. T. P. Prolocutor of the lower Houſe of Convocation; Owin Oglethorp, John Seton, W. Chedſey, S. Th. PP.; Hen. Cole, Will. Geffrey, LL. PP.; William Pye, Joh. Feckenham, Joh. Harpsfield, S. T. BB. repreſenting the whole lower Houſe of Convocation, went down to Oxford. To them were joined, by commiſſion, the Chancellor of the Univerſity, the Vicechancellor, the profeſſors and doctors, &c. as namely, Holyman, Treſham, Ri. Marſhal, Morwent, Smith, S. T. PP. of Oxford: and John Young, William Glyn, Ri. Atkinſon, Tho. Watſon, Cuthbert Scot, Alban Langdale, Tho. Sedgwick, S. Th. PP. of Cambridge; in the name of the whole Univerſity. All theſe being met at St. Mary's, there were read the letters commiſſional to them, ſealed with the Biſhop of London's ſeal, and the ſubſcription beſides of the Biſhops of Weſton, Durham, Wi-

gorn, Chicheſter, Lincoln, Bath, Roſs, Hereford, St. David's, Gloceſter, and Oxon. And with theſe letters were conveyed certain articles, which had been lately by the upper Houſe reſolved upon; which articles were, of the Sacrament of the Altar, of Tranſubſtantiation, and of the Adoration of the Euchariſt, and the Reſervation of the Sacrament of the Church, and of its inſtitution, and by whom, and for whom, and to whom, it is to be offered. The contents of the letter were, to ſummon before them Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and to propound thoſe articles to them to diſpute on publickly. The ſum of which, it ſeems, were contracted into the three queſtions above ſaid. Then they provided themſelves three public notaries. Next, they celebrated and ſung the maſs of the Holy Ghoſt. Then they went a proceſſion according to the cuſtom of the Univerſity. This formal pageantry being finiſhed, and the commiſſioners returned to St. Mary's, and being come into the choir, to the number of three and thirty, ſeated themſelves before the altar. And then ſent to the Mayor and Bailiffs to bring Dr. Cranmer before them, by virtue of the Queen's letters to them: who within a while was brought, guarded with bill-men.

Cranmer brought before them.

Coming before them, he gave them great reverence, and ſtood with his ſtaff in his hand. They offered him a ſtool to ſit, but he refuſed. Then Weſton the prolocutor began a ſpeech, wherein "he commended unity in the church of "Chriſt: and withal, turning to the Archbiſhop, told him, "how he had been a catholick man once, and in the ſame "unity; but that he had ſeparated himſelf from it by "teaching and ſetting forth erroneous doctrine, making "every year a new faith. And therefore that it had pleaſed "the Queen to ſend them to him to recover him again, if it "might be, to that unity." And then ſhewed him the articles to be diſputed on, cauſing them to be read to him, and requiring his anſwer and opinion thereupon. Then the Archbiſhop anſwered *extempore*, that, as for unity, he was very glad of it; and ſaid, that it was a preſerver of all commonwealths, as well heathen as chriſtian: and illuſtrated the matter by ſome ſtories out of the Roman hiſtory. And added, 336
that he ſhould be very glad to come to an unity, ſo it were in

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Chriſt, and according to the church of God. Then he read over the articles three or four times: and, being aſked whether he would ſubſcribe to them, he anſwered, That in the form of words in which they were conceived, they were all falſe and againſt God's word; and therefore that he would not agree in that unity with them. Nevertheleſs, he ſaid, if they would give him a copy of the articles, and time to conſider of them, he would by to-morrow ſend them an anſwer. Which was granted him, the Prolocutor bidding him write his mind of them that night. It was moreover agreed between them, that, in whatſoever he diſſented from them, they would proceed to public diſputation thereupon, in the public ſchools, by ſcholaſtical arguments in Latin. And laſtly, they told him, he ſhould have what books he would aſk for. And ſo Weſton gave the Mayor charge of him, to be had to Bocardo, where he was before.

His behaviour.

His behaviour all this while was ſo grave and modeſt, that many maſters of art, who were not of his mind, could not forbear weeping. This was the work of Saturday. On Sunday Cranmer ſent in what he had writ upon the articles to the Prolocutor to Lincoln College, where he lay.

Ridley brought,

After Cranmer was carried back, the Mayor and Bailiffs brought Biſhop Ridley. And when the ſame articles were read to him, he ſaid, that they were not true: but deſired a copy of them, and he would draw up in writing his anſwer, and ſoon tranſmit it to them. And did offer to diſpute, as Cranmer had done before.

And Latimer.

Laſtly, Latimer was brought, to whom the Prolocutor ſaid as he had to the two former. Latimer confeſſed, that in the ſacrament of the altar there was a certain preſence, but not ſuch an one as they would have: and he alſo promiſed to ſend them his anſwer ſhortly to theſe articles, requiring a copy. But, by reaſon of his old age, his infirmities, and the weakneſs of his memory, he ſaid, he could not bear a diſpute; but that he could and would declare his mind of the ſaid articles. All this that I have above ſaid concerning the managery of this affair, I do for the moſt part extract out of a letter of Weſton's, writ unto the Biſhop of London, from Oxon. I cannot here omit old

father Latimer's habit at this his appearing before the commiſſioners, which was alſo his habit while he remained a priſoner in Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a night-cap or two, and a great cap ſuch as townſmen uſed, with two broad flaps, to button under his chin: an old threadbare Briſtow freez gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, at which hanged, by a long ſtring of leather, his Teſtament; and his ſpectacles, without caſe, hanging about his neck upon his breaſt. This was the work of Saturday.

Cranmer brought to his diſputation.

On Monday Cranmer was brought into the reſpondents' place in the Divinity-Schools, the Mayor and Aldermen ſitting by him. In the midſt of the diſputation, becauſe what he was to anſwer was more than he could well remember *extempore*, he gave in to Dr. Weſton his opinion, written at large, in anſwer to each propoſition; and deſired Weſton, who ſat on high, to read it. Theſe writings are preſerved in Fox's Monuments, and may there be ſeen. This diſputation began at eight in the morning, and laſted till two. The Beadle had provided drink, and offered the Archbiſhop thereof ſometimes, but he refuſed; nor did he ſtir all the while out of his place, though the Prolocutor had granted him leave to retire for a while, if he had any occaſion. And, after having learnedly and boldly maintained the truth againſt a great many clamorous opponents, he was carried back by the Mayor to priſon. And then, the two next days, Ridley and Latimer took their courſes.

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His notaries.

Cranmer had cautiouſly provided two notaries to take notes of what he ſaid, leſt he might be miſrepreſented. And they were Jewel, afterward Biſhop of Sarum, and one Gilbert Mounſon: who alſo, at Ridley's requeſt, were granted him.

Cranmer's demands.

Cranmer required, at the commiſſioners' hands, more time to have theſe weighty matters more diligently ſcanned and examined: urging, that he had ſo much to ſpeak, that it would take up many days, that he might fully anſwer to all that they could ſay. He required alſo, that he and his fellows might oppoſe, as well as reſpond: that they might produce their proofs before the popiſh doctors, and be anſwered fully to all that they could ſay. But neither

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of theſe demands would be allowed him: which he in a letter complained of to the council. For indeed, as Cranmer plainly apprehended, the deſign now was not to look impartially into the truth or falſehood of theſe doctrines, but to gain glory to themſelves, and to have a ſhew for the reſolution that was before taken up of condemning them all three.

Cranmer diſputes again.

The ſame week, on Thurſday, Harpsfield diſputed for the degree of bachelor of divinity: and, among other opponents, Cranmer was called forth for one by Dr. Weſton. Where, firſt taking notice of Weſton's oppoſing Harpsfield out of the Scripture againſt a corporal preſence, (which was Harpsfield's queſtion,) but whereas he left the ſenſe of the Scripture to the catholick church, as judge, Cranmer told him, "He was much miſtaken, eſpecially becauſe that, "under the name of church, he appointed ſuch judges as "had corruptly judged, and contrary to the ſenſe of the "Scriptures. He wondered alſo (he ſaid) why Weſton "attributed ſo little to the reading of Scriptures, and "conferring of places, ſeeing Scripture doth ſo much com-"mend the ſame, in thoſe very places which himſelf had "alleged. And as to his opinion of theſe queſtions, he "ſaid, they had neither ground of the word of God, nor "the primitive church. Nay, and that the ſchools have "ſpoken diverſely of them, and do not agree among them-"ſelves." And, having prefaced all this, he began his diſputation with Harpsfield, by aſking him ſome queſtions: as, how Chriſt's body was in the ſacrament, according to his mind and determination? And whether he had the quantity and qualities, form, figure, and ſuch-like properties, of bodies? And when there was great declining to anſwer this; and ſome affirmed one thing, and ſome another; Harpsfield ſaid, they were vain queſtions, and not fit to ſpend time about; and added, that "Chriſt was there
338 "as it pleaſed him to be there." Cranmer to that ſaid, "He would be beſt contented with that anſwer, if their "appointing of the carnal preſence had not driven him of "neceſſity to have inquired, for diſputation-ſake, how they "placed him there, ſithence they would have a natural "body." Then ſome denied it to be *quantum*; ſome ſaid,

it was *quantitativum;* and ſome affirmed, that it had *modum quanti:* and ſome denying it, Dr. Weſton then ſtood up, and ſaid, it was *corpus quantum, ſed non per modum quanti.* A very grave deciſion of the point!

Then Cranmer aſked, "Whether good and bad men do "eat the body in the ſacrament; and then, how long "Chriſt tarried in the eater?" Harpsfield ſaid, "They were "curious queſtions, unmeet to be aſked." Cranmer replied, "He took them out of their ſchools, and ſchoolmen, "which they themſelves did moſt uſe." Then he aſked, "How far he went into the body, and how long he abode in "the body?" With theſe queſtions Cranmer puzzled them moſt heavily: for which way ſoever they anſwered, there would follow abſurdities and inextricable difficulties. In concluſion, Dr. Weſton gave him this compliment; "That "his wonderful gentle behaviour and modeſty was worthy "much commendation: giving him moſt hearty thanks in "his own name, and in the name of all his brethren." At which all the doctors put off their caps.

The Papiſts' indecent management of the diſputation.

On Wedneſday, as ſoon as Latimer, who came up laſt, had ended his diſputation, the Papiſts cried *Victoria*, applauding themſelves loudly, as though they had vindicated their cauſe moſt ſtrenuouſly and ſatisfactorily againſt Cranmer and his two fellows. And ſo Weſton had the confidence to tell them to their faces. Though to him that reads the whole diſputation, and conſidereth the arguments on both ſides impartially, there will appear no ſuch matter: allowing for all the hiſſings and noiſes, confuſed talk and taunts, that were beſtowed upon theſe very reverend and good men. Whereof Ridley ſaid, in reference to his diſputation, "That he never in all his life ſaw or heard any "thing carried more vainly and tumultuouſly; and that he "could not have thought, that there could have been "found among Engliſhmen any perſons, honoured with "degrees in learning, that willingly could allow of ſuch va-"nities, more fit for the ſtage than the ſchools." He added, "That, when he ſtudied at Paris, he remembered "what clamours were uſed in the Sorbon, where popery "chiefly reigned; but that that was a kind of modeſty in "compariſon of this thraſonical oſtentation. Whence he con-

In his Preface to his Account of his Diſpute.

BOOK III.

Anno 1554. The Proteſtants glad of this diſputation.

"cluded very truly, that they ſought not for the ſincere "truth in this conference, and for nothing but vainglory."

But the profeſſors of the Goſpel, on the other hand, were as glad of this diſpute, wherein theſe three chief fathers of the church had ſo boldly and gallantly ſtood in the defence of the truth, and maintained the true doctrine of the ſacrament ſo well. And Dr. Rowland Taylor, in priſon elſewhere at this time for Chriſt's ſake, wrote them a congratulatory letter in the name of the reſt. Which is as followeth.

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Dr. Taylor to the three fathers after their diſputations.

"RIGHT reverend fathers in the Lord, I wiſh you to en-"joy continually God's grace and peace through Jeſus "Chriſt. And God be praiſed again for this your moſt ex-"cellent promotion, which ye are called unto at this pre-"ſent; that is, that ye are counted worthy to be allowed "amongſt the number of Chriſt's records and witneſſes. "England hath had but a few learned biſhops that would "ſtick to Chriſt *ad ignem inclusive*. Once again I thank "God heartily in Chriſt for your moſt happy onſet, moſt "valiant proceeding, moſt conſtant ſuffering of all ſuch in-"famies, hiſſings, clappings, taunts, open rebukes, loſs of "living and liberty, for the defence of God's cauſe, truth, "and glory. I cannot utter with pen how I rejoice in my "heart for you three ſuch captains in the foreward, under "Chriſt's croſs, banner, or ſtandard, in ſuch a cauſe and "skirmiſh: when not only one or two of our dear Re-"deemer's ſtrong holds are beſieged, but all his chief caſtles, "ordained for our bulwark, are traiterouſly impugned. "This your enterprize, in the ſight of all that be in heaven, "and of all God's people in earth, is moſt pleaſant to be-"hold. This is another manner of ſociety, than to be in "the foreſront in worldly warfares. For God's ſake, pray "for us, for we ſhall not ceaſe to pray for you. We are "ſtronger and ſtronger in the Lord, his name be praiſed; "and we doubt not, but ye be ſo in Chriſt's own ſweet "power. Heaven is all and wholly on our ſide. Therefore "*[illegible]*: Rejoice always in the Lord, and again rejoice and be "glad.

"Your aſſured in Chriſt, Rowland Taylor."

CHAP. X.

Anno 1554.

Ridley pens the relation of his diſputation.

Ridley, knowing their tricks, and ſuſpecting they would publiſh his diſputation unfairly, and to their own advantage, prudently took his pen, and gave an account of it with the greateſt exactneſs, as he could recover it in his memory. He was promiſed by the Prolocutor, that he ſhould have a view of the diſpute, as it was taken by the notaries, that he might ſupply and amend, and alter, as he ſhould ſee any error or miſtake in the notes. He promiſed him likewiſe, and that in the face and hearing of the reſt of the commiſſioners, and the whole ſchools, that he ſhould have a time and place allowed him, wherein he might produce what he had more to ſay, for the confirmation of his anſwers. But nothing was performed. Ridley never found language more ready to him, nor ſuch a preſence of mind in any buſineſs he had to do, as he had in this diſputation: which he took particular notice of, and thanked God for. Of this relation, as he himſelf had penned it, he wrote to Grindal, then at Frankford, "That except he had that he gathered himſelf "after his diſputation done, he could not think that he had "it truly; but if he had that, then he had therewithal the "whole manner, after the which he was uſed in that diſpu-"tation."

The Univerſity ſends the diſputations up to the Convocation.

This whole diſputation between theſe three excellent men, and the Oxford divines, was, under the ſeal of the Univerſity, and the ſubſcription of notaries, exhibited into the houſe of Convocation by Hugh Weſton, and ſome lawyers. This John Fox had found ſome years after, writ in the regiſter of a certain church in London. Whereupon, for the ſight hereof, he applied himſelf to Dr. Incent, that had been actuary: but he put him off, telling him the writings were in Boner's hand, or in the cuſtody of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and that he had them not; probably not being minded they ſhould come to light. Fox, when his pains ſucceeded not, wrote to the Archbiſhop and the Biſhop of London, Parker and Grindal, about 1567, acquainting them with this; and deſired their aſſiſtance: and the rather, becauſe perhaps there might have been other things met with there, not unworthy knowledge, under the ſame ſeal. And ſo he left the Archbiſhop and Biſhop to conſult as they thought fit for the finding out theſe writings of the diſputations.

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BOOK III.

Anno 1554. Various copies of theſe diſputations.

Fox, by his diligence, procured many and divers copies of them. Which I have ſeen; and that which he printed in his Acts and Monuments, was, I ſuppoſe, from a copy which he reckoned the largeſt and trueſt. Ridley apprehended there would many copies of theſe diſputations fly about, (as there were,) whereby they might be wronged. Therefore, to prevent miſrepreſenting, as I ſaid before, he wrote a brief account of what he had ſaid at his diſputation. This, whether he writ it in Engliſh or Latin originally, I cannot tell; I ſuppoſe in Latin; as it was lately, in the year 1688, publiſhed at Oxon. Among Fox's manuſcripts I meet with a better copy than that, which, by comparing both, I find faulty in many things: beſides Ridley's epilogue to the reader, which is there placed as a preface before the book, the true place being at the end of it.

CHAP. XI.

Cranmer condemned for an Heretick.

Cranmer condemned for hereſy.

WITHIN two days after theſe diſputations were ended, that is, on Friday April 20, Cranmer, with his two fellows, were brought again to St. Mary's before the commiſſioners. Weſton diſſuaded them from their opinions; and aſked them, whether they would ſubſcribe? and required them to anſwer directly and peremptorily: and told the Archbiſhop that he was overcome in diſputation, with more words to that purpoſe. To whom the Archbiſhop boldly replied, "That "whereas Weſton ſaid, that he had anſwered and oppoſed, "and could neither maintain his own error, nor impugn the "truth; he ſaid, all that was falſe: for he was not ſuf- "fered to oppoſe as he would, nor could anſwer as he was "required, unleſs he would have brawled with them, and "ever four or five interrupting him." Latimer and Ridley, being aſked what they would do, ſaid, they would ſtand to that which they had ſaid. Then, being called together, ſentence was read over them, that they were no members of the church; and therefore they were condemned as here-

ticks. And, while this was reading, they were aſked if they would turn? They bad them read on in the name of God: for they were not minded to turn. And ſo the ſentence of condemnation was awarded againſt them. Then the Archbiſhop ſaid, "From this your judgment and ſentence I ap- 341 "peal to the juſt judgment of the Almighty: truſting to be "preſent with him in heaven. For whoſe preſence in the "altar I am thus condemned." And ſo Cranmer was returned to Bocardo, and the other two to other places: as they were kept apart almoſt all the while they were in Oxon.

CHAP. XI. Anno 1554.

Weſton, after this ingrateful buſineſs done, went up the next week to London. And Cranmer wrote to the lords of the council a letter, containing two points: one was, to deſire the Queen's pardon as to his treaſon, (for ſo little favour could he find at court, that he had not yet this abſolutely granted him;) and the other was, an account of the diſputation: Weſton being deſired by the Archbiſhop to carry the letter. But, after he had carried it half way, reading the contents, he liked them ſo ill, that he ſent back the letter moſt churliſhly to Cranmer again. Indeed he cared not to carry complaints of himſelf to the court. But, becauſe it gives further light into theſe matters, I have inſerted it in the Appendix. Num. LXXIX.

Cranmer writes to the council.

It was ſuch an imaginary victory, as they had now got at Oxford, that they intended alſo to obtain at Cambridge. And much talk at this time aroſe, that Hoper, Rogers, Crome, and Bradford, whom they had in priſons at London, were to be had to this univerſity, to be baited, as Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, newly had been at Oxford: and ſeveral of the doctors of Oxford ſhould be ſent in likewiſe to Cambridge for this purpoſe. But Hoper, Farrar, Taylor, Philpot, Bradford, and the others, having an inkling of it, conſulted among themſelves what to do; and reſolved to decline it, unleſs they might have indifferent judges. And for this purpoſe Bradford ſent a private and truſty meſſenger to Oxford to Ridley, to have his, and his two fellows, their judgments concerning this matter. They were at this time all ſeparated from one another: ſo, though Ridley ſignified this in a letter to Cranmer, yet he could only give his

Diſputation intended at Cambridge.

BOOK III.

Anno 1554. In his letter to Bradford.

own ſenſe. "He miſliked not (he ſaid) what they were "minded to do: for he looked for none other, but that, if "they anſwered before the ſame commiſſioners that he and "his fellows had done, they ſhould be ſerved and handled "as they were, *though ye were as well learned* (ſaid he) as "*ever was either Peter or Paul.* Yet he thought occaſion "might afterward be given them; and the conſideration of "the profit of their auditory might perchance move them "to do otherwiſe. But determinately to ſay what was beſt, "he could not; but truſted he, whoſe cauſe they had in "hand, would put them in mind to do that which ſhould "be moſt for his glory, the profit of his flock, and their "own ſalvation." It came at length to that forwardneſs, that Weſton and his complices had taken out the commiſſion. And it was eaſy to obtain ſuch a commiſſion at ſuch a Lord Chancellor's hands. And they were likely ſpeedily to put it in execution. Hoper, who ſeemed to have the firſt notice of it, ſent the intelligence in a letter to Farrar, Taylor, Bradford, and Philpot, priſoners in the King's Bench. He ſhewed them what his advice was, and deſired them to conſult among themſelves what courſe were beſt to be taken. His own thoughts were, conſidering what foul play the three learned men had at Oxford, and which they were like to have themſelves at this diſputation; I. Becauſe they did
342 commonly make falſe allegations of the doctors, and took pieces and ſcraps of them to prove their tenets, againſt the real mind and ſenſe of thoſe authors; they ſhould therefore refuſe wholly to diſpute, unleſs they might have books preſent before them. II. To have ſworn notaries, to take things ſpoken indifferently; which would be hard to have, the adverſaries having the overſight of all things: and ſo would make theirs better, and the Proteſtants worſe. III. If they perceived, when they were diſputing, that two or three, or more, ſpake together, and uſed taunts and ſcoffs, as they did at Oxon, then to refuſe to diſpute any longer; but to appeal to be heard before the Queen, and the whole council. Whereby this benefit would happen, that they ſhould be delivered from the commiſſioners, appointed to hear and judge them, who meant nothing leſs than to hear the cauſe indifferently, being all enemies already unto the Proteſtants,

and their cauſe, and at a point to give ſentence againſt them. And then many at the court might be ſtrengthened, who know the truth already; and others better informed, who erred rather of zeal than malice; and a third ſort, that be indurate, might be anſwered fully to their ſhame. He knew, he ſaid, the adverſaries would deny their appeal; but yet he adviſed to challenge it, and to take witneſs thereof, of ſuch as ſhould be preſent, and require, for indifferency of hearing and judgment, to be heard either before the Queen and council, or elſe before all the parliament, as it was uſed in King Edward's days. So wiſe and wary now were they. But I do not find that this project of the Papiſts went further. Hoper's letter.

And let us return, and viſit theſe three faithful priſoners of Jeſus Chriſt. After their diſputation and condemnation, their ſervants were diſcharged, that ſo they might not have any conference, or intelligence of any thing abroad. But God provided for every one of them, inſtead of their ſervants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and ſee, and do for them whatſoever they could; as Ridley wrote in a letter to Bradford. To theſe fathers alſo came ſupplies of meat, money, and ſhirts, from London, not only from ſuch as were of their acquaintance, but from ſtrangers, with whom they had no acquaintance; doing it for God's ſake, and his Goſpel's. The bailiffs ſo watched them now, that they would not ſuffer them to have any conferences among themſelves. The ſcholars of that Univerſity ſeemed univerſally againſt them. Which Ridley, in a letter to his friend Bradford, could not but take notice of, calling it "a wonderful thing, that, among ſo many, never yet ſcholar offered "any of them, ſo far as he knew, any manner of favour, "either for, or in Chriſt's cauſe." They had all things common among them, as meat, money, and whatever one had, that might do another good. Their condition after condemnation.

Neither of them now in priſon were idle. Old Latimer read the New Teſtament through ſeven times deliberately, while he was a priſoner. Cranmer buſied himſelf earneſtly in vindication of his writings of the Sacrament againſt Wincheſter, under the name of *Marcus Conſtantius*. And ſo did Ridley: who in two treatiſes, which he now made, ſhewed Their employment in priſon.

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how Wincheſter varied from other Papiſts in eighteen articles, and from himſelf in eighteen more. And a third paper he wrote, ſhewing ſeveral things Wincheſter yielded unto, concerning the ſpiritual uſe of the ſacrament. Fox hath ſet down theſe in his hiſtory, and preſerved them to us; theſe collections of Ridley falling into his hands. Ridley alſo wrote, while he was a priſoner in Oxford, *De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ, et Pontificum Romanorum:* and annotations more large upon Tonſtal's firſt book, (of *Tranſubſtantiation*, I ſuppoſe;) and more ſparingly upon the ſecond. He was now alſo diligent to ſet others on work for the expoſing falſe religion: deſiring one Grimbold to tranſlate Laurentius Valla his book, which he made and wrote againſt the fable of Conſtantine's donation and glorious exaltation of the ſee of Rome. And, having done that, he would have had him to tranſlate a work of Æneas Sylvius, *De Geſtis Baſilienſis Concilii*: "in which although (ſaid he) there be many "things that ſavour of the pan, yet I dare ſay the Papiſts "would glory but a little to ſee ſuch books go forth in "Engliſh." He directed Auſtin Bernher, Latimer's ſervant, to recommend thoſe works unto Grimbold, who had been his chaplain, and a man (as Ridley gave him the character) of much eloquence both in Engliſh and Latin; (but he complied and ſubſcribed.) And he alſo bad Auſtin tell Grimbold, "that if he would know where to have theſe books, "he might find them in a work ſet forth by Ortwinus Gra-"tius, entitled, *Faſciculus rerum expetendarum.*" And added, "that if ſuch things had been ſet forth in our Engliſh tongue "heretofore, he ſuppoſed great good might have come to "Chriſt's church thereby."

Letters of the Martyrs.

Other works of Ridley in priſon.

But we have not yet mentioned all the pieces that Ridley wrote in priſon. For, beſides thoſe above mentioned, were theſe following. I. A little treatiſe, which was jointly compoſed by him and Latimer in the Tower, (which is preſerved in Fox,) with the letters N. R. before Ridley's ſayings, and H. L. before Latimer's. II. A draught, which he drew out of the Evangeliſts and St. Paul, ſhewing thence that the words of the Lord's ſupper are figuratively to be underſtood, alleging out of the doctors, three of the Greek church, Origen, Chryſoſtom, and Theodoret; and three of the Latin, Ter-

tullian, Auguſtin, and Gelaſius. III. Three poſitions to the third queſtion propounded in Oxford, concerning the propitiatory ſacrifice of the maſs. IV. His diſputation in the ſchools, as he wrote it, after it was over. V. A letter, *Ad Fratres in diverſis Carceribus.* All theſe fell into the hands of the Papiſts by this miſhap, or treachery. Grimbold, expreſſing a great deſire to have every thing that Ridley had writ during his impriſonment, Mr. Shipſide, Ridley's brother-in-law, procured and ſent him all thoſe writings before mentioned: but they were all ſeized, whether in Grimbold's poſſeſſion, or in the ſending them to him, it was uncertain. Some ſuſpected Grimbold himſelf, but others rather the meſſenger; for it would not enter into Shipſide's head that Grimbold ſhould play ſuch a Judas's part.

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CHAP. XII. 344

A Parliament. Pole reconciles the Realm.

GREAT care was now to be taken of getting parliament-men that might do what was to be laid before them, now the Pope's legate was to be received, and the laſt parliament failing expectation. Therefore letters were diſpatched from the Queen, and intereſts made all the nation over, to procure ſuch perſons to be elected as ſhould be named to them. In a manuſcript, containing divers orders that were ſent into Norfolk in Queen Mary's time, there is a letter from that Queen, anno 2°, dated October 6, to the Earl of Suſſex, directing him to aſſiſt in chooſing ſuch men to ſit in parliament, "as were of wiſe, grave, and catholick ſort; ſuch as "indeed meant the true honour of God, with the proſperity "of the nation. The advancement whereof we, (as the let-"ter runneth,) and our dear huſband the King, do chiefly "profeſs and intend, without alteration of any man's par-"ticular poſſeſſion, as, amongſt other falſe rumours, the "hinderers of our good purpoſes, and favourers of here-"ſies, do moſt utterly report." For, to make the intent of reſtoring the abbey-lands to be the leſs credited, it was

The Queen's letters, directing the elections of parliament-men.

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thought convenient to be laid upon the hereticks. With theſe general letters there ſeemed to go private inſtructions what particular men were to be ſet up: for, upon the aforeſaid letter, the Earl of Suſſex ſent a letter, October 14, to Sir Tho. Woodhouſe, high ſheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, and to Sir William Woodhouſe, about the elections of knights of thoſe ſhires; *viz.* "That they ſhould reſerve their "intereſts and voices for ſuch as he ſhould name, and that he "would ſoon conſult with them about the matter." He then, in purſuit of the Queen's letter, recommended to the bailiff of Yarmouth, John Millicent, to be elected burgeſs for that town. This parliament ſate November 11.

Pole comes over.

Cardinal Pole was this ſummer brought to Flanders by the Emperor, who had ſtayed him before on the way. The Queen ſent over the Lord Paget and the Lord Haſtings to the Cardinal to conduct him over, in quality of the Pope's legate. And the ſame day he landed at Dover, (which was November 21,) the bill paſſed for the taking off his attainder. Three days after he came to London, and ſo to Lambeth-houſe: which was ready prepared for his coming. Cardinal Pole, before he came into England, and in the laſt reign, had the reputation here ordinarily of a virtuous, ſober, and learned man; and was much beloved by the Engliſh nation, as well for his qualities, as his honourable extraction. Latimer, in one of his ſermons before King Edward, hath theſe words of him: "I never remember that man, (ſpeaking of "Pole,) but I remember him with a heavy heart; a witty "man, a learned man, a man of a noble houſe: ſo in favour, "that, if he had tarried in the realm, and would have con-"formed himſelf to the King's proceedings, I heard ſay, "and I believe it verily, he had been Biſhop of York at this "day. And he would have done much good in that part "of the realm: for thoſe quarters have always had need of
345 "learned men, and a preaching prelate." One great author the Cardinal much converſed in was, St. Hierom. Latimer wiſhed "that he would have followed St. Hierom in his ex-"poſition of that place, *Come out of her, my people*: where "that father underſtood it of Rome, and called that city, "*The purple whore of Babylon*. Almighty God ſaith, *Get "you from it*; get you from Rome, ſaith Hierom. It were

"(ſubjoined Latimer) more commendable to go from it, than "to go to it, as Pole hath done."

Anno 1554. The Cardinal abſolves parliament and convocation.

Soon after his return into England, he was mighty buſy in reconciling the realm to the Pope. He performed it in his own perſon to the parliament, on the thirtieth of November, with much ſolemnity; and to the convocation on the ſixth of December. On which day, the parliament being diſſolved, he, the Lord Legate, ſent for the whole convocation of upper and lower Houſe to Lambeth: and there he abſolved them all from their perjuries, ſchiſms, and hereſies. Which abſolution they received upon their knees. Then he gave them an exhortation, and congratulated their converſion: and ſo they departed.

The clergy again wait upon the Legate.

January 23, upon the diſmiſſion of the convocation, the biſhops and inferior clergy waited again upon the Legate at Lambeth. Where he willed them all to repair to their cures and charges, and exhorted them to entreat their flocks with all mildneſs, and to endeavour to win them by gentleneſs, rather than by extremity and rigour: and ſo let them depart.

A commiſſion granted by him againſt hereticks.

January 28, he granted a commiſſion to the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and divers other biſhops, to ſit upon, and judge according to the laws lately revived againſt hereticks, all ſuch miniſters and others that were in priſon for hereſy: which was done undoubtedly to take off all the eminenteſt of the Proteſtant clergy, then in hold. And the very ſame day (ſuch haſte they made) they ſat in commiſſion, in St. Mary Overies church, upon Rogers, Hoper, and Cardmaker. And, the next to that, upon Hoper and Rogers again, upon Taylor alſo, and Bradford; when the two former were formally excommunicated. The day following they ſat upon Taylor and Bradford again: to which were added Ferrar, Crome, and Saunders. Then they excommunicated Bradford and Saunders.

His commiſſions to all the biſhops, to reconcile their dioceſes.

But, that this reconciliation to the Pope and church of Rome might ſound the louder in all parts and corners of the nation, and all perſons every where might make their formal ſubmiſſions to the Pope, and thankfully take the mighty benefit of his yoke upon them again, the Legate was not contented to reconcile the nation himſelf under their re-

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

preſentatives in the parliament and convocation: but, upon pretence that he could not, in his own perſon, pardon and reconcile all the people, therefore he granted out a commiſſion to each biſhop, in his own dioceſe, to do it to their reſpective clergy and laity, deputed in his name, and by his authority derived from the Pope.

The commiſſion to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury.

Such a commiſſion he granted, February 8, to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, that ſee being then held vacant: "Therein authorizing them to abſolve all manner of perſons, "as well lay as eccleſiaſticks, religious as ſecular, from "their ſchiſm, hereſies, and errors, and from all cenſures due 346 "thereupon. And to diſpenſe with the clergy upon divers "irregularities: as with ſuch who had received orders "from ſchiſmatical biſhops, or had been collated into their "livings by them. To diſpenſe alſo with the religious and "regulars for departing from their cloiſters without the "Pope's licence, permitting them to wear the habit of "prieſts, and to ſerve cures, conſidering the ſcarcity of "prieſts, and to live out of their cloiſters. Alſo, to diſ-"penſe with prieſts that had married wives, though they "were widows, or women defiled, and with ſuch who had "been twice married, doing penance and forſaking their "wives. Allowing them to miniſter at the altar, and to "ſerve cures, provided it were out of the dioceſes where "they were married. The ſaid biſhops, by this commiſſion, "were alſo empowered to grant, to fit rectors and curates, "a power to reconcile and abſolve their reſpective pariſhes."

No. LXXX. This commiſſion I have placed in the Appendix, as it was tranſcribed out of the regiſter of the church of Canterbury.

The Legate's inſtructions to the biſhops.

The Lord Legate alſo, for the better diſcharging of this his mighty office, gave out his inſtructions how the biſhops and officials of the vacant ſees ſhould perform this work of the reconciliation, deputed to them by the ſaid Legate: together with the form of abſolution to be pronounced. Which inſtructions and form, as they were extracted from the ſaid regiſter, may be found in the Appendix. Each biſhop was to call before him the clergy of his reſpective city, and to inſtruct them in divers things: as, concerning the Pope's fatherly love and charity towards the Engliſh nation, in ſending Cardinal Pole his legate hither, as ſoon as he knew

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the Lady Mary was declared Queen, to bring this kingdom, CHAP. XII.
ſo long ſeparated from the catholick church, into union with it, and to comfort and reſtore them to the grace of God: concerning the joyful coming of the ſaid Legate; concerning what was done the laſt parliament, when the Lords and Commons were reconciled; and concerning the repealing of all the laws made againſt the authority of the Roman ſee by the two laſt Kings, and reſtoring obedience to the Pope and church of Rome: concerning the authority reſtored likewiſe to the biſhops; eſpecially, that they might proceed againſt hereticks and ſchiſmaticks. Then the biſhops were to acquaint their clergy with the faculties yielded to them by the Legate: which were to be read openly. Then all that were lapſed into error and ſchiſm were to be invited humbly to crave abſolution and reconciliation, and diſpenſations as well for their orders, as for their benefices. Next, a day was fixed when the clergy were to appear, and petition for the ſaid abſolutions and diſpenſations. On which day, after they had confeſſed their errors, and ſacramentally promiſed that they would make confeſſion of the ſame to the biſhop himſelf, or ſome other catholick prieſts, and to perform the penance that ſhould be enjoined them; then the biſhop was to reconcile them, and to diſpenſe with their irregularities: always obſerving a diſtinction between thoſe that only fell into ſchiſm and error, and thoſe who were the teachers of them, and leaders of others into ſin. The ſame time was to be appointed another day for a ſolemn feſtival; wherein the biſhops and curates, in their churches, ſhould ſignify to the people all that the biſhops 347
before had ſpoken to their clergy; and then ſhould invite them all to confeſs their errors, and to return into the boſom of the church: promiſing them, that all their paſt crimes ſhould be forgiven, if ſo be they repented of them, and renounced them. And a certain term was to be fixed, namely, the whole octaves of Eaſter, within which term all ſhould come and be reconciled. But, the time to be reconciled in being lapſed, all that remained unreconciled, as alſo all that returned to their vomit after they had been reconciled, were to be moſt ſeverely proceeded againſt.

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The ſaid biſhops and officials (where any ſees were vacant)

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were to name and depute the rectors of the parish-churches, and other fit persons, who should absolve the laity of their parishes from heresy, and schism, and censures, according to a form to be given them by the bishops.

The bishops, and officials, and curates were to have each a book; in which were to be writ the names and parishes of all that were reconciled: that it might afterwards be known who were reconciled, and who were not.

After the octave of Easter was past, the bishops were to visit, first their cities, and then their dioceses; and to summon before them all such as had not been reconciled; and to know of them the cause why they would not depart from their errors: and, remaining obstinate in them, they were to proceed against them.

In this visitation all the clergy were to be required to shew the titles of their orders and benefices; and notice was to be taken if any defect were therein. And now the bishops were to take care to root out any errors in their dioceses, and to depute fit persons to make sermons, and hear confessions. They were also to take care to have the sacred canons observed; and to have inserted into the books of service the name of St. Thomas the martyr, and of the Pope, formerly blotted out: and to pray for the Pope, according as it was used before the schism.

They were advised to insist much upon the great miseries we were in before, and the great grace that God now had shewed to this people: exhorting them to acknowledge these mercies, and devoutly to pray for the King and Queen, that had deserved so exceedingly well of this kingdom; and especially to pray for a happy offspring from the Queen.

Pole a severe persecutor.

In these instructions there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the hereticks (as the professors of the Gospel were then styled) as is reported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in hand with the bloody bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws, lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquisition by him set up, whereby not a man

might eſcape, that ſtood not well affected to popery! I mean, his ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all ſuch were to be written, that, in every place and pariſh in England, were reconciled: and ſo, whoſoever were not found in thoſe books might be known to be no friends to the Pope; and ſo to be proceeded againſt. And indeed, after Pole's crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all that good opinion, that men had before conceived of him, vaniſhed: and they found themſelves much miſtaken in him; eſpecially, ſeeing ſo many learned and pious Goſpel-biſhops and miniſters impriſoned and martyred under him, and by his commiſſion. Inſomuch that now people ſpake of him as bad as of the Pope himſelf, or the worſt of his cardinals. The Goſpellers before this did uſe to talk much among themſelves, that he did but diſſemble at Rome in his preſent outward compliances with them and their ſuperſtitions; and that he would, upon a good opportunity, ſhew himſelf an open profeſſor of the truth. And indeed he often had conferences before him of Chriſt, and of the Goſpel, of a living faith, and juſtification by faith alone; and he often would wiſh the true doctrine might prevail. But now the maſk was taken off, and he ſhewed himſelf what he was. A notable letter to this purpoſe was written, concerning the Cardinal, about this time, by a pious Italian to his friend, who had conceived theſe good opinions of him. This I have put in the Appendix; and the rather, becauſe it will give ſome light into our preſent hiſtory. CHAP. XII. Anno 1554. 348 Numb. LXXXII.

CHAP. XIII.

A Convocation. Articles framed therein.

AT a convocation the latter end of this year, an addreſs was made by the lower Houſe to the upper, wherein they petitioned for divers things, in twenty-eight articles, meet to be conſidered for the reformation of the clergy. One whereof was, "That all books, both Latin and Engliſh, concerning A convocation. Articles preſented to the upper Houſe.

BOOK III.

"any heretical, erroneous, or ſlanderous doctrines, might "be deſtroyed and burnt throughout the realm." And among theſe books, they ſet Thomas Cranmer, late Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his book, made againſt the Sacrament of the Altar, in the forefront; and then, next, the *Schiſmatical Book*, as they called it, *viz.* the Communion Book. To which they ſubjoined the book of ordering eccleſiaſtical miniſters, and all ſuſpect tranſlations of the Old and New Teſtament; and all other books of that nature. (So that, if Cranmer's book was burnt, it was burnt with very good company; the Holy Bible, and the Communion Book.) And that ſuch as had theſe books ſhould bring the ſame to the ordinary by a certain day, or otherwiſe to be taken and reputed as favourers of thoſe doctrines. And that it might be lawful for all biſhops to make inquiry, from time to time, for ſuch books, and to take them from the owners. And, for the repreſſing of ſuch peſtilent books, order ſhould be taken with all ſpeed, that none ſuch ſhould be printed or ſold within the realm, nor brought from beyond ſea, upon grievous penalties. And from another article we may learn, from what ſpring all the bloody doings that followed the enſuing years ſprang; namely, from the popiſh clergy. For they petitioned, "That the ſtatutes made in the fifth of "Richard II. and in the ſecond of Henry IV. and the
349 "ſecond of Henry V. againſt hereſy, Lollards, and falſe "preachers, might be revived, and put in force. And that "biſhops, and other eccleſiaſtical ordinaries, [whoſe hands "had been tied by ſome later acts,] might be reſtored to "their priſtine juriſdiction againſt hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, "and their fautors, in as large and ample manner as they "were in the firſt year of Henry VIII." I ſhall not recite here the whole addreſs, as I find it in a volume of the Benet College library, becauſe the Biſhop of Sarum hath faithfully printed it thence in his Hiſtory. Only I obſerve, that the 17th article is in the manuſcript ſcratched out and croſſed; *viz.* "That all exempt places whatſoever might be from "henceforth under the juriſdiction of the Archbiſhop or "Biſhop, or Archdeacon, in whoſe dioceſes or archdeacon-"aries they were." That they judged might grate a little too much upon the Pope's authority, which they were now

Anno 1554. Cranmer's book to be burnt.

Intit. Synodalia. Hiſt. Ref. vol. ii. Collect. p. 266.

receiving, ſince theſe exemptions were made by popes. And the laſt, or 28th article, was added by another hand; *viz.* "That all eccleſiaſtical perſons, that had lately ſpoiled "cathedral, collegiate, or other churches, of their own "heads, might be compelled to reſtore them, and all and "ſingular things by them taken away, or to the true value, "and to reedify ſuch things as by them were deſtroyed or "defaced." This I ſuppoſe was added by Boner's intereſt, that he might hereby have a pretence againſt Ridley, his predeceſſor; it affording a fair opportunity to cruſh the good biſhops and preachers that had, in zeal to God's glory, taken away out of their churches all inſtruments of ſuperſtition and idolatry. And it might ſerve their turn who had lately, in a moſt barbarous manner, plundered the rich Archbiſhop of York.

CHAP. XIII. Anno 1554.

And as they of this convocation were for burning hereticks' books, ſo they were as well diſpoſed to the burning of the hereticks themſelves. For Proteſtants were already not only impriſoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commiſſions from the Queen and the Lord Chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the convocation ſtarted this objection, "That there was no law to "condemn them," Weſton, the prolocutor, anſwered, "It "forceth not for a law; we have a commiſſion to proceed "with them: and, when they be diſpatched, let their friends "ſue the law."

Men burnt to death without law.

CHAP. XIV.

The Condition of the Proteſtants in Priſon. Freewillers.

By this time, by the diligence of the Papiſts, the popiſh religion was fully eſtabliſhed in England. This apoſtaſy Cranmer ſaw with a ſad heart before his death, and all his labour overturned. And Ridley ſends the bad news of it from Oxon to Grindal, beyond ſea, in theſe words; "To

Popery fully eſtabliſhed.

BOOK III. " tell you much naughty matter in a few words, *Papiſmus* " *apud nos ubique in pleno ſuo antiquo robore regnat.*"

Anno 1554. Proteſtants. As for the Proteſtants, ſome were put in priſons, ſome eſcaped beyond ſea; ſome went to maſs, and ſome recanted; and many were burned, and ended their lives in the flames for religion's ſake.

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The paſtors in priſon. They that were in priſon, whereof Cranmer was the chief, being the paſtors and teachers of the flock, did what in them lay to keep up the religion, under this perſecution, among the profeſſors: which made them write many comfortable and inſtructive letters to them; and ſend them their advices, according as opportunity ſerved.

Free-willers. One thing there now fell out, which cauſed ſome diſturbance among the priſoners. Many of them that were under reſtraint for the profeſſion of the Goſpel, were ſuch as held freewill, tending to the derogation of God's grace, and refuſed the doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, and original ſin. They were men of ſtrict and holy lives, but very hot in their opinions and diſputations, and unquiet. Divers of them were in the King's Bench, where Bradford, and many other Goſpellers, were. Many whereof by their conferences they gained to their own perſuaſions. Bradford had much diſcourſe with them. The name of their chief man was Harry Hart; who had writ ſomething in defence of his doctrine. Trew and Abingdon were teachers alſo among them: Kemp, Gybſon, and Chamberlain, were others. They ran their notions as high as Pelagius did, and valued no learning: and the writings and authorities of the learned they utterly rejected and deſpiſed. Bradford was apprehenſive that they might now do great harm in the church, and therefore out of priſon wrote a letter to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the three chief heads of the reformed (though oppreſſed) church in England, to take ſome cognizance of this matter, and to conſult with them in remedying it. And with him joined Biſhop Ferrar, Rowland Taylor, and John Philpot. This letter, worthy to be read, may be found among the letters of the martyrs, and tranſcribed in the Appendix. Upon this occaſion Ridley wrote a treatiſe of *God's Election and Predeſtination*. And Bradford wrote

Bradford's concern with them.

Numb. LXXXIII.

another upon the ſame ſubject; and ſent it to thoſe three fathers in Oxford for their approbation: and, theirs being obtained, the reſt of the eminent divines, in and about London, were ready to ſign it alſo. CHAP. XIV. Anno 1554.

His kindneſs to them.

I have ſeen another letter of Bradford to certain of theſe men, who were ſaid to hold the error of the Pelagians and Papiſts concerning man's free will, and were then priſoners with him in the King's Bench. By which letter it appeared, that Bradford had often reſorted to them, and conferred with them; and, at his own charge and hinderance, had done them good. But, ſeeing their obſtinacy and clamours againſt him, he forbore to come at them any more: but yet wrote letters to them, and ſent them relief. They told him, "he "was a great ſlander to the word of God in reſpect of his "doctrine, in that he believed and affirmed the ſalvation of "God's children to be ſo certain, that they ſhould aſſuredly "enjoy the ſame. For they ſaid, it hanged partly upon our "perſeverance to the end. Bradford ſaid, it hung upon "God's grace in Chriſt; and not upon our perſeverance in "any point: for then were grace no grace. They charged "him, that he was not ſo kind to them as he ought in the 351
"diſtribution of the charity-money, that was then ſent by "well-diſpoſed perſons to the priſoners in Chriſt, [of which "Bradford was the purſe-bearer:] but he aſſured them he "never defrauded them of the value of a penny: and at "that time ſent them at once thirteen ſhillings and four "pence; and, if they needed as much more, he promiſed "that they ſhould have it." But, abating theſe little caſual heats and peeviſhneſſes, there was a good chriſtian correſpondence maintained among them. The fore-mentioned holy man adviſed them, "that though in ſome things they "agreed not, yet let love bear the bell away; and let "us pray," ſaid he, "one for another, and be careful one "for another." He ſaid, "that he was perſuaded of them, "that they feared the Lord; and therefore he loved them. "I have loved you in him, my dear hearts, though you "have taken it otherwiſe, without cauſe on me given." He added, "that he had not ſuffered any copy of his treatiſe of "*Predeſtination* to go abroad, becauſe he would ſuppreſs all "occaſion ſo far as might be. I am going," ſaid he, "be-

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

"fore you to my God and your God, to my Father and "your Father, to my Chriſt and your Chriſt, to my home "and your home."

Bradford gaineth ſome of them.

By Bradford's pains and diligence he gained ſome from their errors: and particularly one Skelthorp: for whom, in a letter to Careleſs, he thanked God, who gave this man to ſee the truth at the length, and to give place to it; hoping that he would be ſo heedy in all his converſation, that his old acquaintance might thereby think themſelves gone aſtray.

Careleſs's pains with them.

Careleſs alſo, another eminent martyr, as well as Bradford, had much conference with theſe men, priſoners with him in the King's Bench. Of whoſe contentiouſneſs he complained in a letter to Philpot. And there is extant an anſwer of Philpot to Careleſs about them: where he writes,

Martyrs' Letters. Philpot's counſel.

"That he was ſorry to hear of the great trouble which "theſe ſchiſmaticks did daily put him to, and wiſhed that "he were with him in part, to releaſe his grief. He bad "him take his advice, and to be patient, whatſoever his "adverſaries could ſay or do againſt him: that he ſhould "commit the ſucceſs of his labours [in rightly informing "theſe men] unto God; and not to ceaſe, with charity, to "do his endeavour in the defence of the truth, againſt theſe "arrogant and ſelf-willed blinded ſcatterers. That theſe "ſects were neceſſary for the trial of our faith, and for the "beautifying thereof: not to be perverted with them that "were perverſe and intractable. That he ſhould ſhew as "much modeſty and humility as he might poſſible: and "that then others, ſeeing his modeſt converſation among "theſe contentious babblers, ſhould glorify God in the truth "of him, and the more abhor them. That he ſhould be "content that Shimei do rail at David, and caſt ſtones "a while. That he ſhould deſire all the brethren, in the "bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to keep the bond of peace, which "is the unity of Chriſt's church: to let no root of bitter-"neſs ſpring up, which the Devil, with all his diligence, "ſeeketh to thruſt in among the children of God. To kiſs "one another with the kiſs of unfeigned brotherly love, "and to take one another by the hand cheerfully, and ſay, "Let us take up our croſs together, and go to the mount of "Calvary."

CHAP. XIV. Anno 1554.

This contention could not be laid aſleep amongſt them, notwithſtanding the grievous tribulations they endured for the ſame cauſe of religion. They wrote alſo againſt one another: for, in 1556, Careleſs wrote a confeſſion of his faith, ſome part whereof favoured abſolute predeſtination againſt freewill. This confeſſion he ſent unto the Proteſtant priſoners in Newgate from the King's Bench, where he lay. Whereunto they generally ſubſcribed; and particularly twelve that were a little before condemned to die. Hart, having gotten a copy of this confeſſion, on the back-ſide thereof wrote his confeſſion in oppoſition thereunto. When they in Newgate had ſubſcribed Careleſs's confeſſion, this Hart propounded his unto them; and he, with one Kemp and Gybſon, would have perſuaded them from the former to the latter, but prevailed not. One Chamberlain alſo wrote againſt it. I do not meet with this confeſſion; only I find one article was, "That the ſecond book of Common Prayer, "ſet forth in King Edward's days, was good and godly: "but that the church of Chriſt hath authority to enlarge "and diminiſh things in the ſame book, ſo far forth as it is "agreeable to Scripture." This paper of Careleſs's confeſſion, with the anſwer wrote on the back-ſide by Hart, fell by ſome accident into the hands of Dr. Martin, a great Papiſt; who took occaſion hence to ſcoff at the profeſſors of the Goſpel, becauſe of theſe diviſions and various opinions amongſt them. But Careleſs, before the ſaid Martin, diſowned Hart, and ſaid that he had ſeduced and beguiled many a ſimple ſoul with his foul Pelagian opinions, both in the days of King Edward, and ſince his departure.

352 Careleſs draws up a confeſſion of faith.

Beſides theſe anti-predeſtinarians, there were ſome few, who laid in priſon for the Goſpel, were Arians, and diſbelieved the divinity of Jeſus Chriſt. Two of theſe lay in the King's Bench. Theſe different opinions occaſioned ſuch unſeemly quarrelſome diſputes and heats among them, that the Marſhal was fain to ſeparate them from one another. And, in 1556, the noiſe of this reached to the council; who, the better to know the matters controverted between them, ſent Dr. Martin to the King's Bench to examine it.

Some few Arians.

Theſe were ſome of the tranſactions that paſſed among the priſoners. Another matter concerning them deſerves

The priſoners offer to

BOOK III. relating: which was this; they boldly and bravely made a declaration to the Queen and parliament that ſat this year: taxing them for overthrowing (as they had lately done) the laws of King Henry and King Edward, and the reformation ſo maturely and deliberately made, and after the rejection of a religion, which, as they ſaid, there was not a pariſh in England deſired to have reſtored again. They offered likewiſe to maintain the homilies and ſervice, ſet forth in King Edward's days, before them, either by writing, or by diſputation in the Engliſh tongue. By whom this declaration was drawn up, unleſs by John Bradford, I know not: for I meet with it in a MS. which contains divers pieces of that good man. This remarkable declaration I have repoſited in the Appendix. This now is the ſecond time a public challenge was made to juſtify King Edward's reformation; the former the laſt year by Cranmer, the latter now by divers of the learned men in priſon.

Anno 1554. juſtify King Edward's proceedings.

Numb. LXXXIV.

353 And again offer it.

After they had lain fifteen or ſixteen months thus in priſon, their livings, houſes, and poſſeſſions, goods and books taken from them, they made ſuch another addreſs unto the King and Queen, and the parliament: therein undertaking, either by word or writing, before them, or indifferent arbiters to be appointed by them, to prove themſelves no hereticks, nor teachers of hereſy, as they were pretended to be, nor cut off from the true catholick church; (though by the popiſh clergy excommunicated:) and, ſecondly, by the teſtimony of Chriſt, his Prophets and Apoſtles, and the godly fathers of the church, to prove the doctrine of the church, the homilies and ſervice, taught and uſed in King Edward's time, to be the true doctrine of Chriſt's catholick church, and moſt agreeable to the articles of the chriſtian faith. And this was the third public challenge they made. This being preſerved in Fox's Acts, I forbear to tranſcribe it.

Edit. 1610. p. 1349.

CHAP. XV.

The Exiles, and their Condition.

BUT let us now turn our eyes from the priſoners, which were kept under cloſe confinement here in England, unto the exiles, that, by the good providence of God, made their flight into foreign countries from theſe ſtorms at home. Theſe were both of the clergy and laity: who, though great watch was laid for them, and prohibitions given out againſt any that ſhould privately attempt to tranſport themſelves, yet, by taking their opportunities, and the favour of divers maſters of ſmall veſſels at Lee in Eſſex, and upon the coaſts in thoſe parts, they ſafely got to the other ſide of the ſea. Anno 1554. The exiles.

They ſcattered themſelves, and took up their harbours as they could. But they found little hoſpitality in Saxony, and other places in Germany, where Lutheraniſm was profeſſed. But, on the contrary, the exile Engliſh were much hated by thoſe of that profeſſion, becauſe they looked upon them as Sacramentaries, and holding as Calvin and Peter Martyr did in the doctrine of the ſacrament. Therefore, when any Engliſh came among them for ſhelter, they expelled them out of their cities. And when a grave paſtor of Saxony (a friend of Peter Martyr's, who, though he were a miniſter, yet was not of their mind) had entertained ſome of them, the reſt clamoured againſt him, and hated him for it. About this time the Saxon divines wrote many books againſt the Sacramentaries; and namely, one Joachim Weſtphalus wrote a book againſt Calvin. And he and the reſt got theſe books printed at Frankford, on purpoſe, as Martyr conjectured, the more to ſpite the Engliſh and French churches that abode now there, and to provoke them. The Lutherans refuſe to give harbour to the exiles. Mart. Ep. p. 770. Ep. Pet. Martyr. ad Calvin. Anno 1555.

At Weſel the Engliſh were under ſome trouble: and the ſenate were about to command them to depart thence, becauſe of their different ſentiments from the Auguſtan Confeſſion in ſome points. But Philip Melancthon interpoſed, and interceded with the ſenate on their behalf. And, when ſome clamoured againſt them, he took their part, ſaying, The Engliſh at Weſel. Bal. Præf. ad Act. Pontif.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

"That their caſe ought to be weighed by friendly diſ-
"putations, and not exploded by noiſe and hiſſing: and de-
"clared his judgment to be, that theſe poor exiles were to
"be retained and helped, not afflicted and vexed by any
"rough ſentence." He wrote alſo to the governors of Frankford to the ſame purpoſe; *viz.* "That the Engliſh
"were not to be oppreſſed, but to be cheriſhed, conſidering
"their ſentiments were found in the main articles of the
"chriſtian confeſſion: and that whereas they differed in
"ſome points, they were to be inſtructed and informed, and
"not to be rudely thrown out from among them by force
"and violence."

The Lutherans' heat againſt Sacramentaries.

And indeed it was admirable to obſerve at this time the exceeding heats that were in the Lutherans againſt all other Proteſtants, only for differing from them in this one point of the ſacrament. There was a book publiſhed in the year 1555, in favour of their opinion of the corporeal preſence, which was called, *Farrago Doctrinæ Lutheranæ*. This P. Martyr called *valde inſulſa*, a very fooliſh book. It contained a collection of ſentences out of the Fathers, and alſo out of the writings of Luther, Philip, Brentius, Pomeran, &c. They added ſome out of Bucer, Illyricus, and Joachim Weſtphalus, to ſhew that they agreed together. They inſerted divers letters, ſometime writ againſt the Sacramentaries. Indeed Calvin and Martyr they mentioned not by name, but A Laſco they did. In this book there was a diſcourſe added under this title, *Quod Chriſti corpus ſit ubique:* which was to ſerve as a proof of their doctrine. And in the concluſion there was a common-place, *De Magiſtratus officio*: which was thought to be put in upon no other reaſon, but to inflame and irritate princes againſt the Sacramentaries. Theſe Saxon divines were exceeding hot againſt thoſe that believed not as they did: in their ordinary diſcourſes they ſtyled them *Hereticks, Falſe Prophets, Suermeros, Sacramentiperdas.* About this time they were gathering new votes againſt Calvin, and, as it was thought, they intended to attempt ſome excommunication againſt ſuch as differed from them in this point. And this that I have ſaid is enough to explain the reaſon of the inhoſpitality of the Lutherans to our exiles.

CHAP. XV.

Anno 1554.

But in other places they were received with much kindneſs, and had the liberty of their religious worſhip granted them; as in Straſburgh, Frankford, Embden, Doeſburge, Baſil, Zurick, Arrow, Geneva.

At Zurick and other places well received.

At Zurick they were received into one houſe with Bullinger, and had great favour and countenance ſhewn them by the townſmen and magiſtrates: who offered them, by Bullinger, to ſupply them with ſuch a quantity of breadcorn and wine, as ſhould ſerve to ſuſtain thirteen or fourteen people. But they with thanks refuſed it: having, I ſuppoſe, wherewith to ſubſiſt otherwiſe of themſelves, and being willing to be as little burdenſome as might be.

Their employments.

In theſe places ſome followed their ſtudies, ſome taught ſchools, ſome wrote books, ſome aſſiſted at the printing-preſs, and grew very dear to the learned men in thoſe places. At Embden, they having gotten among them, by Sir John Cheke's means, as was thought, an original copy of Archbiſhop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, tranſlated it into Latin, and printed it there, with a preface before it. And there they preſerved the ſaid original, as a moſt invaluable treaſure. Here they printed other good books in Engliſh, and conveyed them into England. At Geneva a club of them employed themſelves in tranſlating the holy Bible into Engliſh, intending to do it with more correctneſs than had hitherto been done; having the opportunity of conſulting with Calvin and Beza in order thereunto. What they performed may be perceived by the Bible that goes under the name of the Geneva Bible at this day. It was in thoſe days, when it firſt came forth, better eſteemed of than of later times. At Frankford, where they had great countenance of the magiſtrates of the city, aroſe great contentions and quarrels among themſelves about the diſcipline of the church, and in framing a new ſervice, different from what was before ſet forth in King Edward's reign, to be uſed in the public congregation: which new ſervice came nearer to the form of the church of Geneva. This occaſioned great troubles, animoſities, and ſeparations, to the diſcredit of themſelves and the reformation. Theſe matters may be ſeen at large in the *Troubles at Frankford*. There is one thing, which, that book making, I think,

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Contentions at Frankford.

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no mention of, I will here relate. Some of the Engl upon this diſſenſion carried their children to be baptized by Lutheran prieſts: for though the Lutherans were against the poor exiles, they thought ſo well of them, as to be willing their children ſhould be initiated into the church by their miniſtry. The occaſion whereof ſeemed to be, that, in the diviſions of this church, one party would not let their children be baptized by the Engliſh miniſter. This causing a new diſturbance, ſome wrote to the great divine P. Martyr, now at Argentine, for his reſolution of this queſtion; *An liceat hominibus evangelicis baptiſmum a Lutheranis accipere.* To this he anſwered in a letter to the church, diſapproving of their doings: telling them, "That the way "to heal their differences was, to bring their children to be "baptized in ſuch churches, with which they agreed in "faith and doctrine." So that this created a new quarrel among them; for ſome held it unlawful to receive baptiſm from thoſe that were not orthodox in their doctrine: and others again thought it lawful. And this made them ſend to Martyr for his judgment, as aforeſaid: who wrote, "That he would not ſay it was unlawful, for that it could "not be judged by the word of God; but he diſliked the "practice, and propounded divers arguments againſt it." Thoſe that were for it, ſaid, "It was an indifferent thing." To which Martyr made this reply, "That indifferent things "were not to be uſed to the ſcandal of the weak." They ſaid, "The difference was not ſo great between us in the "matter of the ſacrament." But Martyr ſaid, "It was of "great moment, becauſe in it there was a conteſt con-"cerning the chief head of religion." They added, "That "the Lutheran divines did think, in the matter of baptiſm, "as they did." But Martyr anſwered, "That they were "miſtaken: for thoſe divines affirmed more of the ſacra-"ment than is fit: and tied the grace of God to baptiſm: 356 "and that they thought there was no ſalvation without "baptiſm: and that they affirmed that infants had faith."

Anno 1554. Some children of the exiles baptized by Lutherans.

Pieces of Ridley's writings conveyed to Frankford.

To the exiles reſiding here at Frankford, ſome, in the year 1555, conveyed Gardiner's book againſt Cranmer, entitled *Marcus Antonius*, with Ridley's anſwer to the objections of that book, and a treatiſe in Engliſh of tranſubſtantiation,

wrote by the ſame Ridley. This laſt they intended to turn into Latin, and ſo to print both. But, on ſecond thoughts, they demurred upon it: fearing it might enrage Gardiner the more againſt Ridley, who was yet alive. Whereupon Grindal wrote to him to know his mind therein before they proceeded to print.

Exiles at Baſil.

Many of the fugitives took up their reſidence at Baſil upon two reaſons: one was, becauſe the people of that city were eſpecially very kind and courteous unto ſuch Engliſh as came thither for ſhelter: the other, becauſe thoſe that were of ſlenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing-houſes there, the printers in Baſil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactneſs and elegancy of their printing. And they rather choſe Engliſhmen for the overſeers and correctors of their preſſes, being noted for the moſt careful and diligent of all others. Whereby many poor ſcholars made a ſhift to ſubſiſt in theſe hard times.

Divers of the exiles writers.

Indeed many of theſe exiles aſſiſted in promoting of learning and religion, by publiſhing to the world their own or other men's writings.

Scory.

John Scory, that had been Biſhop of Chicheſter, wrote a very comfortable epiſtle unto all the faithful that were in priſon, or in any other trouble for the defence of God's truth: printed in the year 1555. He was preacher to the Engliſh congregation at Embden, and ſtyled their Superintendent. From hence this, and many other good books were ſent into England, by certain perſons, to be diſperſed about in London, and other places. There was one Elizabeth Young that came thence with a book, called *Antichriſt*, and ſeveral others: who was taken up for bringing in prohibited and heretical books, and endured much trouble. There was alſo another, named Thomas Bryce, that brought books from Weſel into Kent and London; he was watched and dogged, but eſcaped ſeveral times. Sir John Baker, a Kentiſh man, and a great Papiſt, and a courtier, laid his ſpies to attack him.

Old.

John Old printed a book at Waterford, 1555, entitled, *The Acquittal, or Purgation of the moſt Catholic Chriſten Prince, Edward VI. againſt all ſuch as blaſphemouſly and*

BOOK III. *traitorouſly infamed him, or the Church in his Reign, of Hereſy or Sedition.* The writing of this book was occaſioned
Anno 1554. from the preachers of England in Queen Mary's time, in their ſermons at St. Paul's Croſs, and in other pulpits: "ſpewing out," as the book expreſſeth it, "with ſcolding, "roaring, and railing, the poiſon of Antichriſt's traditions; "and infaming the order, form, and uſe of preaching, "prayers and adminiſtration of the holy ſacraments, ſet "forth and exerciſed by common authority in the church "of England, reformed under the government of Edward
357 "VI. and vilely ſlandering of his father King Henry VIII. "for baniſhing the violent uſurped power and ſupremacy "of the Romiſh ancient Antichriſt for his brother's known "wife, and for taking juſtly upon him the title and eſtate of "ſupremacy, incident and appertaining, by the undoubted "ordinance of God, to his regal office and imperial crown."

Sampſon. Thomas Sampſon, formerly Dean of Chicheſter, wrote an epiſtle to the inhabitants of Alhallows, Bread-ſtreet, where, in King Edward's time, he had been incumbent.

Turner. William Turner, doctor of phyſic, and that had been phyſician in the Duke of Somerſet's family, and after Dean of Wells, another exile, put forth a book, anno 1555, called *A new Book of Spiritual Phyſic for divers Diſeaſes of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England:* dedicating it to divers of the chief nobility. It conſiſted of three parts. In the firſt, he ſhewed who were noble and gentlemen, and how many works and properties belong unto ſuch, and wherein their office chiefly ſtandeth. In the ſecond part, he ſhewed great diſeaſes were in the nobility and gentry, which letted them from doing their office. In the third part, he ſpecified what the diſeaſes were: as namely, the whole palſy, the dropſy, the Romiſh pox, and the leproſy: ſhewing afterward the remedies againſt theſe diſeaſes. For, being a very facetious man, he delivered his reproofs and counſels under witty and pleaſant diſcourſe. He wrote alſo *The hunting of the Romiſh Fox.*

Juel. John Juel, afterwards Biſhop of Saliſbury, aſſiſted Peter Martyr at Straſburgh in ſetting out his Commentaries upon the Book of Judges: who, being public reader of divinity there, had firſt read thoſe Commentaries, and had many

learned Engliſhmen for his auditors; as Poynet, Grindal, Sands, Sir John Cheke, Sir Anthony Cook, and divers other knights and gentlemen, as well as divines. And, when he was removed to Zurick to ſucceed Pelican, he took Juel with him thither. In Frankford there happening, as was ſaid before, unhappy contentions about ceremonies and matters of diſcipline, (and it was feared that theſe diſſenſions might ſpread themſelves into the other fraternities in Zurick and other places,) Juel's great buſineſs was to allay theſe animoſities, partly by letters, and partly by his own verbal exhortations: "that they ſhould, as brethren, "lay aſide ſtrife and emulation, eſpecially for ſuch ſmall "matters: that they would hereby offend the minds of all "good men: which things they ought to have a ſpecial "heed of." Some, who ſeemed more complaining and uneaſy at theſe things, he exhorted to patience, admoniſhing, "that we ought not to leap from the ſmoke into the "fire: and that we ought to bear a part in Chriſt's croſs, "and to conſider how much better it was with them than "with their poor brethren, that endured tortures in Eng-"land." And he would often repeat to them, "Bear "a while then; things will not endure an age." CHAP. XV. Anno 1554.

Thomas Becon, formerly a miniſter in Canterbury, and well known to the Archbiſhop, wrote an epiſtle in his exile, and ſent it to certain godly brethren in England: declaring in it the cauſes of all the miſeries and calamities that were fallen upon England: how they might be redreſſed; and what a merciful Lord our God is to all faithful penitent ſinners, that unfeignedly turn to him. This epiſtle was 358 brought into England, and read of the brethren in their religious meetings, not without fruit. In this epiſtle he added a ſupplication to God, at good length, "for the "reſtoring of his holy Word to the church of England: "wherein the devout chriſtian complaineth his grief and "ſorrow to his Lord for taking away the light of Chriſt's "Goſpel; and, humbly acknowledging his fault, and wor-"thy puniſhment, moſt heartily wiſheth the ſubverſion of "Antichriſt's kingdom, and the reſtitution of Chriſt's moſt "glorious kingdom in this realm." He wrote alſo an epiſtle to the maſſing prieſts, wherein he ſhewed what a Becon.

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wicked idol the maſs was, and what a difference there was between the Lord's ſupper and that: and what popes brought in every part of the maſs, and put them together, as it was then uſed.

Humfrey.

Laurence Humfrey, while he was in exile, wrote a book in Latin, intituled, *Optimates*, being inſtructions for noblemen, in three books. It was printed at Baſil by Oporinus, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, ſoon after her entrance upon her kingdom. The reaſon of this his diſcourſe was out of an univerſal love to mankind, and deſire to better the condition of the world, whoſe welfare depended ſo much upon the ſobriety and virtue of thoſe of noble rank and quality: "Since nobility, as he wrote, widely ſpread "itſelf through all the regions and coaſts of Chriſtendom, "and was preferred to places of truſt and honour in all "princes' courts, and was the very nerve and ſtrength of "commonwealths: and ſince from it iſſued the greateſt "helps or hinderances to the public ſafety, pure religion, "the lives and manners of men: therefore he thought, "the gentry and nobility being imbued with right and "chriſtian opinions, not formed to the corrupt rules of "antiquity, kings would govern better, the miniſters of "eccleſiaſtical matters would more faithfully perform their "functions, and the common ſort would more diligently "diſcharge all neceſſary offices, and the whole common-"weal might ſeem more healthfully to breathe, to live, and "to recover and perſiſt in a good conſtitution." Beſide this excellent book both for the matter and elegancy of the Latin ſtyle, he printed two or three other things at Baſil; and he wrote, while he was abroad, a Commentary upon the Prophet Iſaiah. But I know not whether it were publiſhed.

Traheron.

Bartholomew Traheron, library-keeper to King Edward, and Dean of Chicheſter, made divers readings to the Engliſh congregation upon the beginning of St. John's Goſpel; and after printed them, againſt the wicked enterpriſes of the new ſtart-up Arians in England.

Fox.

John Fox, famous to poſterity for his immenſe labours in his Acts and Monuments, was received by the accurate and learned printer Oporinus of Baſil, for the corrector of his preſs. He publiſhed (and which, I think, was the firſt thing

he publiſhed, and his firſt-fruits) a Chronological Hiſtory of the Church. The firſt part, from the firſt times unto Martin Luther. This book he preſented unto Oporinus, with an handſome epiſtle: wherein "he deſired to be received by "him into his ſervice, and that he would vouchſafe to be "his learned patron, under whom he might follow his ſtu- "dies, being one that would be content with a ſmall ſalary: 359 "promiſing him, that, if he would employ him either there, "at Baſil, or at Argentine, or ſome univerſity, (which he "ſhould rather chooſe,) *Aut me* (ſaid he) *deſtituent omnia, "aut efficiam, Chriſto opitulante, ut omnes politioris litera- "turæ homines intelligant, quantum Operiano et nomini et "officinæ debeant.*" CHAP. XV. Anno 1554.

His Acts and Monuments.

While he was here employed by Oporinus, at ſpare hours he began his Hiſtory of the Acts of the Church, in Latin: which he drew out more briefly at firſt; and, before his return home into England, well near finiſhed. Having here completed the copy, which was but the firſt part of what he intended, but making a juſt volume in folio, he ſent this work to Baſil to be printed: and ſo it was in the year 155--. It remained many years after in thoſe parts in great requeſt, and was read by foreign nations; although hardly known at all by our own. Being now in peace and ſafety at home, Fox reviewed this his work, and, in the year 1566, firſt publiſhed it in Engliſh very voluminous, becauſe of thoſe many relations of the perſecutions in Queen Mary's days, that came to his hands. All this work he did himſelf, without the help of any amanuenſis, nor had he any ſervant to do his neceſſary domeſtic buſineſs; being fain to be often diverted by his own private occaſions from his work. He afterwards enlarged theſe his labours into three large volumes, which have ſince undergone many editions.

Books by him publiſhed in exile.

But to look back to what he publiſhed in his exile: there came to his hand all the trials and examinations of the learned martyr Joh. Philpot, Archdeacon of Wincheſter, drawn up by himſelf; and, finally, his death, being burnt in Smithfield, 1555. Theſe things Fox put into Latin, (as he had an excellent Latin ſtyle,) and printed with this title; *Mira ac elegans cum primis Hiſtoria, vel Tragœdia potius, de tota ratione examinationis et condemnationis J. Philpotti Ar-*

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chidiaconi Wincestriæ, nuper in Anglia exusti: Ab autore primum lingua sua congesta; nunc in Latinum versa, Interprete J. F. A. He had also a great hand in publishing of Zonaras and Balsamon upon the Apostles' Canons in Latin: to which he set this title; *Enarrationes, seu Commentarii in Canones Sanctorum Apostolorum et Synodorum, tum quæ Universales, tum quæ Provinciales: Quæque item et privatim quorundam priscorum Patrum propriæ extiterunt. Autoribus Jo. Zonara Monacho religiosæ et Sanctæ Glyceriæ: Qui prius Drungarius, seu Præfectus erat Biglæ, et summus Secretarius. Atque etiam Theodoro Balsamensi; qui prius ecclesiæ Antiochenæ Diaconus, Librarius seu custos chartarum, et Præpositus Blachernensium, deinde et Archiepiscopus est factus ejusdem Ecclesiæ simul et totius Orientis.* Which probably was a book printed at Oporinus's press, over which he had care; and made this title, and perhaps translated it into Latin.

Translates Cranmer's book of the Sacrament into Latin.

Here at Basil Fox was set on work by Peter Martyr to translate into Latin Archbishop Cranmer's book of the Sacrament: that is, his large dispute with Winchester. Which Fox fell upon, while Cranmer was yet in prison. *In quo [libro] videbit spero,* (saith he, in a letter to Oporinus,) *propediem universa Germania, quicquid de causa Eucharistica vel dici vel objici, vel excogitari a quoquam poterit.* But this never saw the light, the manuscript thereof yet lying in my hands. In 1557, Fox set forth a little book, pleading the cause of the afflicted with their persecutors, and comforting the afflicted. Of which Thomas Lever, who was preacher to the English congregation at Arrow, gave this character, in a letter which he sent to Fox, who had presented him with this book:

Letter to Fox.

"SALUTEM P. in Christo, Charissime Frater; Literas
"tuas accepi, et libellum parvum, in quo magna cum erudi-
"tione, et pientissimo zelo, causam afflictorum apud perse-
"cutores tyrannos sic agis, ut omnes, qui curant aut impios
"admonendos, aut pios consolatione recreandos, id plene a
Foxii MSS. "te perfectum videant. Quod ipsi bene curatum velint. Et
"quoniam meæ vocationis munus in hujusmodi admoni-
"tionibus et consolationibus versatur plurimum, scias velim,
"quod misso ad me parvo libello, magnum dedisti mihi be-

"neficium. Dignum igitur, nihil habens, quod tibi pro me- CHAP. XV.
"ritis rependam, exiguum aureolum mitto, rogoque acci- Anno 1554.
"pias, ut certum indicium mei animi erga te tuaque ſtudia;
"quibus alendis augendiſque tantum nunc polliceor, quan-
"tum unquam potuero, præſtare. Vale in Chriſto, et mihi
"ſaluta Uxorem tuam atque omnem Familiam: Rogoque
"ut mei, meique miniſterii memores ſitis in precibus veſtris
"apud Deum. Iterum vale, vivens in Domino. Aroviæ,
"7. Novemb. 1557.

"Tuus fideliter in Chriſto, Th. Leverus."

Fox alſo wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lords ſpiritual and temporal of England, to deſiſt thoſe barbarities that were then uſed towards innocent men in England: killing, burning, impriſoning, ſequeſtering them without all mercy. The letter, ſo pathetically penned, deſerves a place in the Appendix, for the preſervation thereof. Num. LXXXV.

To all theſe Engliſh writers, during their exile, muſt John Bale. Bale the antiquarian be added; who now publiſhed and printed in Baſil his admirable book of Centuries, giving an account of the lives and writings of all ſuch as were born, Engliſh and Scotiſh.

John Knokys, or Knox, another fugitive, is the laſt I ſhall Knox. mention, fearing I have been too large in this digreſſion already. He was a Scotchman, but had lived in England, in King Edward's days, with great reſpect; and very zealouſly preached the Goſpel in London, Buckinghamſhire, Newcaſtle, Berwick, and other places of the north and ſouth parts. He wrote now an epiſtle to the faithful in thoſe places, and to all others in the realm of England. "Where-
"in he earneſtly diſſuaded them from communicating in the
"idolatry then eſtabliſhed; and to flee, as well in body as
"ſpirit, having ſociety with the idolaters: and that as they
"would avoid God's vengeance: as the burning of cities,
"laying the land waſte, enemies dwelling in the ſtrong
"holds, wives and daughters defiled; and children falling
"by the ſword. Which he aſſured them would happen to
"the nation, becauſe of its return to idolatry, and refuſing
"of God's mercy, when he ſo long had called upon them.
"This his affirmation, he ſaid, would diſpleaſe many, and

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" content few. But, to confirm them in the belief of what " he had ſaid, he bad them recollect what he had formerly " ſpoke in their preſence, and in the preſence of others: a " great part whereof was then come to paſs. He mentioned " particularly what he ſaid at Newcaſtle and Berwick, be- " fore the ſweating ſickneſs, and what at Newcaſtle, upon " All-Saints day, the year in which the Duke of Somerſet " was laſt apprehended: and what he ſaid before the Duke " of Northumberland in the ſame town, and other places " more. Alſo what he ſaid before the King at Windſor, " Hampton Court, and Weſtminſter; and what he ſaid " in London, in more places than one, when both fires and " riotous banquetings were made for the proclaiming " of Queen Mary. He foretold theſe preſent calamities; " not that he delighted in them, as he ſaid, or in the " plagues that ſhould befal this unthankful nation. No, his " heart mourned: but if he ſhould ceaſe, he ſhould then do " againſt his conſcience and knowledge. Then he pro- " ceeded to give them the ground of this his certitude: " which he took from the Scriptures. And ſo, in concluſion, " he counſelled them, as they would avoid the deſtruction " that was coming, that they ſhould have nothing to do " with the abominable idol of the maſs; that is, the ſeal of " that league which the Devil had made with all the peſti- " lent ſons of Antichriſt, as he phraſed it."

Fox's MSS.

How the exiles ſubſiſted.

It may be inquired, how theſe exiles were maintained, conſidering the great numbers of them, and the poverty of many. God ſtirred up the bowels of the abler ſort, both in England, and in the parts where they ſojourned, to pity and relieve them, by very liberal contributions conveyed unto them from time to time. From London eſpecially came often very large allowances: till Biſhop Gardiner, who had his ſpies every where, got knowledge of it; and, by caſting the benefactors into priſon, and finding means to impoveriſh them, that channel of charity was in a great meaſure ſtopped. After this, the ſenators of Zurick, at the motion of Bullinger their ſuperintendent, opened their treaſures unto them. Beſides, the great ornaments then of religion and learning, Melanchon, Calvin, Bullinger, Gualter, Lavater, Geſner, and others, ſent them daily moſt comfortable letters,

and omitted no duty of love and humanity to them all the time of their baniſhment. Some of the princes, and perſons of wealth and eſtate, ſent alſo their benevolences: among theſe was Chriſtopher Duke of Wirtemberg; who gave at one time to the exiled Engliſh at Straſburgh three or four hundred dollars, beſides what he gave at Frankford: as Grindal, Biſhop of London, ſignified to Secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, when that Prince had ſent a gentleman upon buſineſs to the Queen. The Biſhop deſired the Secretary to move the Queen to make ſome ſignification to this perſon, that ſhe had heard of his maſter's former kindneſs to the poor Engliſh, that it might appear his liberality was not altogether buried in oblivion: or at leaſt he wiſhed ſome remembrance thereof might paſs from the Secretary's own mouth.

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Many recant. Some go to Maſs.

MANY of the clergy, that were very forward men under King Edward, now, by the terror of the times, recanted and ſubſcribed. And theſe were of two ſorts. Some out of weakneſs did it, but perſiſted not in it: but, as ſoon as they could, revoked their ſubſcriptions and recantations, and, after their releaſes and eſcapes out of priſon, made a ſorrowful confeſſion in public of their falls. Of this ſort were Scory and Barlow, biſhops; Jewel, and others. But ſome, after their recantations, perſiſted in the popiſh communion. Of this ſort was Buſh and Bird, biſhops; Harding, Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, to whom the Lady Jane ſent an expoſtulatory letter; Sydal and Curtop of Oxon; Pendleton, Weſt, &c. Of this laſt-named perſon let me caſt in here one or two remarks. Weſt was in orders, and had been ſteward to Biſhop Ridley: of whom the ſaid Biſhop wrote thus to Grindal, then in Straſburg; "That his old compa-"nion, and ſometime his officer, relented, but that the Lord

Many recant.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

" had ſhortened his days." For it was but a little after his compliance that he died. Fox writes the occaſion of it, namely, " that when he had relented, and ſaid maſs againſt " his conſcience, he ſhortly after pined away, and died for " ſorrow." When his maſter the Biſhop was laid in priſon for religion, he ſhrank away: and, out of his compaſſion to him, being very loth, as it appeared, that his ſaid maſter ſhould be put to death, he wrote a letter to him, whereby to move him, if he could, to alter his judgment. The contents of whoſe letter may be gathered out of Ridley's anſwer. Which anſwer being ſo excellent, I have put into the Appendix, as I tranſcribed it out of a manuſcript. Which concluded thus, in anſwer to a ſentence that Weſt had concluded his with; namely, " that he muſt agree, or die: the " Biſhop told him, in the word of the Lord, that if he and " all the reſt of his friends did not confeſs and maintain to " their power and knowledge what was grounded upon " God's Word, but, either for fear or gain, ſhrank and " played the apoſtates, they themſelves ſhould die the " death." After the receipt of which anſwer, Weſt, either out of compaſſion to his maſter, or rather out of anguiſh for his own prevarication, died within a few days himſelf: and his maſter outlived him, and writ the news thereof into Germany to Grindal, his fellow-chaplain, as was ſaid before.

Num. LXXXVI.

The perſecution hot.

The perſecution was carried on againſt the Goſpellers with much fierceneſs by thoſe of the Roman perſuaſion, who were generally exceeding hot as well as ignorant: chiefly headed by two moſt cruel-natured men, Biſhop Gardiner, and Biſhop Boner; in whoſe dioceſes were London and Southwark, and the next bordering counties, wherein were the greateſt numbers of profeſſors. And the ſervants were of the ſame temper with their maſters. One of Boner's ſervants ſwore, " by his Maker's blood, that whereſoever he met " with any of theſe vile hereticks, he would thruſt an arrow " into him."

Tims letter.

363 Many now therefore, partly out of fear and terror, and partly out of other worldly conſiderations, did reſort to maſs, though they approved not of it, and yet conforted likewiſe with the Goſpellers: holding it not unlawful ſo to

Goſpellers go to maſs.

do: *viz.* "That their bodies might be there, ſo long as their "ſpirits did not conſent." And thoſe that uſed this practice bore out themſelves by certain arguments, which they ſcattered abroad.

Bradford labours to hinder it.

This extraordinarily troubled the good divines, that were then in priſon for the cauſe of Chriſt, and particularly Bradford: who complained in a letter to a friend, "That not "the tenth perſon abode in God's ways: and that the more "did part ſtakes with the Papiſt and Proteſtant. So that "they became mangy mongrels, to the infecting of all the "company with them, to their no ſmall peril. For they "pretended Popery outwardly, going to maſs with the Pa-"piſts, and tarrying with them perſonally at their anti-"chriſtian and idolatrous ſervice: but with their hearts, "they ſaid, and with their ſpirits they ſerved the Lord. "And ſo by this means, (ſaid he,) as they ſaved their pigs, "I mean, their worldly pleaſures, which they would not "leeſe, ſo they would pleaſe the Proteſtants, and be counted "with them for Goſpellers." This whole letter deſerveth to be tranſcribed, as I meet with it in one of the Foxian manuſcripts, but that I find it printed already at Oxon by Dr. Ironſide, in the year 1688.

Counſels not to comfort with them.

The ſame Bradford counſelled the true Proteſtants not to conſort with theſe compliers, but to deal with them "as a "certain eminent man, named Simeon, Archbiſhop of Se-"leucia, did with Uſtazades, an ancient courtier to Sapores, "King of Perſia; who by his threatenings and perſuaſions "had prevailed with the ſaid courtier, a chriſtian, to bow "his knee to the Sun. For which baſe compliance Si-"meon, paſſing by where this Uſtazades was, formerly his "great friend and acquaintance, would not now look at "him, but ſeemed to contemn and deſpiſe him. Which "when he perceived, it pierced him ſo to the heart, that he "began to pull aſunder his clothes, and to rend his gar-"ments, and with weeping eyes cried out, Alas! that ever "he had ſo offended God in his body, to bow to the Sun: "for (ſaith he) I have herein denied God, although I did "it againſt my will. And how ſore is God diſpleaſed with "me, with whom mine old father and friend Simeon, his "dear ſervant, will not ſpeak nor look towards me? I may

Tripart. Hiſt. lib. iii. cap. 2.

BOOK III. Anno 1554.

" by the ſervant's countenance perceive the Maſter's mind.
" This lamentation came to the King's ear; and therefore
" he was ſent for, and demanded the cauſe of his mourning.
" He out of hand told him the cauſe to be, his unwilling
" bowing to the Sun. By it (ſaid he) I have denied God:
" and therefore, becauſe he will deny them that deny him,
" I have no little cauſe to complain and mourn. Wo unto
" me, for I have played the traitor to Chriſt, and alſo dif-
" ſembled with my liege Lord. No death therefore is ſuf-
" ficient for the leaſt of my faults; and I am worthy of two
" deaths. When the King heard this, it went to his ſto-
" mach; for he loved Uſtazades, who had been to him, and
" to his father, a faithful ſervant and officer. Howbeit the
364 " malice of Satan moved him to cauſe this man to be put to
" death. Yet in this point he ſeemed to gratify him. For
" Uſtazades deſired that the cauſe of his death might be
" publiſhed. This I aſk (ſaid he) for the guerdon of my
" time-ſervice to thee, and to thy father. Which the King
" readily granted, thinking that, when the chriſtians ſhould
" all know it, it would make them the more afraid, and
" ſooner to conſent to him. But, ſo ſoon as it was publiſhed,
" and Uſtazades put to death, Lord, how it comforted not
" only Simeon, then being in priſon, but alſo all the chriſ-
" tians!" Bradford, having told this hiſtory, improved it after this tenor. " This hiſtory I wiſh (ſaid he) were
" marked, as well of us as of all our popiſh Goſpellers,
" which have none other things to excuſe them than Uſta-
" zades had: for his heart was with God, howſoever he
" framed his body. We ſhould behave ourſelves ſtraitly
" againſt ſuch brethren, as Simeon did; and then they the
" ſooner would play Uſtazades' part. Which thing, no
" marvel, though they do not, ſo long as we rock them
" aſleep, by regarding them and their companions, as daily
" we do; and ſo are partakers of their evil; and at the
" length ſhall feel of their ſmart and puniſhment."

Ann Hartipol goes to maſs.

Of theſe outward compliers with the maſs was one Ann Hartipol, that formerly harboured the Lady Ann Aſcue, burnt in King Henry's reign. She now went to maſs, pretending her conſcience to be ſound before God, and that her conſcience gave her leave to go. To whom Philpot

wrote an excellent letter, which is extant among the Letters of the Martyrs. CHAP. XVI.

The people of this practice had been tampering with the Lady Vane, a pious lady, and a great benefactor to the poor priſoners of Chriſt: inſomuch that ſhe propounded to Bradford three queſtions concerning the maſs, being caſes of conſcience, what ſhe were beſt to do, whether to go to it, or not? He told her in a letter, "that the queſtions would "never be well ſeen nor anſwered, until the thing whereof "they aroſe were well conſidered. That is, how great an "evil it was: that there was never thing upon the earth ſo "great, and ſo much an adverſary to God's true ſervice, to "Chriſt's death, paſſion, prieſthood, ſacrifice, and kingdom, "to the miniſtry of God's Word and ſacrament, to the "church of God, to repentance, faith, and all true godlineſs "of life; as that was whereof the queſtions aroſe. And "that therefore a chriſtian man could not but ſo much the "more abhor it, and all things that in any point might ſeem "to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the ſame." Bradford alſo writ a little book on this argument, intituled, *The Hurt of the Maſs*. This book he ſent to his acquaintance, to ſtop their going to the popiſh ſervice; and particularly to Mr. Shalcros, a friend of his in Lancaſhire; and recommended the reading of it to one Riddleſton, that had defiled himſelf in this falſe ſervice.

Anno 1554. Pag. 247. The Lady Vane puts certain caſes concerning the maſs.

CHAP. XVII. 365

A bloody Time. The Queen's great Belly. A Convocation.

THE year 1555. was a bloody year, and many honeſt people, both of the clergy and laity, were burnt alive in all parts, becauſe they believed not tranſubſtantiation: inſomuch that a tender heart cannot but ſhrink at the very remembrance thereof.

Anno 1555. Many burned.

And as if there were a kind of delight in this ſort of cruel executions, inſtructions were ſent abroad, in the beginning of the year, unto the juſtices of peace through all counties

Inſtructions to the juſtices.

BOOK III. Anno 1559.

in England, to inquire diligently in every pariſh for perſons diſaffected to the popiſh religion. And in each pariſh were ſome appointed to be ſecret informers againſt the reſt. And, for the better diſcovery of ſuch poor profeſſors of the Goſpel, that fled from place to place for their ſafety, the conſtables, and four or more of the catholick ſort in every pariſh, were authorized to take examination of all ſuch as might be ſuſpected, how they lived, and where they were? And ſuch as abſented from the maſs, and conformed not themſelves to the church, were to be brought before the juſtices: who were to perſuade them to conform; and, if they would not, to bind them to good abearing, or commit them to priſon. The juſtices were alſo commanded, by another order ſoon after, to deliver ſuch as leaned to erroneous and heretical opinions, and would not be reclaimed by the juſtices, to the ordinaries, to be by them travailed with; and, continuing obſtinate, to have the laws executed upon them.

Orders ſent into Norfolk againſt the profeſſors.

May 27, theſe orders came from the King and Queen to the juſtices of Norfolk: which, as I extract from a manuſcript, relating the orders ſent into that county, were in theſe ſpecial articles.

"I. To divide themſelves into ſeveral diſtrictions.

"II. To aſſiſt ſuch preachers as ſhould be ſent;" [for it was thought convenient to ſend abroad itinerary preachers, as was done in the laſt King's reign, who ſhould by their doctrine endeavour to reduce the people to the old religion;] "and to uſe them reverently, and to be preſent at their ſermons; and to travail ſoberly with ſuch as abſtained from coming to church, or, by any other open doings, ſhould appear not perſuaded to conform themſelves: and to uſe others, that be wilful and perverſe, more roundly, either by rebuking them, or binding them to good behaviour, or by impriſoning them, as the quality of the perſons, and the circumſtance of their doings, may deſerve.

"III. To lay ſpecial wait for teachers of hereſies, and procurers of ſecret meetings to that purpoſe. That they and their families ſhew good examples, and begin firſt to reform their ſervants, if any of them be faulty.

"IV. To apprehend ſpreaders of falſe and ſeditious rumours.

"V. To procure one or more in every parish, secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants.

"VI. To charge the constable, and four or more catholick inhabitants of every parish, to give account of idle vagabonds and suspected persons," [meaning by these the poor professors, or preachers of the Gospel, who crept about for their own safety, and had no settled habitation,] "and the retainers of such persons. To observe hue and cry; and to look after the watches in every parish. 366

"VII. To send an account of felons, &c. when any should be apprehended.

"VIII. To meet every month, and confer about these matters."

The effect thereof.

Whereupon the justices meeting together, it was resolved by them to obey every of the said orders: particularly concerning the fifth they resolved, that these secret informations should be given to the justices; and that the accused parties should be examined, without knowledge by whom they were accused.

The Earl of Sussex receiveth information against some.

The Earl of Sussex lived in that county, and was one of chief trust there: for this Earl had command in Norfolk of Queen Mary's army, when she first laid her claim to the crown; and managed it with that prudence and conduct, that others were induced by his means to come in. This Earl received several informations against ministers and others; for it seems, notwithstanding all these severe usages, the popish mass had not yet so prevailed every where, but that, in divers places, there were some remainders of King Edward's reformation and service. Among the rest, the Curate of Old Bokenham, and divers in that parish, were complained of, because the ceremonies of the holy time of Easter were not observed there. And, it seems, the Bishop's officers themselves were not all so diligent as they should be. The Earl signified this information to Hopton the Bishop; who, being in his visitation soon after, sent for several of the parish, and made his inquiries, but found things in other sort than were represented to the Earl. And, being returned to his house at Norwich, informed him hereof, and desired the Earl to inform him further, if any thing were amiss,

BOOK III. even amongſt his own officers, and he would endeavour to reform them.

Anno 1555. Popiſh ſpies ſet every where.

In theſe times, for the better taking up of all Goſpellers, there were certain ſpies and ſecret informers ſet every where, to give notice of any that came not to church, or that ſpake any thing againſt the ſuperſtitions. For London were, John Avales, Beard, and others: for Stepney, one Banbury, a ſhifter, a dicer, and a whoremonger. By which means none almoſt could be ſafe. Yet the profeſſors made ſome proviſion againſt this evil. There were ſome, that kept them company, who were honeſt men; by whom they often had ſecret intelligence what perſons Avales and Beard intended to take up. And ſo ſeveral, by ſhifting places and houſes, were preſerved. The knight-marſhal, Sir Thomas Holcroft, the under-marſhal, the knight-marſhal's ſecretary, were ſecret friends of the Proteſtants: and, when deſigns were laid to take any of them, ſome ſignification was often privately brought them, that ſearch would within ſome few hours be made for them; and therefore that they ſhould depart from their lodgings, and conceal themſelves. And when any good men were under their hands in priſon, they would take all occaſions to ſhew them kindneſs, as far as ſafely they might.

367 The Proteſtants frequently aſſemble.

But notwithſtanding theſe perſecutions, and that very few of the miniſters remained, being either burnt or fled; yet the Proteſtants in London had very frequently their aſſemblies. And ſometimes, for want of preachers of the clergy, laymen exerciſed. Among theſe I find one old Henry Daunce, a bricklayer of White-chappel, who uſed to preach the Goſpel in his garden every holy-day: where would be preſent ſometimes a thouſand people.

Confidently reported that a male heir to the crown was born.

The very beginning of May there was exceeding joy among the Papiſts for the birth of an heir-male to the crown: whereof the report was ſo confident every where, that, in the county of Norfolk, the Mayor of Norwich ſent word of it to the Earl of Suſſex; and the Biſhop had *Te Deum* ſung in the cathedral, and other places of the city. And all expreſſions of joy both in city and country were ſhewn. And ſo it was, no queſtion, in other parts of the nation. And, which is more ſtrange, ſo long did this bruit

hold, that, beſides the firſt intelligence thereof brought to Norwich, within a day or two after came two perſons more, avering the truth thereof. The Biſhop deſired the Earl, according as he heard, if he had any further knowledge, to impart it to him. The contents of all this may be read in the original letter, which is tranſcribed into the Appendix. CHAP. XVII. Anno 1555. Num. LXXXVII.

But the belief of the Queen's great belly went not over ſo. For then it was given out, that in June, about Whitſuntide, was the time that the Queen expected her delivery: and midwives, rockers, and nurſes were provided. And, juſt when that time came, another rumour was blown about in London, that the Queen was delivered of a child. And the bells were rung, bonfires and proceſſions made: and in moſt parts of the realm ſo it was. Nay, in Antwerp guns were ſhot off by the Engliſh ſhips, and the Lady Regent rewarded the mariners with an hundred piſtoles. The Queen's great belly.

But there happened now two things which make it ſeem as though all this were but deſign, to impoſe upon the belief of the world. The one was this: "There was a woman, "living near Alderſgate, delivered June the 11th, 1555, "being Whitſunday morning, of a man child. Unto whom "the Lord North and another Lord came, and deſired to "have her child from her, with very fair offers. As, that "her child ſhould be well provided for, and that ſhe ſhould "take no care for it, if ſhe would ſwear that ſhe never "knew nor had ſuch child. And, after this, other women "came to her: of whom one, they ſaid, ſhould have been "the rocker. But ſhe would in no caſe part with her child. "This very woman, before witneſs, made this declaration "unto Mr. Fox and others, about the year 1568, while he "was printing his book: but he leaves it to the liberty of "the reader to believe what he liſt." Add to this one other paſſage of a man within four miles of Berwick, who, ſpeaking of the bonfires for joy of the birth of a Prince, ſaid, "There was a joyful triumph, but at length all would "not prove worth a meſs of pottage." Like a deſign. Fox, p. 1450.

As the Queen's great belly gave theſe great diſappointments, ſo, while ſhe went with it, it gave her occaſion to be more ſevere againſt the poor Goſpellers, who were now daily burnt. For ſhe thought, and ſo ſhe ſaid, "ſhe could not be 368 The Queen's zeal.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

"ſafely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could "ſucceed proſperouſly with her, unleſs all the hereticks in "priſon were burnt *ad unum*, not ſparing one." Which cruelty I do ſuppoſe her prieſts and confeſſors put into her head.

Pet. Martyr ad Pet. Alexand.

A convocation.

There was a convocation in November this year; wherein Cardinal Pole preſided. The Queen gave him a licence under the great ſeal to hold a ſynod: wherein ſhe ordered him to decree what canons he thought fit. So he compoſed a book, with a very ſpecious title, *viz. Reformatio Angliæ, ex Decretis Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis, &c.* which was printed: a manuſcript copy whereof was in the famous library of Mr. Smith, of late years ſold by auction. The decrees of this book, in number twelve, were agreed to in February. They are briefly ſet down by the Biſhop of Sarum in his Hiſtory. There was an article made in favour of non-reſidences; which I meet with in the Benet library: there is no date, but I ſtrongly conjecture it is to be laid to this convocation. The Cardinal ſeemed not to favour non-reſidences; but the rich clergy and dignitaries were of another mind: wherefore they made this propoſition;

Part ii. p. 324. Vol. intit. Synodalia.

Decretum perpetuæ reſidentiæ juxta canonum ſanctiones optant pii; ſed multa ſunt, quæ hodie impediunt, quominus ſuum effectum juxta bonorum virorum vota conſequatur. To which are ſubjoined reaſons for this propoſition, and remedies for this evil: which may be read in the Appendix.

Num. LXXXVIII.

CHAP. XVIII.

Ridley and Latimer burnt.

Some petition the Queen for Cranmer.

WE can declare little this year of the poor Archbiſhop, being now a priſoner at Oxford, and out of all place of action. The archbiſhoprick was ſequeſtered into the hands of Cardinal Pole, and his palace at Lambeth appointed for the Cardinal's abode. In a petition, that ſome of thoſe that were abroad had ſent over to the Queen this year, to diſſuade her from theſe perſecutions that were now ſo

rigorouſly ſet on foot in England, they interceded for Cranmer, putting her in mind how he had once preſerved her, in her father's time, by his earneſt interceſſions with him for her. "So that," they ſaid, "ſhe had more reaſon "to believe he loved her, and would ſpeak the truth to her, "than ſhe had of all the reſt of the clergy." But, alas, this did little good. CHAP. XVIII. Anno 1555.

In October, Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and, paſſing by Cranmer's priſon, Ridley looked up to have ſeen him, and to have taken his farewell of him: but he was not then at the window, being engaged in diſpute with a Spaniſh friar. But he looked after them, and, devoutly falling upon his knees, prayed to God to ſtrengthen their faith and patience in that their laſt, but painful paſſage. He ſeeth Ridley and Latimer going to their burning.

And here, for a farewell to theſe two reverend fathers, let us make a little halt, to take ſome view of them. Of Ridley ſufficient has been ſaid to acquaint us with the worthineſs of that man. Of Latimer a word or two. His character is beſt taken from them who beſt knew him, and lived in his time. One of theſe thus ſpeaks of him, while he was yet alive, in the beginning of King Edward. "Latimer was "very famous, not only for the pureneſs of his life, which "had always been innocent and blameleſs, but for the "ſincerity and goodneſs of his evangelical doctrine: which, "ſince the beginning of his preaching, had in all points "been ſo conformable to the teaching of Chriſt, and of his "Apoſtles, that the very adverſaries of God's truth, with "all their menacing words, and cruel impriſonment, could "not withdraw him from it. But whatſoever he had once "preached, he valiantly defended the ſame before the "world, without fear of any mortal creature, although of "never ſo great power and high authority; wiſhing and "minding rather to ſuffer, not only loſs of worldly poſſeſ-"ſions, but alſo of life, than that the glory of God, and the "truth of Chriſt's Goſpel, ſhould in any point be obſcured "or defaced through him. His life was not dear unto him, "ſo that he might fulfil his courſe with joy, and the office "that he received of the Lord Jeſus, to teſtify the Goſpel "of God's favour. His fame began to grow apace, while Latimer's character. 369 Becon, in his Jewel of Joy.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" he was at Cambridge, [which was ſome years before
" 1530,] doing abundance of good there among the ſtudents
" by his ſermons, which were many, by him preached both
" in Latin and Engliſh. The ſcholars flocked after him,
" and took great notice of his doctrine, and commending it
" ſometimes to letters, as moſt faithful treaſures of memory.
" Before them he did, by authorities out of God's word,
" and invincible arguments, beſides the allegation of the
" doctors, prove, that the holy Scriptures ought to be read
" in the Engliſh tongue of all chriſten people, whether they
" were prieſts or laymen: though many friars and others
" could not abide this doctrine, and would reſiſt him, and
" preach againſt him, notwithſtanding he, or rather God in
" him, got the victory. And it came to paſs according to
" his teaching; [when the reading of the Scripture was
" allowed by the royal authority.] Before the ſcholars alſo
" he inveighed againſt temple-works, good intents, blind
" zeal, ſuperſtitious devotion; as the painting of tabernacles,
" gilding of images, ſetting up of candles, running on
" pilgrimage, and ſuch other idle inventions of men; where-
" by the grace of God was obſcured, and his works of
" mercy the leſs regarded. He was alſo wont to rebuke
" the beneficed men, with the authority of God's word, for
" neglecting and not teaching their flock, and for being
" abſent from their cures, they themſelves being idle, and
" maſting themſelves like hogs of Epicurus, taking no
" thought, though their poor pariſhioners miſerably pined
" away, ſtarved, periſhed and died for hunger. He would
" condemn alſo, at theſe his Univerſity-ſermons, fooliſh,
" ungodly, and impoſſible vows; as the vow of chaſtity:
" wiſhing rather that liberty of marriage might be granted
" to them which had ſo vowed by the higher powers, than
" ſo to continue, through ſingle life, in all kind of abomi-
" nable uncleanneſs. O how vehement was he in rebuking
" all ſins; namely, idolatry, falſe and idle ſwearing, covetouſ-
370 " neſs, and whoredom! Again, how ſweet and pleaſant
" were his words in exhorting unto virtue! He ſpake
" nothing, but it left, as it were, certain pricks or ſtings in
" the hearts of the hearers, which moved them to conſent to
" his doctrine. None, except they were ſtiff-necked, and

" uncircumciſed in heart, went away from his ſermons, CHAP. XVIII.
" which were not led with a faithful repentance of their Anno 1558.
" former lives, affected with high deteſtation of ſin, and
" moved unto all godlineſs and virtue."

The writer of all this ſaid, " He knew certain men, " which, through the perſuaſion of their friends, went unto " his ſermons, ſwelling blown full, and puft up, like Eſop's " frogs, with envy and malice againſt him; but, when they " returned, his ſermon being done, and demanded how " they liked him and his doctrine, they anſwered, with the " Biſhops and Phariſees ſervants, *There was never man ſpake* " *like unto this man.* He would alſo ſpeak freely againſt buy- " ing and ſelling of benefices; againſt promoting ſuch to the " livings of ſpiritual miniſters, which were unlearned and " ignorant in the law of God; againſt popiſh pardons; " againſt the repoſing our hope in our own works, or in " other men's merits. He was alſo a charitable man, when " he was at Cambridge, according to his ability, to poor " ſcholars, and other needy people: ſo conformable was his " life to his doctrine. Inſomuch that there was a common " ſaying in that Univerſity, *When Mr. Stafford read, and* " *Latimer preached, then was Cambridge bleſſed.*"

But to return to our Archbiſhop in his priſon: where he divided his melancholy time, partly in diſputings and diſ- courſes with learned men of the contrary perſuaſion, who laboured to bring him over, thinking thereby to obtain a great glory to their church; and partly in preparing an anſwer to Biſhop Gardiner, under the name of *Marcus Antonius*, in vindication of his own book concerning the Sacrament. And he finiſhed three parts in priſon: two whereof were loſt in Oxford, and one came into the hands of John Fox, as he tells us himſelf; which, he ſaid, was ready to be ſeen and ſet forth, as the Lord ſhould ſee good. Biſhop Ridley alſo in his confinement wrote marginal annotations on the ſide of Gardiner's ſaid book, with the lead of a window, for want of pen and ink. Great pity it is that theſe laſt ſtudies of the Archbiſhop are loſt: for even that part, which was once in Fox's cuſtody, is gone with his fellows, for aught that I can find among his papers. Cranmer's employment in priſon.

It was ſome time before this that there was a report

BOOK III. ſpread, that the Queen was dead. The rumour preſently extended itſelf over the ſeas: which occaſioned the death of one pious profeſſor of the Goſpel; namely, Bartlet Green, a lawyer. For Chriſtopher Goodman having writ to him, his former acquaintance in Oxford, to certify him of the truth thereof, he in a letter in anſwer wrote thus; "The "Queen is not yet dead." This and divers other letters, that were given to a bearer to carry beyond ſea to the exiles there, were intercepted; and, being read at the council, ſome would have it to amount to treaſon, as though there had been a plot carrying on againſt the Queen's life. But the law not making thoſe words treaſon, he, after long lying in the Tower, was ſent by the council to Biſhop Boner. Who upon examination found him too firm to be moved from the doctrine of the Goſpel; and ſo condemned him to the fire.

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CHAP. XIX.

The laſt Proceedings with Cranmer.

Proceedings againſt Cranmer.

AFTER Ridley and Latimer were diſpatched, and had ſealed their doctrine with their blood at Oxford, the ſaid courſe was reſolved to be taken with Cranmer, late Archbiſhop, but now the arch-heretick, as he was eſteemed by them. They had been all three condemned, and adjudged hereticks, by Dr. Weſton, in the univerſity of Oxford, after their diſputations. But that ſentence was void in law; becauſe the authority of the Pope was not yet received: therefore they were tried and judged upon new commiſſions. The commiſſion for judging the two former was from Pole the Cardinal, Lord Legate: wherein the commiſſioners conſtituted were, White, Biſhop of Lincoln; Brooks, Biſhop of Gloceſter; and Holiman, Biſhop of Briſtow. But there was a new commiſſion ſent from Rome for the conviction of Cranmer. Brooks, of Gloceſter, was the Pope's ſub-delegate under Cardinal Puteo, to whom the Pope had committed this proceſs; and Martin and Story, doctors of the civil law,

were the Queen's commiſſioners: the former of which was now, or ſoon after, for his good ſervices, made one of the maſters in chancery, and was much employed in theſe trials of poor men. Notwithſtanding this man complied in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and took his oath againſt the Pope now a ſecond time. In this commiſſion from the Pope he decreed, in a formality of words, "that the Archbiſhop "ſhould have charity and juſtice ſhewed to him, and that he "ſhould have the laws in moſt ample manner to anſwer in "his behalf." He decreed alſo, "that the ſaid Archbiſhop "ſhould come before the Biſhop of Gloceſter, as high com-"miſſioner from his Holineſs, for the examination of ſuch "articles as ſhould be produced againſt him: and that "Martin and Story ſhould require, in the King and Queen's "name, the examination of him." In purſuance of this command from the Pope, and in obedience to the King and Queen, they came down to Oxon upon this commiſſion; and, September 12, (which was ſeven days before the condemnation of Latimer and Ridley,) ſat in St. Mary's church, accompanied with many other doctors, and ſuch-like; and, among the reſt, the Pope's collector. The Archbiſhop was brought forth out of priſon habited in a fair black gown, and his hood of doctor of divinity on both ſhoulders. Then ſome proctor ſaid aloud, "Thomas Archbiſhop of Canter-"bury, appear here, and make anſwer to that which ſhall "be laid to thy charge for blaſphemy, incontinency, and "hereſy." What due honour the Archbiſhop gave unto the Queen's commiſſioners, as repreſenting the ſupreme authority of the nation, and how he gave none to Brooks, the Pope's repreſentative, keeping on his cap; and the ſpeeches, that the ſaid Brooks and the other two made unto him, with the Archbiſhop's diſcreet and excellent anſwers, ſtill interpoſing his proteſtation againſt Brooks his authority; may be ſeen at large in Fox's Monuments. 372

Only it may not be amiſs here briefly to mention, (for the better underſtanding of the form of the proceſs,) that, after the Archbiſhop was cited, as before was ſaid, into the court, the Biſhop of Gloceſter firſt made an oration, directed unto the Archbiſhop at the opening of his commiſſion. Next, Dr. Martin made a ſhort ſpeech; and, being with Dr. Story

Martin acts as the Queen's proctor.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

appointed the King's and Queen's attorneys, he offered unto the ſaid Biſhop their proxy, ſealed with the broad-ſeal of England; and then preſenting himſelf to be proctor on their behalf. After that, he proceeded to exhibit certain articles againſt the Archbiſhop, containing adultery and perjury; (the one for being married, the other for breaking his oath to the Pope.) Alſo he exhibited books of hereſy, made partly by him, and partly by his authority publiſhed. And ſo produced him as a party principal to anſwer to his Lordſhip. After this, having leave given him, the Archbiſhop, beginning with the Lord's Prayer and Creed, made a long and learned apology for himſelf: which is preſerved to poſterity in the Acts and Monuments.

His greateſt trouble at this time.

By his diſcourſe before the commiſſioners it appeared, how little he was taken with the ſplendour of worldly things. For he profeſſed, "that the loſs of his promotions grieved "him not: he thanked God as heartily for that poor and "afflicted ſtate in which he then was, as ever he did for "the times of his proſperity. But that which ſtuck cloſeſt "to him, as he ſaid, and created him the greateſt ſorrow, "was, to think that all that pains and trouble, that had "been taken by King Henry and himſelf, for ſo many "years, to retrieve the ancient authority of the Kings of "England, and to vindicate the nation from a foreign "power, and from the baſeneſs and infinite inconveniences "of crouching to the Biſhops of Rome, ſhould now thus "eaſily be quite undone again. And therefore, he ſaid, "all his trouble at that time, and the greateſt that ever he "had in his life, was, to ſee the King and Queen's Majeſties, "by their proctors there, to become his accuſers, and that "in their own realm and country, before a foreign power. "For that, if he had tranſgreſſed the laws of the land, their "Majeſties had ſufficient authority and power, both from "God, and the ordinance of the realm, to puniſh him. "Whereunto he would be at all times content to ſubmit "himſelf."

Interrogatories put to him, with his anſwers.

At this time of his trial, ſeveral interrogatories were adminiſtered unto him, to make anſwer to: as, concerning his marriage; concerning his ſetting abroad hereſies, and making and publiſhing certain books of hereſy. To which he con-

feſſed, that the Catechiſm, and the book of Articles, and the book againſt Biſhop Gardiner, were of his doing. Concerning ſubſcribing thoſe Articles, and his compelling perſons to ſubſcribe. Which he denied; but that he exhorted them that were willing to ſubſcribe, he acknowledged. Concerning his open maintaining his errors in Oxon: [whereas they brought him to the diſputation themſelves.] Concerning his being noted with the infamy of ſchiſm; and that he moved the King, and ſubjects of his realm, to recede 373 from the catholick church and ſee of Rome. Which he acknowledged: but that their departure, or receſs, had in it no matter of ſchiſm. Concerning his being twice ſworn to the Pope. And Dr. Martin then ſhewed a copy of his proteſtation againſt the Pope at his conſecration, under a public notary's hand. That he took upon him the ſee of Rome, in conſecrating biſhops and prieſts, without leave or licence from the ſaid ſee. To which he anſwered, that it was permitted to him by the public laws of the realm. Concerning his ſtanding out ſtill to ſubſcribe to the Pope's authority, when the whole nation had. This being done, a public notary entered his anſwers. Then the Biſhop of Gloceſter made another ſpeech, at breaking up of this meeting, and Dr. Story another, reflecting upon what Cranmer had ſaid; with reviling and taunts.

The laſt thing they did at this meeting was, to ſwear ſeveral perſons, who were the next day to declare what they knew, or could remember, againſt this reverend father. And theſe were, Dr. Marſhal, Dean of Chriſt's Church, a moſt furious and zelotical man; and who, to ſhew his ſpite againſt the reformation, had cauſed Peter Martyr's wife, who deceaſed while he was the King's profeſſor, to be taken out of her grave, and buried in his dunghill: Dr. Smith, public profeſſor, who had recanted moſt ſolemnly in King Edward's days, and to whom the Archbiſhop was a good friend, yet not long afterwards he wrote againſt his book, and was now ſworn a witneſs againſt him: Dr. Treſham, a Canon of Chriſt-Church, who was one of the diſputers againſt Cranmer, and had ſaid, in his popiſh zeal, "that there were ſix hundred "errors in his book of the Sacrament:" Dr. Crook; Mr. London, a relation, I ſuppoſe, of Dr. London, who came to

Witneſſes ſworn againſt him.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

ſhame for his falſe accuſation of Cranmer and others in King Henry's reign; and now this man, it is like, was willing to be even with Cranmer, for his relation's ſake: Mr. Curtop, another Canon of Chriſt's Church, formerly a great hearer of Peter Martyr; Mr. Ward; Mr. Serles, the ſame, I ſuppoſe, who belonged to the church of Canterbury, and had been among the number of the conſpirators againſt him in King Henry's days. And theſe being ſworn, the Archbiſhop was allowed to make his exceptions againſt any of them: who reſolutely ſaid, "He would admit none of them all, being "perjured men; having ſworn againſt the Pope, and now "received and defended him: and that therefore they were "not in chriſtian religion." And ſo the good father was remitted back, for that time, to priſon again.

Cited to Rome.

I know not what the depoſitions of theſe witneſſes were, given in againſt him the next day: for Fox relates nothing thereof, nor any other, as I know of. Doubtleſs they were ſome of the doctrines that he preached, or taught, or defended, in Canterbury formerly, or more lately in his diſputations in the ſchools, or in his diſcourſes in his priſon, or at Chriſt's Church, where he ſometimes was entertained. But to all that was objected againſt him he made his anſwers. And the laſt thing they of this commiſſion did was, to cite him to appear at Rome, within eighty days, to make there his anſwer in perſon: which, he ſaid, he would be
374 content to do, if the King and Queen would ſend him. And ſo he was again remanded back to durance, where he ſtill remained. And an account of what theſe commiſſioners had done was diſpatched to Rome forthwith: from whence the final ſentence was ſent in December next.

The Pope's letters againſt him.

Then Pope Paul ſent his letters executory unto the King and Queen, and to the Biſhops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him: and, in the end of thoſe fourſcore days, he was declared *contumax*, as wilfully abſenting himſelf from Rome, when he was ſummoned to go, though he was detained in priſon; which might have been a lawful and juſt excuſe. But theſe matters muſt proceed in their form, whatſoever abſurdity or falſehood there were in them.

The proceſs againſt him at Rome.

By theſe letters executory, (which are in the firſt edition of Fox, but omitted in all the reſt,) we may collect how the

proceſs went againſt Cranmer at Rome, which I ſhall here briefly ſet down. Firſt, the King and Queen ſent their information to the Pope againſt Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury; *viz.* "That he had brought this noble realm from "the unity of the catholick church. That he was a perſon "guilty of hereſy, and many other grand crimes, and not "worthy to enjoy his biſhoprick, and moſt worthy greater "puniſhments; and they requeſted that proceſs might be "made againſt him." For the better inquiry into, and taking cognizance of the truth of theſe accuſations, the Pope gave a ſpecial commiſſion, ſigned with his hand, to James Puteo, Cardinal of St. Mary's, and afterwards of St. Simeon, to cite the ſaid Thomas before him, and all ſuch witneſſes as ſhould be needful, to come to a true knowledge of the Archbiſhop's crimes: and accordingly to give the Pope an account of all he ſhould find. This he was to do in his own perſon, or to conſtitute any dignified perſon, abiding in theſe parts, to do the ſame. So the ſaid Cardinal appointed Brookes Biſhop of Gloceſter, and ſome colleagues with him, to manage this commiſſion in his ſtead. This Brookes, having been Biſhop Gardiner's chaplain, was probably nominated and recommended by the ſaid Gardiner, as I do ſuppoſe he was the perſon that directed the whole managery of this proceſs againſt the Archbiſhop. And ſo Brookes, being now by this deputation the Pope's ſub-delegate, proceeded in this cauſe, as was ſaid before. In regard of the Archbiſhop's citation to Rome, to anſwer there, and make his perſonal appearance before the Pope, the letters executory ſay, *comparere non curaret*, as an aggravation of his crime, that "he took no care to appear;" (which was falſe;) and that therefore, as the ſaid letters ran, the King and Queen's proctors at Rome, named Peter Rouilius, and Anthony Maſſa de Galleſio, and Alexander Palentarius, the proctor of the Pope's treaſury, had ſued, that contumacy might be definitively pronounced againſt the ſaid Thomas Cranmer, being cited and not appearing. Therefore, "He, Pope Paul "IV. ſitting in the throne of juſtice, and having before his "eyes God alone, who is the righteous Lord, and judgeth "the world in righteouſneſs, did make this definitive ſen-"tence, pronouncing and decreeing the ſaid Thomas Cran-

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"mer to be found guilty of the crimes of hereſy and other "exceſſes, to be wholly unmindful of the health of his "ſoul, to go againſt the rules and eccleſiaſtical doctrines of "the holy Fathers, and againſt the apoſtolical traditions of
375 "the Roman church and ſacred councils, and the rites of "the chriſtian religion hitherto uſed in the church; eſ- "pecially againſt the ſacrament of the body and blood of "our Lord, and holy orders; by thinking and teaching "otherwiſe than the holy mother church preacheth and "obſerveth; and by denying the primacy and authority of "the apoſtolick ſee; and againſt the proceſſions, which "every year, on Corpus Chriſti day, were wont to be cele- "brated by the Pope's predeceſſors." Mention alſo is made of his "bringing again in the hereſy abjured by "Berengarius, of his believing the falſe and heretical doc- "trines of Wicklif and Luther, thoſe arch-hereticks: print- "ing of books of that nature, and publiſhing them, and "defending thoſe doctrines in public diſputations, and that "before his ſub-delegate, and perſiſting herein with ob- "ſtinacy. Therefore the Pope excommunicated him, and "deprived him of his archbiſhoprick, and all other places "and privileges whatſoever, and adjudged him to be de- "livered over to the ſecular court, and all his goods to be "confiſcate. And the Pope abſolved all perſons from any "oath of fidelity given to Cranmer, and impoſed perpetual "ſilence upon him. And moreover, upon the inſtance of "the above-ſaid proctors, commanded the Biſhops of Lon- "don and Ely to degrade him, and ſo to deliver him over "to the ſecular court. This bore date December 14."

The Pope's letters read.

In obedience to theſe letters from Rome, the two Biſhops, the Pope's delegates, came down to Oxford; and, ſitting in the choir of Chriſt's Church, before the high altar, the ſaid commiſſional letters were read: wherein it was ſpecified, "That all things were indifferently examined on both par- "ties, and counſel heard as well on the King's and Queen's "behalf, who were Cranmer's accuſers, as on the behalf of "Cranmer, ſo that he wanted nothing to his neceſſary de- "fence." Whereat the Archbiſhop could not but exclaim (while theſe things were reading) againſt ſuch manifeſt lies, "That, (as he ſaid,) when he was continually in priſon,

" and could never be ſuffered to have counſel or advocate at " home, he ſhould produce witneſs, and appoint his counſel " at Rome. God muſt needs puniſh (added he) this open " and ſhameleſs lying."

They degrade him.

But this command of degrading our Archbiſhop was preſently proceeded upon: Thomas Thirlby, Biſhop of Ely, his old friend, infinitely beforetime obliged by the Archbiſhop, ſhed many tears at the doing of it. So that Cranmer, moved at it, was fain to comfort him, and told him, he was well contented with it. So they appareled the Archbiſhop in all the garments and ornaments of an Archbiſhop; only in mockery every thing was of canvas, and old clouts. And the croſier was put into his hand. And then he was, piece by piece, ſtript of all again. When they began to take away his pall, he aſked them, " Which of them had a pall, to " take away his pall? They then anſwered, acknowledging " they were his inferiors, as biſhops; but, as they were the " Pope's delegates, they might take away his pall." While they were thus ſpoiling him of all his garments, he told them, " That it needed not; for that he had done with this " gear long ago." While this was doing, Boner made a triumphant ſpeech againſt the poor Archbiſhop. But when they came to take away his croſier, he held it faſt, and 376 would not deliver it: but pulled out an appeal out of his left ſleeve under his wriſt, and ſaid, " I appeal unto the " next general council; and herein I have comprehended " my cauſe, and the form of it, which I deſire may be ad- " mitted. And prayed divers times to the ſtanders by to " be witneſſes, naming them by their names." This appeal is preſerved in Fox, which is well worthy the reading.

He appeals.

He is ill dealt with in his proceſs.

The Archbiſhop was all along ill dealt with in divers reſpects in this his proceſs, which himſelf was well ſenſible of. One was, that he had deſired the court, that, conſidering he was upon his life, he might have the uſe of proctors, advocates, and lawyers. But they would allow him none. After the court, wherein Brooks was ſub-delegate, had done, they promiſed him that he ſhould ſee his anſwers to ſixteen articles, that they had laid againſt him; that he might correct, amend, and change them, where he thought good. And that promiſe they performed not. And ſo

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entered his anſwers upon record, though his anſwer was not made upon oath, nor reſerved, nor made *in judicio*, but *extra judicium*. Which Cranmer made a proteſt of: but not to the Biſhop of Gloceſter, as judge, whom he would not own; but to the King's and Queen's proctors, Martin and Story. To them, for theſe reaſons, he wrote a letter, "that "he truſted they would deal ſincerely with him, without "fraud or craft, and uſe him as they would wiſh to be uſed "in the like caſe themſelves: bidding them remember, that "with what meaſure they mete, it ſhould be meaſured to "them again."

The reaſons of his appeal.

Therefore, to make himſelf ſome amends for all this foul dealing, his laſt refuge was an appeal: whereof he ſeriouſly bethought himſelf when, and in what manner, to make it. The cauſes for his reſolving upon it, beſides thoſe already mentioned, were, becauſe he remembered Luther once did ſo in ſuch a caſe; and that he might not ſeem raſhly to caſt away his own life; and becauſe he was bound by his oath never to receive the Pope's authority in this realm; and becauſe the commiſſioners had broken their promiſe with him, as above was ſaid; and becauſe he thought the Biſhop of Rome was not an indifferent judge in this cauſe, which was his own cauſe: for all the Archbiſhop's troubles came upon him for departing from him. He therefore wrote privately to a truſty friend, and learned in the law, then in the Univerſity, to inſtruct him in the order and form of an appeal: and whether he ſhould firſt appeal from the judge-delegate to the Pope, or elſe from that judge immediately to a general council. And ſo earneſtly entreated him to lay aſide all other ſtudies, and to take this in hand preſently, becauſe he was ſummoned to make his anſwer at Rome, the ſixteenth day of this month, that is, of February. There was one reaſon more moved him to appeal, which muſt not be omitted, namely, that he might gain time to finiſh his anſwer to Marcus Antonius. "He feared, after all, they "would not admit his appeal. But he did not much paſs, "and deſired God's will might be done: ſo that God "might be glorified by his life or death. He thought it "much better to die in Chriſt's quarrel, than to be ſhut in
377 "the priſon of the body, unleſs it were for the advancement

"of God's glory, and the profit of his brethren." This letter of the Archbiſhop, being writ with ſo much ſtrength and preſence of mind, and ſhewing ſo much prudence and wit, is happily preſerved in Fox's Monuments, where it may be read. CHAP. XIX. Anno 1555.

This appeal, when the Archbiſhop had produced and preferred to the Biſhop of Ely, he told him, "That they "could not admit of it, becauſe their commiſſion was to "proceed againſt him, *omni appellatione remota.*" Cranmer replied, "That this cauſe was not every private man's "cauſe, but that it was between the Pope and him im- "mediately, and none otherwiſe: and that no man ought "to be judge in his own cauſe. And therefore they did "him the more wrong." So at laſt Thirlby received it of him, and ſaid, if it might be admitted, it ſhould. He preſſeth his appeal.

And ſo, after this interruption, they proceeded to degrade him, taking off the reſt of his habits. And then put him on a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, threadbare, and a townſman's cap. And Boner told him, "He was no Lord any "more:" and ſo was ſent to priſon.

CHAP. XX.

Cranmer writes to the Queen.

AND now, having undergone theſe brunts with all this gravity, diſcretion, learning, and courage, he next reſolved to give the Queen a true and impartial account of theſe tranſactions, to prevent miſreports, and to juſtify himſelf in what he had ſaid and done. Two letters therefore he wrote to her, but thought not fit to entruſt them with the commiſſioners, ſince Weſton had ſerved him ſuch a trick in the like caſe before. In theſe letters he related the reaſon of his refuſing the Biſhop of Gloceſter for his judge, and of his appeal. For as he thought it his duty, at that juncture, to declare himſelf in that public manner againſt the Biſhop of Rome, ſo he reckoned he ought to declare himſelf alſo to the ſupreme magiſtrate. And therefore, before the Biſhop of Writes two letters to the Queen.

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Gloceſter, and the commiſſioners, he ſaid, "That as he had "thus diſcharged his own conſcience towards the world, ſo "he would alſo write his mind to her Grace touching this "matter."

The contents of the firſt.

He wrote to her, "That the twelfth day of that month "he was cited to appear at Rome the eightieth day after. "And that it could not but grieve the heart of a natural "ſubject to be accuſed by the King and Queen of his own "country, and before any outward judge: as if the King "and Queen were ſubjects within their own realm, and "were fain to complain and require juſtice at a ſtranger's "hand againſt their own ſubject, being already condemned "to death by their own laws. As though the King and "Queen could not have or do juſtice within their own "realm, againſt their own ſubjects; but they muſt ſeek it at "a ſtranger's hand, in a ſtrange land."

Then he proceeded to ſhew her, why he refuſed the Pope's authority, when Brooks Biſhop of Gloceſter came to try
378 him; namely, "becauſe he was ſworn never to conſent that "the Biſhop of Rome ſhould have or exerciſe any authority "or juriſdiction in the realm of England. Another reaſon "why he denied his authority, was, becauſe his authority "repugned to the crown imperial of this realm, and to the "laws of the ſame. For the Pope ſaith, all manner of "power, both temporal and ſpiritual, is given unto him of "God: and that temporal power is given to Kings and "Emperors to uſe it under him. Whereas, contrary to this "claim, (ſaid the Archbiſhop,) the imperial crown of this "realm is taken immediately from God, to be uſed under "him only, and is ſubject to none but God alone.

"Moreover, to the imperial laws of this realm all the "Kings in their coronations, and all juſtices, when they "receive their offices, are ſworn, and all the whole realm "bound to defend them. But, contrary hereunto, the Pope "(he ſaid) made void, and commanded to blot out of our "books, all laws and cuſtoms repugnant to his laws.

"Then he proceeded to ſhew, how contrary the laws of "the realm and the Pope's laws were. And therefore, that "the Kings of this realm had provided for their laws by "the *præmunire*. So that, if any man let the execution of

" the law, by any authority from the ſee of Rome, he fell
" into the *præmunire*. And, to meet with this, the popes
" had provided for their law by curſing.

" He ſuppoſed that theſe things were not fully opened in
" the parliament-houſe, when the Pope's authority was
" received again: for, if they were, he could not believe
" that the King and Queen, the nobles and commons, would
" again receive a foreign authority, ſo hurtful and pre-
" judicial to the crown, and to the laws and ſtate of this
" realm. He rebuked the clergy, who were the main
" movers of this at the parliament, for their own ends.
" For they deſired to have the Pope their chief head, to the
" intent that they might have, as it were, a kingdom and
" laws within themſelves, diſtinct from the laws of the
" crown; and live in this realm like lords and kings,
" without damage or fear of any man. And then he
" glanced at ſome of the clergy, [probably meaning Thirl-
" by, Hethe, Tonſtal, &c.] that they held their peace for this
" conſideration, though they knew this well enough: who,
" if they had done their duty to the crown and realm,
" ſhould have opened their mouths at this time, and ſhewn
" the peril and danger that might enſue to the crown
" hereby.

" Another cauſe he urged to the Queen, why he could
" not allow the Pope's authority, was, becauſe he ſubverted,
" not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of God.
" So that, whoſoever be under his authority, he ſuffered
" them not to be under Chriſt's religion purely. For proof
" of which he gave theſe inſtances. God's will and com-
" mandment is, that, when the people be gathered together
" to ſerve God, the miniſters ſhould uſe ſuch a language as
" the people might underſtand, and take profit thereby.
" For God ſaid by the mouth of St. Paul, As a harp or
" lute, if it give no certain ſound, that men may know what
" is ſtricken, who can dance after it? it is but in vain.
" So it is in vain, profiteth nothing, if the prieſt ſpeak to 379
" the people in a language they know not. And whereas,
" when he urged this to the commiſſioners, they told him,
" That that place reſpected preaching only. He told the
" Queen, That St. Paul's words meant it not only of

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" preaching, for that he ſpake expreſsly of praying, ſinging, " and giving thanks, and of all other things, which the " prieſts ſay in the churches. And ſo (he ſaid) all inter- " preters, Greek and Latin, old and new, ſchool authors, " and others, that he had read, underſtood it: till about " thirty years paſt, Eckius, and others of his ſort, began to " invent this new expoſition. And ſo (he ſaid) all the beſt " learned divines, that met at Windſor 1549, for the re- " formation of the church, both of the new learning and " the old, agreed without controverſy, (not one oppoſing,) " that the ſervice of the church ought to be in the mother- " tongue; and that that place of St. Paul was ſo to be un- " derſtood.

" Again, Chriſt ordained the ſacrament to be received of " chriſtian people, under both forms of bread and wine, and " ſaid, *Drink ye all of this.* The Pope gives a clean con- " trary command, That no layman ſhall drink of the cup " of their ſalvation. So that, if he ſhould obey the Pope in " theſe things, he muſt needs diſobey his Saviour."

Again, " He inſtanced in the Pope's taking upon him to " give the temporal ſword to Kings and Princes, and to de- " poſe them from their imperial ſtates, if they were diſ- " obedient to him; and in commanding ſubjects to diſobey " their Princes: aſſoiling them as well from their obedience, " as their lawful oaths made unto them; directly contrary " to God's commandment, that commandeth all ſubjects to " obey their Kings, and their rulers under them.

" Then he ſpake of the ſuperiority the Pope claimed " above Kings and Emperors, and making himſelf univerſal " Biſhop. And how his flatterers told him he might diſ- " penſe againſt God's word, both againſt the Old and " New Teſtament: and that whatſoever he did, though he " drew innumerable people by heaps with himſelf to hell, " yet might no mortal man reprove him; becauſe he is the " judge of all men, and might be judged by no man. And " thus he ſat in the temple of God, as he were a God, " and named himſelf God, and diſpenſed againſt God. " If this were not (he ſaid) to play Antichriſt's part, he " knew not what Antichriſt was; that is, Chriſt's enemy and " adverſary. Now, (added he,) until the time that ſuch a

" perſon may be found, men might eaſily conjecture where CHAP. XX.
" to find Antichriſt. Anno 1555.

" He took God to record, that what he ſpake againſt the " power and authority of the Pope, he ſpake it not for any " malice he ought to the Pope's perſon, whom he knew " not; nor for fear of puniſhment, or to avoid the ſame; " thinking it rather an occaſion to aggravate, than to di- " miniſh the ſame: but for his moſt bounden duty to the " crown, liberty, laws, and cuſtoms of this realm of Eng- " land; and moſt eſpecially to diſcharge his conſcience in " uttering the truth to God's glory, caſting away all fear " by the comfort which he had in Chriſt, who ſaith, *Fear* " *not them that kill the body.*"

As touching the ſacrament, he ſaid, " That foraſmuch 380
" as the whole matter ſtood in the underſtanding thoſe " words of Chriſt, *This is my body; This is my blood:* he " told the commiſſioners, that Chriſt in thoſe words made " demonſtration of the bread and wine, and ſpake figu- " ratively, calling bread his body, and wine his blood; " becauſe he ordained them to be ſacraments of his body " and blood. And he told them, he would be judged by " the old church which doctrine could be proved elder; " and that he would ſtand to. And that, foraſmuch as he " had urged in his book Greek and Latin authors, which " above a thouſand years continually taught as he did; " if they could bring forth but one old author that ſaid " in theſe two points as they ſaid, he offered ſix or ſeven " years ago, and offered ſo ſtill, that he would give place.

" Then he ſhewed her how fond and uncomfortable the " Papiſts' doctrine of the ſacrament is: for of one body of " Chriſt is made two bodies: one natural, having diſtance " of members, with form and proportion of man's perfect " body; and this body is in heaven. But the body of " Chriſt in the ſacrament, by their own doctrine, muſt " needs be a monſtrous body, having neither diſtance of " members, nor form, faſhion, or proportion of a man's " natural body. And ſuch a body is in the ſacrament, " teach they, as goes into the mouth with the form of " bread, and entereth no further than the form of bread " goes, nor tarrieth no longer than the form of bread is by

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"natural heat digeſting: ſo that, when the form of bread is "digeſted, the body of Chriſt is gone. And what comfort "(ſaid he) can be herein to any chriſtian man, to receive "Chriſt's unſhapen body, and it to enter no further than "the ſtomach, and depart by and by as ſoon as the bread is "conſumed? It ſeemed to him a more ſound and com- "fortable doctrine, that Chriſt hath but one body, and "that hath form and faſhion of a man's true body: which "body ſpiritually entereth into the whole man, body and "ſoul. And though the ſacrament be conſumed, yet "whole Chriſt remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto "eternal life, if he continue in godlineſs, and never de- "parteth until the receiver forſaketh him.

"That if it could be ſhewed him, that the Pope's au- "thority be not prejudicial to the things before mentioned; "or that his doctrine of the ſacrament be erroneous, then "he would never ſtand perverſely in his own opinion, but "with all humility ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, not only to "kiſs his feet, but another part alſo.

"For all theſe reaſons he could not take the Biſhop of "Glouceſter for his judge, repreſenting, as he did, this Pope. "But another reaſon was, in reſpect of his own perſon, "being more than once perjured, having been divers times "ſworn never to conſent that the Biſhop of Rome ſhould "have any juriſdiction within this realm, but to take the "King and his ſucceſſors for ſupreme heads thereof. And "he was perjured again, in taking his biſhoprick both "of the Queen and the Pope, making to each of them a "ſolemn oath: which oaths be ſo contrary, that the one "muſt needs be perjury. And further, in ſwearing to the "Pope to maintain his laws, decrees, conſtitutions, and "ordinances, he declared himſelf an enemy to the im-
381 "perial crown, and to the laws of the realm: whereby "he ſhewed himſelf not worthy to ſit as a judge in this "realm." This was the ſum of this excellent letter of the Archbiſhop to the Queen.

The contents of his ſecond letter.

He wrote another to her ſoon after: wherein he plainly told her, "that, at her coronation, ſhe took an oath to the "Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his perſon, to "maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges: and

" at the ſame time another oath to the kingdom, to main-
" tain the laws, liberties, and cuſtoms of the ſame. He
" prayed her to weigh both oaths, and ſee how they did
" agree; and then to do as her Grace's conſcience ſhould
" give her: for he was ſure (he ſaid) ſhe would not wil-
" lingly offend. He feared there were contradictions in
" her oaths, and that thoſe that ſhould have informed her
" Majeſty thoroughly, did not their duties herein. He
" complained that he was now kept from company of
" learned men, from books, from counſel, and from pen
" and ink, ſaving to write to her Majeſty at that time:
" and, as to his appearance at Rome, (he ſaid,) if ſhe would
" give him leave, he would appear there; and he truſted
" God would put in his mouth to defend his truth there, as
" well as here."

The Bailiff of Oxford carrieth his letters.

Theſe letters of his one of the Bailiffs of Oxon carried up to the Queen. Something elſe he wrote to her, enclоſed and ſealed; which he required Martyn and Story to be delivered without delay, and not to be opened until it were delivered unto her own hands. Theſe and other of his ſmart and learned letters, no queſtion, made impreſſion upon the Queen, or at leaſt upon thoſe that read them; for they were delivered by the Queen to no leſs a perſon than the holy father Cardinal Pole himſelf; who was adviſed to frame an anſwer to them.

Pole anſwereth them.

So he wrote to the Archbiſhop, in anſwer to one of them, a long letter, dated from St. James's, November 6, " wherein he pretended a great deal of compaſſion to his " ſoul; which, he told him, was ready to be loſt, as well as " his body: and that the condemnation that was lately " paſſed on him was ſo horrible to him to hear, that he " teſtified to him before God, and upon the ſalvation of his " ſoul, that he would rather chooſe to be the means of " bringing him to repentance, than to receive the greateſt " benefit that could be given him under heaven in this " world." Which the Cardinal might ſay, to take off the odium of the ſuſpicion, as though he haſtened Cranmer's death, that he might jump into his place. And ſo the Cardinal proceeded to attempt to convince him in the two great points of his letter; *viz.* concerning the authority of

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the Pope, and concerning the ſacrament of the altar: eſpecially, becauſe Cranmer had ſaid in his letter, "that he "would not be perverſe, to ſtand wilfully in his own opi- "nion, if any could ſhew him by reaſon that his doctrines "were erroneous." But I refer the reader to the Appendix, if he be minded to read the Cardinal's letter; which I met with among Fox's manuſcripts. By comparing of this letter of Pole's with that of Cranmer's, any one may ſee a mighty difference: ſtrength, evidence, and conviction in the Archbiſhop's, who had truth on his ſide; but a flaſhineſs and debility in the Cardinal's, made up of poor ſhifts and weak arguings, and impertinent allegations of Scripture, and perſonal reflections, to help out a bad cauſe.

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Some account of the Cardinal's letter to Cranmer.

To mention ſome few of this ſort. He charged the Archbiſhop with covetouſneſs and ambition in affecting the archbiſhoprick: and then, by and by, not well remembering what he had ſaid before, in his heat againſt the good Archbiſhop, he gives a contrary reaſon thereof, namely, "That he might be in a capacity to reform the church ac- "cording to his mind; and that it was for the ſake "of that, that he took an oath to the Pope at his conſe- "cration, though he were fain to make a proteſtation "againſt the ſaid oath." He ſaid in this letter, "That the "Archbiſhop's fall into error was not as the fall of others "uſually were, by frailty or curioſity, but by deliberate "malice: and that the Archbiſhop, by his proteſtation that "he made before he took his oath to the Pope, brake "his oath, and was forſworn before he did ſwear." Which, methinks, is pretty ſtrange. And, concerning this proteſtation, he ſaid, "It was a privy proteſtation, and that he "had privy witneſſes of it:" whereas it was done in the moſt open and public manner that could be, two or three times over, before public notaries, and by them entered on record, on purpoſe that all might take notice of it. And whereas the Archbiſhop had ſaid, "That it was much more "probable that the bread and wine ſhould be a figure, "than the real body and blood." The Cardinal ſaid, "The more probable it was, the more falſe; becauſe the "great ſophiſter and father of lies deceived by probability

" of reaſon." The conſequence whereof one would think ſhould be, the more improbable any opinion in religion was, the more true. " But (he ſaid) the true doctrine was taught " another way. He repreſented the Archbiſhop as chal- " lenging them of the other ſide to bring any one ſingle " doctor of the church, that ever ſpake in favour of tranſub- " ſtantiation;" leaving out, " for a thouſand years next after " Chriſt," which the Archbiſhop expreſsly had ſaid. And, in fine, every where he triumphed over the Archbiſhop's " wilful " blindneſs and ignorance;" and told him, in much charity, " That he was under the vengeance of God, a member of " Satan, and damned." This, and a great deal more, may be ſeen in Pole's letter.

Another letter of the Cardinal to Cranmer.

To which I might have added another letter of the ſaid Cardinal to the ſame Archbiſhop, concerning the ſacrament, a little after the diſputation at Oxford, but that it would be too prolix, being a juſt treatiſe againſt Cranmer's book of that argument. This treatiſe bears this title:

REGINALDI POLI Cardinalis Legati Apoſtolici Epiſtola ad Thomam Cranmerum, qui Archiepiſcopalem ſedem Cantuarienſis Eccleſiæ tenens, novam de Sacramento Euchariſtiæ Doctrinam contra perpetuum Catholicæ Eccleſiæ conſenſum profeſſus eſt, ac tradidit. Qua Epiſtola eum nec Magiſtrum tanti Myſterii, neque Diſcipulum idoneum eſſe poſſe; ſimulque unde hic ejus Error manarit, oſtendit; et ad pœnitentiam hortatur.

CHAP. XXI. 383

He recants, repents, and is burnt.

He recants.

HAVING brought the Archbiſhop unto his degradation and appeal, wherein he ſhewed ſo much chriſtian courage, wiſdom, and fortitude, I muſt now repreſent him making a great trip and a ſad fall; and mention one of the greateſt blemiſhes of his life. For now the popiſh party, thinking

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what a piece of glory it would be to gain this great man to their church, uſed all means, all arts, as well as arguments, to bring him to recant. They ſet the doctors of the Univerſity upon him. He was entertained at the Dean of Chriſt's Church his lodging: there they treated him with good fare. They got him to bowls with them. They let him have his pleaſure in taking the air. Sometimes they accoſted him with arguments and diſputations: ſometimes by flatteries, promiſes, and threatenings. They told him, "the "noblemen bare him good will: that his return would be "highly acceptable to the King and Queen. That he ſhould "enjoy his former dignity in the church; or, if it liked him "better, he ſhould lead a quiet life in more privacy: and "that it was but ſetting his name in two words in a piece "of paper. They told him, the Queen was reſolved to have "Cranmer a catholic, or no Cranmer at all. That he was "ſtill luſty and ſtrong, and might live many a year more, if "he would not willingly cut off his own life by the terrible "death of burning." He rejected theſe temptations a long while, but at laſt was overcome and yielded. The recantation I ſhall not repeat, it being to be ſeen at large in Fox. It was ſigned by his hand. The witneſſes thereunto were two or three, who had been exceedingly buſy in tampering with him: one Sydal, (a great profeſſor in the laſt reign,) and John and Richard, two Spaniſh friars.

Notwithſtanding his burning is ordered.

The doctors and prelates cauſed this recantation ſpeedily to be printed and diſperſed. When the Queen ſaw his ſubſcription, ſhe was glad of it, but would not alter her determination to have him burned, by the inſtigation, as I ſuppoſe, of Pole the legate: the writ for which was ſent down by Hethe, Lord Chancellor, in the latter end of February, under the broad-ſeal. It was charged upon his converters, that they were negligent in procuring his life from the Queen: but the true reaſon was, the Queen was reſolved not to grant it. She privately gave inſtruction to Cole to prepare a ſermon to preach at his burning: and ſeveral lords, and other juſtices of the peace in thoſe parts, were ordered to attend there, with their ſervants and retinue, to keep peace, and to ſee him executed. Cole coming with his errand to Oxon, viſited him in the priſon, and aſked him if he ſtood firm to

what he had ſubſcribed? This was the day before his execution; but ſaying nothing to him of his determined death. The next day, being the day he was to be burned, *viz.* March 21, he came again, and aſked him if he had any money? And, having none, he gave him certain crowns to beſtow to what poor he would; and ſo departed, exhorting him to conſtancy. But the diſconſolate Archbiſhop perceived to what this tended: and, being by and by to be brought to St. Mary's, (where Cole was to preach,) there openly to confeſs what he had more privately ſubſcribed, he reſolved with himſelf to diſburden his conſcience, and to revoke his recantation. And he prepared a prayer, and a declaration of his faith, which he drew up in writing, and carried it privately along with him, to make uſe of it when he ſaw his occaſion. The manner how he behaved himſelf after Cole's ſermon, and how he delivered his laſt mind, and with what bitterneſs and tears he did it; and how he was pulled down by the ſcholars, prieſts, and friars, with the greateſt indignation, at this their diſappointment; and how he was led out of the church forthwith to the place of burning, over-againſt Balliol College; and how he there firſt put his right hand into the flames to be conſumed, for that baſe ſubſcription that it made; and how his heart was found whole and unconſumed in the aſhes, after he was burnt: theſe, and the reſt of the particulars of his martyrdom, I might leave to Fox, and other hiſtorians from him, to relate.

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1556. 384

Yet, becauſe it is not convenient ſo briefly to paſs over ſuch a remarkable ſcene of his life, being his laſt appearance upon the ſtage of this world, I ſhall repreſent it in the words of a certain grave perſon unknown, but a Papiſt, who was an eye and ear witneſs, and related theſe matters, as it ſeems, very juſtly, in a letter from Oxon to his friend. Which is as followeth:

A letter from Oxford concerning Cranmer's death.

" But that I know for our great friendſhip, and long con-
" tinued love, you look even of duty that I ſhould ſignify to
" you of the truth of ſuch things as here chanceth among
" us; I would not at this time have written to you the un-
" fortunate end, and doubtful tragedy, of T. C. late Biſhop
" of Canterbury: becauſe I little pleaſure take in beholding

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" of ſuch heavy ſights. And, when they are once overpaſſed,
" I like not to rehearſe them again; being but a renewing
" of my wo, and doubling my grief. For although his
" former life, and wretched end, deſerves a greater miſery,
" (if any greater might have chanced than chanced unto
" him,) yet, ſetting aſide his offences to God and his coun-
" try, and beholding the man without his faults, I think
" there was none that pitied not his caſe, and bewailed his
" fortune, and feared not his own chance, to ſee ſo noble a
" prelate, ſo grave a counſellor, of ſo long continued ho-
" nour, after ſo many dignities, in his old years to be de-
" prived of his eſtate, adjudged to die, and in ſo painful a
" death to end his life. I have no delight to increaſe it.
" Alas, it is too much of itſelf, that ever ſo heavy a caſe
" ſhould betide to man, and man to deſerve it.

Cranmer brought to St. Mary's.

" But to come to the matter: on Saturday laſt, being the
" 21ſt of March, was his day appointed to die. And, becauſe
" the morning was much rainy, the ſermon appointed by
" Mr. Dr. Cole to be made at the ſtake, was made in St.
" Mary's church: whither Dr. Cranmer was brought by
" the Mayor and Aldermen, and my Lord Williams. With
" whom came divers gentlemen of the ſhire, Sir T. A.
" Bridges, Sir John Browne, and others. Where was pre-
385 " pared, over-againſt the pulpit, an high place for him, that
" all the people might ſee him. And, when he had aſcended
" it, he kneeled down and prayed, weeping tenderly: which
" moved a great number to tears, that had conceived an aſ-
" ſured hope of his converſion and repentance.

Cole's ſermon.

" Then Mr. Cole began his ſermon. The ſum whereof
" was this. Firſt, he declared cauſes why it was expedient
" that he ſhould ſuffer, notwithſtanding his reconciliation.
" The chief are theſe. One was, for that he had been a
" great cauſe of all this alteration in this realm of England.
" And, when the matter of the divorce between King
" Henry VIII. and Queen Katharine was commenced in
" the court of Rome, he, having nothing to do with it, ſet
" upon it as judge, which was the entry to all the inconve-
" niences that followed. Yet in that he excuſed him, that
" he thought he did it not of malice, but by the perſuaſions
" and advice of certain learned men. Another was, that he had

" been the great ſetter forth of all this hereſy received into CHAP.
" the church in this laſt time; had written in it, had diſ- XXI.
" puted, had continued it, even to the laſt hour: and that it Anno 1555.
" had never been ſeen in this realm (but in the time of
" ſchiſm) that any man continuing ſo long hath been par-
" doned: and that it was not to be remitted for enſamples-
" ſake. Other cauſes he alleged, but theſe were the chief,
" why it was not thought good to pardon him. Other
" cauſes beſide, he ſaid, moved the Queen and the council
" thereto, which were not meet and convenient for every
" one to underſtand them.

" The ſecond part touched the audience, how they ſhould
" conſider this thing: that they ſhould hereby take example
" to fear God; and that there was no power againſt the
" Lord: having before their eyes a man of ſo high degree,
" ſometime one of the chiefeſt Prelates of the church, an
" Archbiſhop, the chief of the council, the ſecond peer in
" the realm of long time: a man, as might be thought, in
" greateſt aſſurance, a King of his ſide; notwithſtanding all
" his authority and defence to be debaſed from an high
" eſtate to a low degree; of a counſellor to be a caitiff; and
" to be ſet in ſo wretched eſtate, that the pooreſt wretch
" would not change conditions with him.

" The laſt and end appertained unto him: whom he Turns his
" comforted and encouraged to take his death well, by ſpeech to Cranmer.
" many places of Scripture. And with theſe, and ſuch,
" bidding him nothing miſtruſt but he ſhould incontinently
" receive that the thief did: to whom Chriſt ſaid, *Hodie me-*
" *cum eris in paradiſo.* And out of St. Paul armed him
" againſt the terrors of the fire, by this; *Dominus fidelis eſt:*
" *Non ſinet nos tentari ultra quam ferre poteſtis:* by the ex-
" ample of the three children; to whom God made the
" flame ſeem like a pleaſant dew. He added hereunto the
" rejoicing of St. Andrew in his croſs; the patience of St.
" Laurence on the fire: aſcertaining him, that God, if he
" called on him, and to ſuch as die in his faith, either will
" abate the fury of the flame, or give him ſtrength to abide
" it. He glorified God much in his converſion; becauſe it
" appeared to be only his work: declaring what travel and
" conference had been uſed with him to convert him, and 386

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" all prevailed not, till it pleaſed God of his mercy to re-
" claim him, and call him home. In diſcourſing of which
" place, he much commended Cranmer, and qualified his
" former doing.

" And I had almoſt forgotten to tell you, that Mr. Cole
" promiſed him, that he ſhould be prayed for in every
" church in Oxford, and ſhould have maſs and *Dirige* ſung
" for him; and ſpake to all the prieſts preſent to ſay maſs
" for his ſoul.

After ſermon all pray for him.

" When he had ended his ſermon, he deſired all the peo-
" ple to pray for him: Mr. Cranmer kneeling down with
" them, and praying for himſelf. I think there was never
" ſuch a number ſo earneſtly praying together. For they,
" that hated him before, now loved him for his converſion,
" and hope of continuance. They that loved him before
" could not ſodenly hate him, having hope of his confeſſion
" again of his fall. So love and hope increaſed devotion on
" every ſide.

His penitent behaviour.

" I ſhall not need, for the time of ſermon, to deſcribe his
" behaviour, his ſorrowful countenance, his heavy cheer, his
" face bedewed with tears; ſometime lifting his eyes to
" heaven in hope, ſometime caſting them down to the earth
" for ſhame; to be brief, an image of ſorrow: the dolor of
" his heart burſting out at his eyes in plenty of tears: re-
" taining ever a quiet and grave behaviour. Which in-
" creaſed the pity in men's hearts, that they unfeignedly
" loved him, hoping it had been his repentance for his tranſ-
" greſſion and error. I ſhall not need, I ſay, to point it out
" unto you; you can much better imagine it yourſelf.

Speaks to the auditory.

" When praying was done, he ſtood up, and, having leave
" to ſpeak, ſaid, Good people, I had intended indeed to de-
" ſire you to pray for me; which becauſe Mr. Doctor hath
" deſired, and you have done already, I thank you moſt
" heartily for it. And now will I pray for myſelf, as I
" could beſt deviſe for mine own comfort, and ſay the
" prayer, word for word, as I have here written it. And he
" read it ſtanding: and after kneeled down, and ſaid the
" Lord's Prayer; and all the people on their knees devoutly
" praying with him. His prayer was thus:

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555.

"O FATHER of heaven; O Son of God, Redeemer of "the world; O Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from them both, "three Perſons and one God, have mercy upon me moſt "wretched caitiff, and miſerable ſinner. I who have of- "fended both heaven and earth, and more grievouſly than "any tongue can expreſs, whither then may I go, or whi- "ther ſhould I fly for ſuccour? To heaven I may be "aſhamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no re- "fuge. What ſhall I then do? ſhall I deſpair? God forbid. "O good God, thou art merciful, and refuſeſt none that "come unto thee for ſuccour. To thee therefore do I run. "To thee do I humble myſelf: ſaying, O Lord God, my "ſins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great "mercy. O God the Son, thou waſt not made man, this "great myſtery was not wrought, for few or ſmall offences. "Nor thou didſt not give thy Son unto death, O God the "Father, for our little and ſmall ſins only, but for all the "greateſt ſins of the world: ſo that the ſinner return unto "thee with a penitent heart; as I do here at this preſent. 387 "Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whoſe property "is always to have mercy. For although my ſins be "great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, "for mine own merits, but for thy name's ſake, that it may "be glorified thereby: and for thy dear ſon Jeſus Chriſt's "ſake. And now therefore, Our Father, which art in "heaven, &c.

He prayeth.

"Then riſing, he ſaid, Every man deſireth, good people, "at the time of their deaths, to give ſome good exhorta- "tion, that other may remember after their deaths, and be "the better thereby. So I beſeech God grant me grace, "that I may ſpeak ſomething, at this my departing, where- "by God may be glorified, and you edified.

His words before his death.

"Firſt, It is an heavy caſe to ſee, that many folks be ſo "much doted upon the love of this falſe world, and ſo care- "ful for it, that or the love of God, or the love of the "world to come, they ſeem to care very little or nothing "therefore. This ſhall be my firſt exhortation. That you "ſet not over-much by this falſe gloſing world, but upon "God and the world to come: and learn to know what

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" this leſſon meaneth, which St. John teacheth, *That the love* " *of this world is hatred againſt God.*"

" The ſecond exhortation is, That, next unto God, you " obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without " murmur or grudging; and not for fear of them only, but " much more for the fear of God: knowing that they be God's " miniſters, appointed by God to rule and govern you. And " therefore whoſo reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God's ordinance.

" The third exhortation is, That you love all together like " brethren and ſiſtern. For, alas! pity it is to ſee what con- " tention and hatred one chriſtian man hath to another: " not taking each other as ſiſters and brothers; but rather " as ſtrangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn " and bear well away this one leſſon, To do good to all men " as much as in you lieth, and to hurt no man, no more " than you would hurt your own natural and loving brother " or ſiſter. For this you may be ſure of, that whoſoever " hateth any perſon, and goeth about maliciouſly to hinder " or hurt him, ſurely, and without all doubt, God is not " with that man, although he think himſelf never ſo much " in God's favour.

" The fourth exhortation ſhall be to them that have great " ſubſtance and riches of this world, That they will well " conſider and weigh thoſe ſayings of the Scripture. One " is of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, who ſaith, *It is hard for a* " *rich man to enter into heaven:* a ſore ſaying, and yet ſpoke " by him that knew the truth. The ſecond is of St. John, " whoſe ſaying is this, *He that hath the ſubſtance of this* " *world, and ſeeth his brother in neceſſity, and ſhutteth up his* " *mercy from him, how can he ſay, he loveth God?* Much " more might I ſpeak of every part; but time ſufficeth not. " I do but put you in remembrance of things. Let all them " that be rich, ponder well thoſe ſentences: for if ever they " had any occaſion to ſhew their charity, they have now at " this preſent, the poor people being ſo many, and victuals " ſo dear. For though I have been long in priſon, yet I 388 " have heard of the great penury of the poor. Conſider, " that that which is given to the poor, is given to God: " whom we have not otherwiſe preſent corporally with us, " but in the poor.

He quoted alſo a third place out of James againſt covetous rich men; *Weep and howl for the miſeries that ſhall come upon you; your riches doth rot, your clothes be moth-eaten, your gold and ſilver is cankered, &c.*

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555.

" And now, for ſo much as I am come to the laſt end of " my life, whereupon hangeth all my life paſſed, and my life " to come, either to live with my Saviour Chriſt in heaven, " in joy, or elſe to be in pain ever with wicked devils in " hell; and I ſee before mine eyes preſently either heaven " ready to receive me, or hell ready to ſwallow me up; " I ſhall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I " believe, without colour or diſſimulation: for now is no " time to diſſemble, whatſoever I have written in times paſt.

" Firſt, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of " heaven and earth, &c. and every article of the catho- " lick faith, every word and ſentence taught by our Sa- " viour Chriſt, his Apoſtles, and Prophets, in the Old and " New Teſtament.

Confeſſeth his diſſembling.

" And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my " conſcience more than any other thing that ever I ſaid or " did in my life: and that is, the ſetting abroad of writings " contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and " refuſe, as things written with my hand, contrary to the " truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of " death, and to ſave my life, if it might be: and that is, all " ſuch bills, which I have written or ſigned with mine own " hand ſince my degradation: wherein I have written many " things untrue. And foraſmuch as my hand offended in " writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand ſhall firſt " be puniſhed: for if I may come to the fire, it ſhall be " firſt burned. And as for the Pope, I refuſe him, as Chriſt's " enemy and Antichriſt, with all his falſe doctrine.

" And here, being admoniſhed of his recantation and diſ- " ſembling, he ſaid, Alas, my Lord, I have been a man " that all my life loved plainneſs, and never diſſembled till " now againſt the truth; which I am moſt ſorry for. He " added hereunto, that, for the ſacrament, he believed as he " had taught in his book againſt the Biſhop of Wincheſter. " And here he was ſuffered to ſpeak no more.

His reply to my Lord Williams.

" So that his ſpeech contained chiefly three points, love " to God, love to the King, and love to the neighbour. In " the which talk he held men very ſuſpenſe, which all de- " pended upon the concluſion: where he ſo far deceived " all men's expectations, that, at the hearing thereat, they

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

" were much amazed; and let him go on awhile, till my " Lord Williams bad him play the chriſten man, and re- " member himſelf. To whom he anſwered, That he ſo did : " for now he ſpake truth.

Goes to the place of his burning.

" Then he was carried away; and a great number, that " did run to ſee him go ſo wickedly to his death, ran after " him, exhorting him, while time was, to remember him- " ſelf. And one Friar John, a godly and well-learned man, " all the way travelled with him to reduce him. But it
389 " would not be. What they ſaid in particular I cannot tell, " but the effect appeared in the end: for at the ſtake he " profeſſed, that he died in all ſuch opinions as he had " taught, and oft repented him of his recantation.

His talk and behaviour at the ſtake.

" Coming to the ſtake with a cheerful countenance and " willing mind, he put off his garments with haſte, and " ſtood upright in his ſhirt: and a bachelor of divinity, " named Elye, of Brazen-noſe College, laboured to convert " him to his former recantation, with the two Spaniſh friars. " But when the friars ſaw his conſtancy, they ſaid in Latin " one to another, *Let us go from him; we ought not to be* " *nigh him: for the Devil is with him.* But the bachelor " in divinity was more earneſt with him: unto whom he " anſwered, that, as concerning his recantation, he repented " it right ſore, becauſe he knew it was againſt the truth; " with other words more. Whereupon the Lord Williams " cried, Make ſhort, make ſhort. Then the Biſhop took " certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of " divinity refuſed to take him by the hand, and blamed all " others that ſo did, and ſaid, he was ſorry that ever he " came in his company. And yet again he required him to " agree to his former recantation. And the Biſhop an- " ſwered, (ſhewing his hand,) This is the hand that wrote it, " and therefore ſhall it ſuffer firſt puniſhment.

He burneth his right hand.

" Fire being now put to him, he ſtretched out his right " hand, and thruſt it into the flame, and held it there a good " ſpace, before the fire came to any other part of his body; " where his hand was ſeen of every man ſenſibly burning, " crying with a loud voice, *This hand hath offended.* As " ſoon as the fire got up, he was very ſoon dead, never ſtir- " ring or crying all the while.

" His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it " had been taken either for the glory of God, the wealth of " his country, or the teſtimony of truth, as it was for a " pernicious error, and ſubverſion of true religion, I could " worthily have commended the example, and matched it " with the fame of any father of ancient time: but, ſeeing " that not the death, but the cauſe and quarrel thereof, " commendeth the ſufferer, I cannot but much diſpraiſe his " obſtinate ſtubbornneſs and ſturdineſs in dying, and ſpe- " cially in ſo evil a cauſe. Surely his death much grieved " every man; but not after one ſort. Some pitied to ſee his " body ſo tormented with the fire raging upon the ſilly " carcaſs, that counted not of the folly. Other, that paſſed " not much of the body, lamented to ſee him ſpill his ſoul, " wretchedly, without redemption, to be plagued for ever. " His friends ſorrowed for love; his enemies for pity: " ſtrangers for a common kind of humanity, whereby we " are bound one to another. Thus I have enforced myſelf, " for your ſake, to diſcourſe this heavy narration, contrary " to my mind: and, being more than half weary, I make a " ſhort end, wiſhing you a quieter life, with leſs honour; " and eaſier death, with more praiſe. The 23d of March.

" Yours, J. A."

All this is the teſtimony of an adverſary, and therefore we must allow for ſome of his words; but may be the more certain of the Archbiſhop's brave courage, conſtancy, patience, chriſtian and holy behaviour, being related by one ſo affected. 390

In regard of this holy Prelate's life, taken away by martyrdom, I cannot but take notice here of two things, as though God had given him ſome intimation thereof long before it happened. The one is, that whereas his paternal coat of arms was three cranes, (alluding to his name,) King Henry appointed him to bear in the room thereof three pelicans, feeding their young with their own blood. The like coat of arms, or much reſembling it, I find ſeveral of Queen Elizabeth's firſt biſhops took; whether to imitate Cranmer, or to ſignify their zeal to the Goſpel, and their readineſs to ſuffer for it, I do not determine. The other remark I make

Two remarks upon his martyrdom.

BOOK III.

Anno 1555. Ep. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evan.

is, what his friend Andreas Oſiander, in an epiſtle to him in the year 1537, told him: which was, that he had *animam vel martyrio parem*; "a mind fit, or ready, for martyrdom." And ſo took occaſion to exhort him at large to bear the afflictions that were to attend him: as though God had inſpired that great German divine with a prophetick ſpirit, to acquaint this his faithful ſervant by what death he ſhould glorify God, and what ſufferings he muſt undergo for his ſake. He urged him, "to contemn all dangers in aſſerting "and preſerving the ſincere doctrine of Chriſt, ſince, as St. "Paul teſtified, that *all that would live godly in Chriſt "Jeſus muſt ſuffer perſecution.* How much (ſaid he) ought "we to reckon that you are to receive the various aſſaults "of Satan, ſeeing you are thus good for the good of many. "But,

Tu ne cede malis, ſed contra audentior ito.

"Yield not to theſe evils, but go on the more boldly. And, "ſeeing you muſt bear adverſity, remember that we are "baptized into the death of Chriſt, and buried together "with him, that we may be once made partakers of his "reſurrection and eternal happineſs."

Who inſtigated the Queen to put him to death.

I do not find who were the Queen's great inſtigators, (now Wincheſter was dead,) ſtirring her up not to ſpare this Prelate, but by any means to put him to death, and that even after his ſubſcription; nor for what reaſon of ſtate this reſolution was taken at court, notwithſtanding his former good merits towards the Queen, who therefore certainly muſt have felt great ſtrugglings before ſhe could yield to have him die: but I am apt to ſuſpect the Cardinal (who now governed the Queen) had no ſmall hand in it, to ſhew his zeal for the papacy, and to revenge the injuries done it in King Henry's reign, as well as to ſucceed in his place. For his Latin letter to the Archbiſhop, mentioned above, ſavoured of a great deal of malice and mortal hatred towards him. In this letter, it appears, the Cardinal looked upon our Archbiſhop as a mere infidel and apoſtate from chriſtianity, and ſo to be treated. For in the very beginning he makes it a matter of conſcience to write to him, "It being in effect "as much as receiving him into his houſe: againſt which

" St. John gave a charge, ſpeaking of chriſtians turned " heathens, that *they ſhould not be received into our houſes,* " *nor bid God ſpeed.* And therefore, he wrote, he was once " in his mind not to ſpeak at all to him, but to God rather " concerning him, to ſend fire from heaven and conſume " him. And aſketh the queſtion, [as though it could not be " reaſonably gainſaid,] whether he ſhould not do juſtly in " this imprecation upon him, who had before caſt out the " King out of the houſe of God, that is, the church. He " meant, as he explained himſelf, caſting him out, as Satan " caſt out man from paradiſe; not by force, but by de- " ceivable counſels. That him the Archbiſhop had followed, " and, by his impious advice, forced the King to diſjoin " himſelf from the communion of the church, and his " country, together with himſelf; and wickedly betrayed " the church, the mother of us all; to the oppoſing where- " of he gave Satan all advantages, to the deſtruction as well " of ſouls as bodies. That he was the worſt of all others. " For they, being beſet on all ſides with divers temptations, " a great while reſiſted, and at laſt indeed gave way; but " he, the Archbiſhop, of his own free accord, walked in the " counſel of the ungodly; and not only ſo, but ſtood in it, " and in the way of ſinners, and confirmed the King therein: " and moreover ſat in the ſeat of the ſcornful. That, when " he came firſt to the epiſcopal chair, he was called to it to " cheat both God and man: and that he began his actions " with putting a cheat upon the King; and, together with " him, upon the church, and his country." This, and a great deal more to the ſame purpoſe, he tells the Archbiſhop plainly and expreſsly, though under a ſhew of great ſanctity: which ſhews with what an implacable mind he ſtood affected towards him. 391

CHAP. XXI. Anno 1555. Ep. John ii. 10.

And thus we have brought this excellent Prelate unto his end, after two years and an half's hard impriſonment. His body was not carried to the grave in ſtate, nor buried, as many of his predeceſſors were, in his own cathedral church, nor encloſed in a monument of marble or touchſtone. Nor had he any inſcription to ſet forth his praiſes to poſterity: no ſhrine to be viſited by devout pilgrims, as his predeceſſors

No monument for him but his martyrdom.

BOOK III. Anno 1555.

St. Dunſtane and St. Thomas had. Shall we therefore ſay, as the poet doth,

Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo. Quis putet eſſe deos?

No; we are better chriſtians, I truſt, than ſo, who are taught, that the rewards of God's elect are not temporal, but eternal. And Cranmer's martyrdom is his monument, and his name will outlaſt an epitaph or a ſhrine. But methinks it is pity, that his heart, that remained ſound in the fire, and was found unconſumed in his aſhes, was not preſerved in ſome urn: which, when the better times of Queen Elizabeth came, might, in memory of this truly great and good Thomas of Canterbury, have been placed among his predeceſſors in his church there, as one of the trueſt glories of that ſee.

His heart unconſumed.

Though theſe three martyrs, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were parted aſunder, and placed in ſeparate lodgings, that they might not confer together; yet they were ſuffered ſometimes to eat together in the priſon of Bocardo. I have ſeen a book of their diet every dinner and ſupper, and the charge thereof: which was at the expence of Winkle and Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time; under whoſe cuſtody they were. As for example in this method:

The Bailiffs' expences about theſe three martyrs.

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MSS. C. C. C. C.

The firſt of October dinner.

Bread and ale	- - - - -	ii d.
Item, oiſters	- - - - -	i d.
Item, butter	- - - - -	ii d.
Item, eggs	- - - - -	ii d.
Item, lyng	- - - - -	viii d.
Item, a piece of freſh ſalmon	- - -	x d.
Wine	- - - - - -	iii d.
Cheeſe and pears	- - - - -	ii d.
		ii s. vi d.

From this book of their expences give me leave to make theſe few obſervations. They ate conſtantly ſuppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three or four

ſhillings; ſeldom exceeding four. Their bread and ale commonly came to two pence or three pence. They had conſtantly cheeſe and pears for their laſt diſh, both at dinner and ſupper; and always wine; the price whereof was ever three pence, and no more. The prices of their proviſions (it being now an extraordinary dear time) were as follow. A gooſe, 14d. A pig, 12 or 13d. A cony, 6d. A woodcock, 3d. and ſometimes 5d. A couple of chickens, 6d. Three plovers, 10d. Half a dozen larks, 3d. A dozen of larks and two plovers, 10d. A breaſt of veal, 11d. A ſhoulder of mutton, 10d. Roaſt beef, 12d.

The laſt diſburſements (which have melancholy in the reading) were theſe:

	s.	d.
For three loads of wood-fagots to burn Ridley and Latimer - - -	12	0
Item, one load of furs-fagots - -	3	4
For the carriage of theſe four loads -	2	0
Item, a poſt - - - - -	1	4
Item, two chains - - - -	3	4
Item, two ſtaples - - - -	0	6
Item, four labourers - - - -	2	8

Then follow the charges for burning Cranmer:

	s.	d.
For an 100 of wood-fagots - - -	6	0
For an 100 and half of furs-fagots -	3	4
For the carriage of them - - -	0	8
To two labourers - - - -	1	4

The Bailiffs not repaid.

It ſeems the ſuperiors in thoſe days were more zealous to ſend theſe three good men to Oxon, and there to ſerve their ends upon them, and afterwards to burn them, than they were careful honeſtly to pay the charges thereof. For Winkle and Wells, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to get themſelves reimburſed of what they had laid out, which came to ſixty-three pounds, ten ſhillings and two pence, could never get but twenty pounds: which they received by the means of Sir William Petre, ſecretary of ſtate. Inſomuch that, in the year 1566, they put up a petition to

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BOOK III. Anno 1559. Archbiſhop Parker and the other biſhops; that they would among themſelves raiſe and repay that ſum, which the ſaid Bailiffs were out of purſe in feeding of theſe three reverend fathers. In which petition they ſet forth, "That, in the "ſecond and third years of King Philip and Queen Mary, "Archbiſhop Cranmer, Biſhop Latimer, and Biſhop Ridley, "were by order of council committed to the cuſtody of "them, and ſo continued a certain time; and for them they "diſburſed the ſum of 63l. 10s. 2d: whereof but 20l. "was paid to them. Therefore they pray his Grace, and "the reſt of the biſhops, to be a means among themſelves "that the remaining ſum may be paid to them, being 43l. "10s. 2d; or ſome part thereof: otherwiſe they, and "their poor wives and children, ſhould be utterly undone." And, to give the better countenance to theſe men, that were going to carry up their petition, Laurence Humfrey, Preſident of Magdalen College, and the Queen's profeſſor, wrote this letter on their behalf to Archbiſhop Parker.

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Humfrey to Archbiſhop Parker in their behalf. Ex biblioth. C.C.C.C. "My humble commendations preſuppoſed in the Lord. "To be a ſuitor in another man's caſe, it ſeemeth boldneſs; "and, in a matter of money, to write to your Grace, is more "than ſaucineſs: yet charity, *operiens multitudinem pecca-* "*torum*, doth move me, and will perſuade you to hear him. "A debt is due unto him for the table of Mr. Dr. Cranmer, "by the Queen's Majeſties appointment. And Mr. Secretary "in Oxford wiſhed him, at that time of buſineſs in progreſs, "to make ſome motion to the biſhops for ſome relief. The "caſe is miſerable. The debt is juſt. His charges in the "ſuit have been great. His honeſty, I aſſure your Grace, "deſerves pitiful conſideration. And for that my Lord of "Sarum writeth to me, as here, in Oxford, he promiſed that "his part ſhall not be behind, what order ſoever it pleaſe my "lords to take for the diſpatch of the ſame. I requeſt "your Grace, as ſucceſſor to that right reverend father, and "chief patron of ſuch poor ſuitors, to make, by your good "means, ſome collection for him among the reſt of my "lords the biſhops; that his good will, ſhewed to that "worthy martyr, may of you be conſidered: and ſo he

" bound to your goodneſs, of his part altogether unde- CHAP. XXI.
" ſerved. Thus recommending the common cauſe of re- Anno 1555.
" formation to you; and myſelf, and this poor man to your
" good remembrance, I leave to trouble you. Requeſting
" you once again to hear him, and tender his cauſe even of
" charity for God his ſake: to whoſe protection I com-
" mend your Grace. From Oxon, November 22, anno 1566.

" Your Grace's humble orator, Laur. Humfrey."

Though I cannot trace this any further, yet I make no doubt this petition was favourably received with the Archbiſhop and Biſhops. It ſeems, in Cranmer's life-time, money 394
was ſent to Oxford for the ſuſtentation of theſe priſoners of Chriſt, but embezzled. For one W. Pantry of Oxford received forty pounds at Mr. Stonelye's hand for my Lord Cranmer, and the other two in like caſe. This was declared by the Bailiffs to Thomas Doyley, Eſquire, ſteward to Archbiſhop Parker.

CHAP. XXII.

Cranmer's Books and Writings.

HAVING brought our hiſtory of this ſingular and extraordinary light of the church to this period, we will, before we take our leave of him, gather up ſome few fragments more: thinking it pity that any thing ſhould be loſt that may either ſerve to communicate any knowledge of him to poſterity, or to clear and vindicate him from aſperſions or miſrepreſentations, vulgarly conceived of him. And here will fall under our conſideration, firſt, his books and writings; after them, his acquaintance with learned men, and his favour to them and learning: then, ſome matters relating to his family and officers: and, laſtly, we ſhall conclude with ſome obſervations upon him.

For the pen of this great divine was not idle, being em- His books and writings.
ployed, as earneſtly as his authority and influence, for the

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furtherance of religion, and reſcue of this church from popiſh ſuperſtition and foreign juriſdiction. He laid a ſolid foundation in learning by his long and ſerious ſtudies in the univerſity: to which he was much addicted. Inſomuch that this was one of the cauſes which made him ſo labour, by the intereſt of his friends with King Henry, to be excuſed from taking the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury; becauſe this promotion would ſo much interrupt his beloved ſtudies: deſiring rather ſome ſmaller living, that he might more quietly follow his book. And as he had been an hard ſtudent, ſo he was a very great writer; both in reſpect of the number of books and treatiſes he compiled, as of the learning, judgment, and moment of them.

His firſt book.

The firſt treatiſe he wrote was, that which was done at the command of Henry VIII. *viz.* concerning the unlawfulneſs of his marriage with his brother Arthur's widow: which he made appear to be both againſt the word of God, and againſt the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the church; and therefore a caſe indiſpenſable by the Pope. And ſo well had he ſtudied the point, and ſo well was aſſured of what he had wrote, that he undertook, before the King, to maintain the truth of it at Rome, in the preſence of the Pope himſelf. The King accordingly diſmiſſed him to the Pope, in joint embaſſy with the Earl of Wiltſhire, and ſome others, for that purpoſe. He preſented his book to the Pope, offering to ſtand by it againſt any whomſoever that ſhould attempt to gainſay it. But the Pope thought not fit to ſuffer ſo tender a point to be diſputed, wherein his prerogative was ſo much touched. When he
395 had finiſhed this diſcourſe, it was ſent to Cambridge, and had the approbation and ſubſcription of the eminenteſt doctors there; *viz.* Salcot, Repps, Crome, and divers others. Among which, I ſuppoſe, were, Heines, Latimer, Shaxton, Skip, Goodrick, Hethe; who were then gremials.

Other of his writings.

After this book, he was much employed in writing more, at various times, and upon various occaſions. Fox mentioneth Cranmer's book of the Reformation, (which I ſuppoſe was that of the public ſervice,) the Catechiſm, the book of Homilies, which was part by him compoſed, and his procurement, and by him approved and pub-

liſhed. Likewiſe the Confutation of eighty-eight Articles, deviſed and propounded by a convocation in King Henry's reign, and laboured to be received and enjoined, though they were not.

His book of the doctrine of the Sacrament.

But his diſcourſe, wherein he ſtated the doctrine of the Sacrament in five books, muſt eſpecially be remembered: which he wrote on purpoſe for the public inſtruction of the church of England. And it is the more to be valued, as being writ by him in his mature age, after all his great readings and ſtudies, and moſt diligent and ſerious peruſals of all the eccleſiaſtical writers; whereby he became thoroughly acquainted with their judgments and opinions in that doctrine. And in it are contained his laſt and ripeſt thoughts on that argument. This book diſplayeth the great weakneſs of that diſtinguiſhing doctrine of the church of Rome, that aſſerts tranſubſtantiation.

Other writings mentioned by Biſhop Burnet.

Beſides theſe, many other writings and diſcourſes were made by him: which we are beholden to the Biſhop of Sarum for retrieving the memory of, and preſerving the ſubſtance of divers of them in his excellent Hiſtory; *viz.*

Hiſt. Ref. p. i. p. 174.

A learned Speech, made to the lords concerning the Pope and a general council: which that right reverend Author thinks was made about the year 1534, which was ſoon after his being made Archbiſhop.

Ubi ſupr. p. 364.

Some Queries in order to the correcting of ſeveral abuſes in religion; whereby the people had been deceived.

Ibid.

Some Queries concerning Confirmation: with the anſwers which were given to them by Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Ibid.

Some Conſiderations to induce the King to proceed to a further reformation. Theſe three laſt were preſented by the Archbiſhop to the King, about the year 1536, as the Biſhop of Sarum ſuppoſeth: and, having ſeen the originals thereof in the Cotton library, hath tranſcribed them to us in the Addenda to the Collections.

Ubi ſupr. p. 289.

His Reſolution of Seventeen Queſtions concerning the Sacraments, anno 1540.

Ubi ſupr. p. 330.

A Collection of Paſſages out of the Canon Law, to ſhew the neceſſity of reforming it, anno 1542.

Pag. 171.

His Letters to Oſiander, and Letters of Oſiander to him,

BOOK III. concerning the proceedings of the German divines; whoſe violence the Archbiſhop diſliked.

Hiſt Ref. p. ii. p. 40. A Speech made in the Convocation: wherein he exhorted the clergy to give themſelves to the ſtudy of the
896 Scriptures, and to conſider ſeriouſly what things in the church needed reformation, anno 1547.

Pag. 116. His Anſwer to the demands of the rebels in the weſt; drawn up by him by order of the council, anno 1549.

Pag. 248. His Declaration, to vindicate himſelf from an aſperſion, That he had cauſed maſs to be ſung in Canterbury: and offering therein a public diſpute to maintain the reformation, anno 1553.

Hiſt Ref. part ii. p. 171. Beſides two volumes in folio, writ by Cranmer's own hand, upon all the heads of religion: conſiſting of allegations of texts of Scripture, and of ancient Fathers, and later doctors and ſchoolmen, upon each ſubject. There were alſo ſix or ſeven volumes of his writings, which were in the Lord Burleigh's poſſeſſion; as appeared by a letter of the ſaid Lord, which the Biſhop of Sarum ſaw: but he thought theſe may now be loſt. Moſt of the forementioned writings are preſerved in the Cotton library, or in that of Corpus Chriſti, Cambridge; or among the manuſcripts of the right reverend Biſhop Stillingfleet.

Athen. Oxon. p. 570. To which we muſt add the mention of a bundle of books lying in the palace-treaſury in Weſtminſter, in defence of the King's title of Supreme Head, and concerning the divorce, and ſeveral other matters, againſt Cardinal Pole: which are ſuppoſed to be written partly by Dr. Clark, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and partly by our Archbiſhop.

More of his writings ſtill. Several other letters, ſpeeches, and arguments of our Archbiſhop, may be found in theſe Memorials; which I omit here rehearſing. But I will add to theſe divers pieces beſides of this Prelate's writing, as they are ſet down by Melchior Adam, at the end of Cranmer's life: who indeed did but tranſcribe them from Geſner; and he from John Bale's Centuries.

I. A Preface to the Engliſh tranſlation of the Bible. This is tranſcribed in the Appendix.

II. A Catechiſm of Chriſtian Doctrine; printed by Gualter

Lynn, anno 1548. This Catechiſm was firſt framed in Germany; and by the Archbiſhop himſelf, or his ſpecial order, turned into Engliſh. And, to fix an authority to the ſame, he cauſed it to be publiſhed in his own name, and owned it for his own book. This Dr. Rowland Taylor, who lived in the Archbiſhop's family, declared before Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, and Lord Chancellor, at his examination before him. And in this ſenſe we muſt underſtand the Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, when, ſpeaking of this Catechiſm, he ſtyles it, "a work that was "wholly his own." It was ſaid before that Juſtus Jonas (he, I ſuppoſe, that dwelt with the Archbiſhop) was the tranſlator of it into Latin. It treated of the ſacrament after the Lutheran way: which way the Archbiſhop embraced next after his rejection of the groſs papal tranſubſtantiation. This Catechiſm was printed firſt, by the Archbiſhop's order, about the time of King Henry's death, or ſoon after. In a ſecond edition the word *not* was inſerted in a certain place of the book, to alter the doctrine of the real preſence; which was aſſerted in the firſt edition. This Dr. Martin, one of Queen Mary's commiſſioners, threw in his diſh at his examination in Oxford. But the Archbiſhop profeſſed his ignorance concerning the foiſting in of that word. The addition of which word, indeed, he thought was needleſs; ſtill holding the body and blood *truly* preſent in the holy ſupper, though after a ſpiritual manner. 397

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See Dr. Taylor's letter in Fox.

Hiſt. Ref. part ii. p. 71.

III. The Ordinances or Appointments of the reformed Church. This was the book of Common Prayer, with the preface before it, beginning, "There was never any thing," &c. as I learn out of Bale.

IV. One book of ordaining Miniſters. Which I ſuppoſe was the form of ordination publiſhed in the year 1550.

V. One book concerning the Euchariſt with Luther: with whom Cranmer once conſented in the doctrine of the preſence.

VI. A Defence of the Catholick Doctrine, in five books. Which was his excellent work, in vindication of himſelf againſt Biſhop Gardiner, and Dr. Richard Smith: whereof much hath been ſaid before.

VII. Eccleſiaſtical Laws in the time of King Edward.

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VIII. The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; againſt Gardiner's ſermon. This ſermon is the ſame, I ſuppoſe, with that book of his, intituled, *A Detection of the Devil's Sophiſtry, wherewith he robbeth the unlearned People of the true Belief of the moſt bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar.* Which gave occaſion to the Archbiſhop's firſt writing upon this argument.

IX. One book againſt the error of Tranſubſtantiation.

X. One book, how Chriſt is preſent in the Supper.

XI. One book, concerning eating the Lord's Supper.

XII. One book, concerning the offering up of Chriſt. Theſe five books laſt mentioned are nothing elſe but the five parts of his book of the holy Sacrament, mentioned before.

XIII. One book of Chriſtian Homilies. Which muſt be the firſt part of our book of Homilies, publiſhed under King Edward.

XIV. One book in anſwer to the calumnies of Richard Smith. For this man had writ againſt Cranmer's book of the Sacrament, as well as Gardiner; but done ſo ſcurrilouſly, that Cranmer calls it, his *Calumnies.*

XV. Confutations of Unwritten Verities. Written againſt a book of the ſame Smith, intituled, *De Veritatibus non ſcriptis.* Which he afterwards recanted.

XVI. Twelve books of Common-places, taken out of the doctors. Thoſe volumes mentioned by Biſhop Burnet, I ſuppoſe, were ſome of theſe common-place books.

XVII. Concerning not marrying the Brother's Wife: two books. Which muſt be thoſe drawn up for the uſe, and by the command, of King Henry.

XVIII. Againſt the Pope's ſupremacy: two books. This was the declaration againſt the papal ſupremacy, ſaid to be put forth by the biſhops, in the year 1536, upon occaſion of Pole's book of *Eccleſiaſtical Union.*

XIX. Againſt the Pope's Purgatory: two books.

389 XX. Concerning Juſtification: two books. I cannot trace theſe two laſt-mentioned books, unleſs by them be

meant thoſe two treatiſes of juſtification and purgatory, that are ſet at the end of the Inſtitution.

XXI. Pious Prayers: one book. This book, I ſuppoſe, was the *Orarium, ſeu libellus precationum*, put forth by the King and clergy, 1545. From whence a book of prayers was tranſlated into Engliſh, anno 1552.

XXII. Letters to learned Men: one book. This I cannot hear any tidings of.

XXIII. Againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and againſt the Adoration of the Bread: one book. Said to be writ while he was a priſoner. Which makes me conclude it to be part of his reply to Gardiner's ſecond aſſault of him, under the name of *Conſtantius*.

XXIV. To Queen Mary: one book, or rather one letter; which was that he writ after his examinations before her commiſſioners, and the Pope's ſub-delegate.

If ſomebody of leiſure, and that had the opportunity of libraries, would take the pains to collect together all theſe books, and other writings of this Archbiſhop, and publiſh them, it would be a worthy work, as both retrieving the memory of this extraordinary man, who deſerved ſo well of this church; and ſerving alſo much to illuſtrate the hiſtory of its reformation. But I know nothing of this nature done ſince the induſtrious John Day, in the year 1580, printed a book in folio, containing our Archbiſhop's *Anſwer unto Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, againſt the true Doctrine of the Sacrament: Alſo, to Richard Smith. Alſo, A true Copy of the Book writ by Stephen Gardiner. Alſo, The Life and Martyrdom of Cranmer, extracted out of the Book of Martyrs.*

Archbiſhop Parker was in purſuit of certain MSS. of Cranmer, concealed.

And now we are mentioning this great Prelate's writings, it may not be unworthy to take notice of what I meet with in a letter of Archbiſhop Parker to Secretary Cecyl, in the year 1563, his Grace being then at Canterbury. Where he ſpake of the *great notable written books* (as he ſtyles them) of his predeceſſor Dr. Cranmer, which he had left behind him at ſome of his houſes at or near Canterbury, whether Ford or Bekesborn, or both, or with ſome friends in thoſe parts. Theſe manuſcripts, it ſeems, were embezzled and ſurreptitiouſly taken away by private hands, probably

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during his reſtraint in Queen Mary's days, and now ſtudiouſly concealed by ſome that were minded, it may be, to ſtifle them, being chiefly levelled againſt the Roman church and Biſhop. Parker, who was a great and painful ſearcher after ancient and learned manuſcripts, and a diligent retriever of eminent men's writings, had, by credible information, learned in what hands many of thoſe books were; and had ſent either for the perſons concerned, or to them, to demand the ſaid books. But they denied them: whereupon, knowing no other way to recover them, he deſired the Secretary, by ſome power from the Queen's council, to authorize him to inquire and ſearch for thoſe books, and ſuch-like monuments, by all ways, as by the ſaid Parker's diſcretion ſhould be thought good; whether giving the parties an oath, or viewing their ſtudies. Wiſhing he
399 might recover them to be afterwards at the Queen's commandment: adding, that he ſhould be as glad to win them, as he would be to reſtore an old chancel to reparation. This letter of Archbiſhop Parker I have inſerted in the
Num. XC. Appendix. But whether, after all his diligence, he ſucceeded in the recovery of thoſe manuſcripts, I know not: I am apt to think he did; and that theſe writings of Cranmer, that were in his poſſeſſion, and afterwards bequeathed unto the library of Benet College; and thoſe other divers volumes, which were, as was before ſaid, in the keeping of the Lord Burghley, might be ſome at leaſt of them.

What the ſubject of his numerous writings were.

An inquiſitive man would be glad to know what the matter and contents of theſe numerous writings of our Archbiſhop were: and that, ſeeing ſo many of them are periſhed, the knowledge of the various ſubjects of them at leaſt might be preſerved. This, beſides what hath been ſhewn already, may be gathered by what I find in a ſupplication made to Queen Elizabeth by Ralph Morice, that had been his ſecretary for the ſpace of twenty years: during which time he was employed by that moſt reverend father, in writing for him "about the ſerious affairs of the "Prince and realm, committed unto him by thoſe moſt "noble and worthy Princes, King Henry VIII. and King "Edward VI. concerning as well the writings of thoſe "great and weighty matrimonial cauſes of the ſaid King

" Henry VIII. as alſo about the extirpation of the Biſhop " of Rome, his uſurped power and authority, the reforma- " tion of corrupt religion and eccleſiaſtical laws, and al- " teration of divine ſervice; and of divers and ſundry con- " ferences of learned men for the eſtabliſhing and advance- " ment of ſincere religion, with ſuch like. Wherein, he ſaid, " he was moſt painfully occupied in writing of no ſmall vo- " lumes from time to time." CHAP. XXII.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Archbiſhop's Regard to learned Men.

FROM theſe truly noble and uſeful exerciſes of his great knowledge and learning, let us deſcend unto the reſpect he bare to good letters: which appeared from his favour to places of learning, and men of learning. We ſhewed before what were the applications of the Univerſity of Cambridge to him, and what a gracious patron he was to it and its members.

Among whoſe good offices to that Univerſity, beſides thoſe already mentioned, it muſt not be omitted, that he was the great inſtrument of placing there thoſe two very learned foreign divines, Paulus Fagius, and Martin Bucer. By his frequent letters to them, then at Straſburg, urging them with the diſtracted and dangerous ſtate of Germany, he firſt brought them over into England in the year 1548: and, having entertained them in his family, the next year he preferred them both in Cambridge; Fagius to be public profeſſor of the Hebrew tongue, and Bucer of divinity. And, beſide the Univerſity-ſalary, he procured for each of them from the King, in the third year of his reign, patents for an honorary ſtipend of an hundred pounds per annum each, *de gratia ſpeciali Domini Regis*, to be paid by the hands of the Clerk of the Hanaper, or out of the treaſury of the Court of Augmentations, *durante beneplacito Domini Regis*: as I find by King Edward the Sixth's book of

Paulus Fagius and Martin Bucer placed at Cambridge by his means.

Procures them honorary ſtipends from the King.

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ſales, formerly mentioned. Which patents bare date September 26, anno 1549, and their ſalaries payable from the feaſt of the Annunciation of the bleſſed Virgin. By the way, I do not ſee any where in the ſaid book of ſales that Peter Martyr, placed profeſſor of divinity in the other Univerſity of Oxon, enjoyed any ſuch royal ſalary, though he alſo had been invited over by Canterbury with the King's knowledge and allowance, and placed there by that Archbiſhop's means.

Allowances to P. Martyr and Ochin.

Yet he, and his companion Ochinus, had their annual allowances from the King; and ſo, I ſuppoſe, had all other learned foreigners here. Melanćthon alſo, who was now expećted over, was intended ſome more extraordinary gratuity. Unto this noble chriſtian hoſpitality and liberality, Latimer, the great court preacher, excited the King in one of his ſermons before him. The paſſage may deſerve to be repeated: "I hear ſay Maſter Melanćthon, that great "clerk, ſhould come hither. I would wiſh him, and ſuch "as he is, two hundred pounds a year: the King ſhould "never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There "is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Mar-"tyr, and Bernard Ochin, which have an hundred mark "a piece. I would the King would beſtow a thou-"ſand pounds on that ſort." Theſe matters, I doubt not, were concerted between Latimer and our Archbiſhop before; at whoſe palace he now was for the moſt part: as I find by one of his ſermons, wherein he ſpeaks of his taking boat at Lambeth; and, in another place, he mentioneth a book he met with in my Lord of Canterbury's library, and elſewhere of many ſuitors that applied to him at my Lord of Canterbury's, that interrupted his ſtudies there. The uſe I make of this is, that it is a fair conjećture hence, that this, and the many other excellent things ſo plainly propounded by this preacher to King Edward, happened by the counſel and ſuggeſtion of the Archbiſhop. But to return.

The third ſermon.

Dr. Mowſe, Maſter of Trinity Hall, favoured by Cranmer.

There was one Dr. William Mowſe, a civilian, and probably one of his officers, whom, for his merits and learning, our Archbiſhop for many a year had been a ſpecial benefactor to. Sir John Cheke alſo bare him a very good will.

Upon the removal of Dr. Haddon to ſome other preferment, this Dr. Mowſe ſucceeded Maſter of Trinity Hall in Cambridge. And, in the year 1552, the Archbiſhop, valuing his worth and integrity, was a ſuitor at court for ſome further preferment for him, whatever it were, which the ſtudy of the civil law had qualified him for: writing his letters on Mowſe's behalf to Secretary Cecyl, who was then with the King in his progreſs, not to forget him. And accordingly he was remembered, and obtained the place: for which the Archbiſhop afterwards gave him his moſt hearty thanks. And Dr. Mowſe alſo ſent the ſame Secretary a letter of thanks from Cambridge for the preferment he had obtained by his means: the main drift thereof was, to excuſe himſelf for his neglect, in that he had not ſooner paid his acknowledgments. Which, as it ſeems, the Secretary had taken ſome notice of, having expected to be thanked for the kindneſs he had done him. This letter, becauſe there is therein mention made of our Archbiſhop's ſingular munificence, and Cheke's affection towards him, and Mowſe himſelf once making a figure in that Univerſity, I have thought it not amiſs to inſert in the Appendix: though this man ſeemed to be none of the ſteadieſt in his religion. For I find him put out of his Maſterſhip of Trinity Hall, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, for having been a Proteſtant, and to make way for the reſtoration of Dr. Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter, who had been outed before. Upon whoſe death that Maſterſhip falling void, and Mowſe having complied with the Romiſh religion, he became Maſter there again. And ſoon after, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, he was deprived by her commiſſioners for being a Papiſt, and one Harvey came in his room.

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No. XCI.

His inconſtancy.

Dr. Mowſe's fickleneſs appeared, that, upon the firſt tidings that fled to Cambridge of Queen Mary's ſucceſs againſt the Lady Jane's party, he, with ſeveral other temporizing univerſity-men, changed his religion, and, in four and twenty hours, was both Proteſtant and Papiſt. The truth is, his judgment varied according to his worldly intereſt: and, being one of thoſe that came about ſo roundly, he was appointed, by the complying party of the Univerſity, to be one of the two (Dr. Hatcher being the other) that

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ſhould repair unto Dr. Sands, then the Vicechancellor, to demand of him, without any colour of reaſon or authority, the univerſity-books, the keys, and ſuch other things as were in his keeping. And ſo they did. And my author makes an obſervation of his ingratitude, as well as of his inconſtancy; *viz.* "That he that was an earneſt Proteſtant "but the day before, and one whom Dr. Sands had done "much good for, was now become a Papiſt, and his great "enemy."

And ingratitude. Fox.

Thus was our Archbiſhop a friend to this man, and divers others, who went along with him as far as he and the times favoured them: but, when theſe failed them, they failed the Archbiſhop through timorouſneſs in ſome, and worldly reſpects in others.

Becomes Reader of the civil law at Oxon. Ath. Oxon.

But once more of this Dr. Mowſe, and I have done with him. As a reward of his forwardneſs at Cambridge, before mentioned, I find he was ſoon after incorporated at Oxon, (together with Andrew Pern, D. D. a man of the ſame inconſtancy,) and preferred to be Reader of the civil law there, in the room of Dr. Aubrey, who probably was removed for incompliance. And, when the next change happened under Queen Elizabeth, Mowſe came about again; and, in the year 1560, obtained a prebend in the church of York. He lived till the year 1588, leaving ſome benefactions to his old college.

The Archbiſhop a patron to learned foreigners.

The Archbiſhop was indeed a great patron to all learned and pious men, eſpecially thoſe of the reformation: cheriſhing thoſe not only of his own country, but foreigners and ſtrangers alſo. And as he brought over divers with him, when he returned into England from his embaſſy in Germany, ſo he ſent for more: and ſuch as came to him he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to; keeping them at his own coſt, till he had made proviſions for them either in the church, or univerſity.

To Eraſmus, allowing him an honorary penſion.

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Of whom he uſed theſe words to a friend of his, *Qui mihi unus multorum inſtar erat.* Soon after the ſucceſſion of Cranmer into this Archbiſhop's room, Sir Thomas More wrote to Eraſmus, that he, that then filled the ſee of Canterbury, bore no leſs love to him than Warham had done before; and, *Quo non alius vixit tui amantior,* "that there "was no man living loved him better." And Eraſmus himſelf, mentioning his great loſs in Archbiſhop Warham, and divers other patrons of his, that were taken off by death, comforted himſelf that God had made up thoſe loſſes to him by raiſing him up other friends. "So (ſaith he) in the "room of Warham ſucceeded the reverend Thomas Cran- "mer, (*profeſſione theologus, vir integerrimus, candidiſſimiſ- "que moribus. Qui ultro pollicitus eſt ſeſe in ſtudio ac bene- "ficentia erga me, priori nequaquam ceſſurum: et quod "ſponte pollicitus eſt, ſponte præſtare cœpit: ut mihi Vuara- "mus non ereptus, ſed in Cranmero renatus videri queat.*) "By profeſſion a divine, a perſon of the greateſt integrity, and "moſt unblameable behaviour. Who of his own accord pro- "miſed, that, in favour and kindneſs toward me, he would be "no ways behind his predeceſſor. And that which he volun- "tarily promiſed, he hath voluntarily begun to make good. "So that, methinks, Warham is not taken away from me, but "rather born again to me in Cranmer." One ſpecimen of his munificence towards this learned man I meet with in one of his letters, wherein he acknowledged to have received of Cranmer eighteen angels: when the Biſhop of Lincoln ſent him alſo fifteen, and the Lord Crumwel twenty.

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Eraſ. Ep. 10. lib. 27.

Ep. 7. lib. 27.

Alexander Aleſs was another learned ſtranger whom our Archbiſhop gave harbour and ſhewed favour to: a Scotchman by birth, but that had long lived and converſed with Melancthon in Germany. Who, knowing the generous and hoſpitable diſpoſition of the Archbiſhop, recommended this Aleſs to him: giving a high character of him for his learning, probity, and diligence in every good office. In the year 1535. he brought over from Melancthon a book, to be preſented to the Archbiſhop: wherein "that learned Ger- "man laboured (as he told the Archbiſhop in his letter, "ſent at the ſame time) to ſtate diligently and profitably "moſt of the controverſies, and, as much as he could, to

To Alexander Aleſs, a Scotchman.

By him Melancthon ſends a book to the Archbiſhop.

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" mitigate them: leaving the judgment of the whole unto " his Grace, and ſuch learned and pious men as he, from " whoſe judgment (he ſaid) he would never differ in the " church of Chriſt: deſiring him alſo to acquaint Aleſs " what his Grace's own judgment was of the book, that " Aleſs might ſignify the ſame unto him." Such was the deference Melanchthon gave unto the learning and cenſure of Cranmer. This book I ſhould ſuppoſe to have been his Common-places, but that they came out a year after. By the ſame meſſenger he ſent another of theſe books to be preſented in his name to the King; and, in caſe the Archbiſhop approved of what he had wrote, he entreated him to introduce the bringer, and to aſſiſt him in the preſenting of it. Upon theſe recommendations of Aleſs, and the Archbiſhop's own ſatisfaction in the worth of the man, he retained him with him at Lambeth, and much eſteemed him.

And to the King.

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Aleſs brought by Crumwel into the convocation: where he aſſerts two ſacraments only.

This was that Aleſs that Crumwel, probably by Cranmer's means, brought with him to the convocation in the year 1536, whom he deſired to deliver there his opinion about the ſacrament. Who did ſo, and enlarged in a diſcourſe, aſſerting two ſacraments only inſtituted by Chriſt; namely, Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper: as the author of the Britiſh Antiquities relates, *ad ann.* 1537, calling him there *virum in theologia perductum*, " a thoroughpaced divine."

Writes a book to clear Proteſtants of the charge of ſchiſm.

This man compiled a uſeful treatiſe againſt the ſchiſm laid to the charge of Proteſtants by thoſe of the church of Rome: the ſubſtance and arguments of which book were Melanchthon's own invention, but Aleſs compoſed and brought it into method and words. This book Melanchthon ſent unto George Prince of Anhalt. The conſolations of which, as he wrote to that noble and religious man, he was wont to inculcate upon himſelf, againſt thoſe who objected commonly to them " the horrible crime of ſchiſm," as he ſtyles it: "for (ſaith he) their monſtrous cruelty is ſuffi- " cient to excuſe us." Which, it ſeems, was one of the arguments whereby they defended themſelves againſt that charge: eſteeming it lawful and neceſſary to leave the communion of a church which countenanced and practiſed cruelty, a thing ſo contrary to one of the great and fundamental laws of chriſtian religion, namely, that of love; and that their abid-

Atrox ſchiſmatis crimen. Ep. 86. lib. 1.

Satis excuſat nos iſtorum horribilis crudelitas, quam profecto neque adjuvare neque approbare debemus. Ubi ſupra.

ing in a church where ſuch bloody and barbarous practices were, would argue their approbation and concurrence.

Tranſlated a book of Bucer's about the Engliſh miniſtry.

And as Melanćthon made uſe of him in compoſing his thoughts into a handſome ſtyle, ſo did another great light of the ſame nation; I mean Bucer. In King Edward's days he had wrote a book in the German, that is, in his own country language, about ordination to the miniſtry in this kingdom of England, intituled, *Ordinatio Eccleſiæ, ſeu Miniſterii Eccleſiaſtici in florentiſſimo Angliæ regno.* This our Aleſs turned into Latin, and publiſhed, "for the conſolation of the churches "every where in thoſe ſad times," as it ran in the title.

If any deſire to look backward unto the more early times of this man, the firſt tidings we have of him was about the year 1534, when, upon a ſharp perſecution raiſed in Scotland, he, with other learned men, fled thence into England, and was received into Crumwel's family. And it is ſaid that he became known to, and grew into ſuch favour with, King Henry, that he called him *his ſcholar.* But, after Crumwel's death, in the year 1540, he, taking one Fife with him, went into Saxony: where both of them were, for their great learning, made profeſſors in the univerſity of Leipzig.

Received into Crumwel's family.

Hiſt. Ref. p. i. p. 308.

In the year 1557. I find this man at Leipzig, where he was profeſſor of divinity, as was ſaid before. Hither this year Melanćthon ſent to him from Wormes, giving him ſome account of the preparations that were making by the Roman catholic party, in order to a conference with the Proteſtants: at which the ſaid Aleſs was to be preſent, and make one of the diſputants on the Proteſtant ſide. And, ten years before this, *viz.* 1547, he was the public moderator of divinity, both in the ſchools and pulpits of Leipzig, or ſome other univerſity.

Aleſs profeſſor of divinity at Leipzig. Mel. Ep. p. 359. edit. 1647.

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Beſides this Aleſs, there were four other pious and learned perſons, foreigners, who, bringing along with them letters of recommendation from the ſaid Melanćthon, were courteouſly received, and freely entertained, by our hoſpitable Archbiſhop, all of them, in the year 1548, at which time the perſecution grew hot upon the Interim. One of theſe was Gualter, another Scot by nation. A ſecond was one named Francis Dryander, an acquaintance of Melanćthon's of long continuance. "Whom, as he told the Archbiſhop,

Cum et in templis, et in ſcholis doctrinam gubernes. Mel. Ep. 111. lib. 3.

Four others recommended by Melanćthon to the Archbiſhop: viz. Gualter, Dryander.

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" he had tried and known inwardly, and found him endowed " with excellent parts, well furniſhed with learning; that " he judged rightly of the controverſies, altogether free " from all wild and ſeditious opinions; and that he would " ſoon perceive the ſingular gravity of his manners, after " ſome few days knowledge of him: motioning withal to the " Archbiſhop his fitneſs to be preferred in either of our " univerſities. As he did alſo to King Edward, in letters " brought at this time to him by the ſaid Dryander:" wherein he recommended him to that King, as one that would prove a very uſeful perſon, either in his univerſities, or elſewhere in his kingdom.

Ep. 7. lib. 3.

Dryander placed at Oxon.

This recommendation had ſo much force, that this man ſeemed ſoon after to be ſent and placed at Oxon, and there remained, till, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, when all ſtrangers were commanded to depart the realm, he went hence to Paris, and from thence to Antwerp. Whence he wrote a letter to one Criſpin, a doctor of phyſic in Oxon; therein relating to him a paſſage concerning the coarſe entertainment which the divines of Lovain gave Gardiner Biſhop of Wincheſter, upon the ſcandal they took againſt him for his book *De vera Obedientia*. Which letter is extant in Fox.

Ad ann. 1555.

Euſebius Menius.

The third was Euſebius Menius, the ſon of Juſtus Menius. Which Juſtus was a perſon of great fame and eſteem, both for his learning in philoſophy and divinity, and for the government of the churches within the territories of John Frederick, Duke of Saxony. Of this Euſebius his ſon Melanchthon writ to our Archbiſhop, " that he had good pre- " ferments in Germany, but he could not bear to behold " the calamities of his poor country, which made him ſeek " for a being in foreign parts. He recommended him to " his Grace, deſiring him to cheriſh him." Adding, " that, " in the Gothic times, what remained of the church, and " of right doctrines, were preſerved in our iſland; and that " Europe being now in a combuſtion, it were to be wiſhed " that ſome peaceable harbour might be for learning. He " doubted not but that many flocked hither; but that it " was the part of piety and goodneſs eſpecially to help the " youth of excellent men, and the ſons of ſuch as had well

Mel. Ep. 66. lib. 1.

" deſerved of the church; eſpecially when they themſelves " alſo were eminent for their parts and learning. And ſince " this Euſebius was a good mathematician, and had read " mathematicks in one of their ſchools, he propounded him " to the Archbiſhop to be a fit perſon for the profeſſion of " that ſcience in our univerſity."

Juſtus Jonas.

The fourth was Juſtus Jonas, the ſon alſo of a great German divine of the ſame name, and who was one of the four that, in the year 1530, came to Augſburgh, upon a diet appointed by the Emperor for religion, with the Elector of Saxony; Melanchthon, Agricola, and Georgius Spalatinus, being the other three. The ſon came over with letters commendatory from Melanchthon, as the others did. He commended his excellent parts, and his progreſs in all kind of philoſophy and good manners, and eſpecially his eloquence; which, he ſaid, he had a nature divinely framed to. To which it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin what Melanchthon ſomewhere elſe did obſerve of his family: namely, " that " his grandfather was a perſon of fame for oratory and civil " prudence; his father endowed with ſuch parts as naturally " made him an orator, in reſpect of his fluency of words, " and graceſulneſs of delivery." And this felicity of nature he improved by a great acceſſion of learning: which made him tell our Juſtus, that he was born in *oratoria familia*. And ſuch care did he take of him when he was young, that he took the pains to write him a long letter, containing inſtructions for his improvement in the grounds of learning. This man the Archbiſhop was very kind to, gave him harbour, and admitted him freely into his ſociety and converſe: inſomuch that Juſtus Jonas the father entreated Melanchthon, that he would take particular notice to the Archbiſhop of his great favour ſhewed to his ſon. Among the diſcourſes the communicative Prelate held with Jonas while he was with him, one happened concerning a noted queſtion in divinity: where, launching out into free communication with him upon that point, he deſired him to impart to Melanchthon the ſubſtance of what he had diſcourſed; and that he ſhould ſignify to him, that the Archbiſhop requeſted his judgment thereof. Which accordingly Jonas did. And Melanchthon, in a letter to the Archbiſhop, ſtyles it *non ob-*

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Sleid. lib. 7.

Ep. 129. lib. 1.

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CHAP. XXIV.

Melanchthon and the Archbiſhop great Friends.

Divers memorable paſſages between Melanchthon and our Archbiſhop.

THESE occaſions of the frequent mention of Melanchthon do draw us into a relation of ſome further paſſages between him and our Archbiſhop. In the year 1549. happened ſeveral diſputations, chiefly concerning the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, before the King's commiſſioners in both univerſities. In Oxford they were managed chiefly by Peter Martyr: and in Cambridge, Ridley, then Biſhop of Rocheſter, and a commiſſioner, was the chief moderator. Soon

after, Martin Bucer, in this univerſity, defended three points: one, of the *Sufficiency of the Scripture;* another, concerning the *Erring of Churches;* and the laſt, concerning *Works done before Juſtification;* againſt Pern, Sedgwick, and Yong. They on the popiſh ſide pretended much, in their diſputations, to have antiquity and the Fathers for them.

Sends Melanchthon certain public diſputations in Oxford and Cambridge.

Theſe diſputations did our moſt reverend Prelate, together with his own letter, convey to Melanchthon by the hand of one Germanicus, a German: who probably might be one of thoſe learned ſtrangers that the Archbiſhop hoſpitably entertained.

Melanchthon's reflections thereupon. Ep. 41. lib. 3.

The reflection that that divine, in an anſwer to his Grace in the year 1550, made upon peruſal of theſe papers, was, "That he was grieved to ſee that thoſe who ſought ſo "much for the ancient authorities would not acknowledge "the clearneſs of them. Nor was there any doubt what "the founder men in the ancient church thought. But "that there were new and ſpurious opinions foiſted into "many of their books: into that of Theophylact moſt "certainly for one. And that there was ſome ſuch paſſage "in the copy that Œcolampadius made uſe of, when he "tranſlated Theophylact, which he liked not of, but yet "tranſlated it as he found it: but this was wholly wanting "in the copy that Melanchthon had. That the ſame hap-"pened in Bede's books, which he ſuppoſed might be found "more incorrupt among us," [Bede being our countryman.]

Sends the Archbiſhop his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed.

The ſame Melanchthon, with this his letter, ſent our Archbiſhop a part of his Enarration upon the Nicene Creed; for this end, that he might paſs his judgment thereon: as he alſo did, for the ſame purpoſe, to A Laſco, Bucer, and Peter Martyr; all then in England.

The beginning of their acquaintance.

The beginning of this learned German's acquaintance with our Prelate was very early. For the Archbiſhop's fame ſoon ſpread abroad in the world, beyond the Engliſh territories: which was the cauſe of that addreſs of Melanchthon, mentioned before in the year 1535, and in the month of Auguſt, when he ſent a letter and a book to him by Alexander Aleſs. In the letter he ſignified what a high character both for learning and piety he had heard given of

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him by many honeſt and worthy men; and "that, if the "church had but ſome more ſuch biſhops, it would be no "difficult matter to have it healed, and the world reſtored "to peace: congratulating Britain ſuch a Biſhop." And this ſeems to have been the firſt entrance into their acquaintance and correſpondence.

The Archbiſhop propounds a weighty matter to Melancthon for the union of all Proteſtant churches.

407 In the year 1548. Cranmer propounded a great and weighty buſineſs to Melancthon; and a matter that was likely to prove highly uſeful to all the churches of the evangelic profeſſion. It was this. The Archbiſhop was now driving on a deſign for the better uniting of all the Proteſtant churches; *viz.* by having one common confeſſion and harmony of faith and doctrine, drawn up out of the pure Word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had obſerved what differences there aroſe among Proteſtants in the doctrine of the ſacrament, in the divine decrees, in the government of the church, and ſome other things. Theſe diſagreements had rendered the profeſſors of the Goſpel contemptible to thoſe of the Roman communion: which cauſed no ſmall grief to the heart of this good man, nearly touched for the honour of Chriſt his maſter, and his true church, which ſuffered hereby. And, like a perſon of a truly public and large ſpirit, as his function was, ſeriouſly debated and deliberated with himſelf for the remedying this evil. This made him judge it very adviſable to procure ſuch a confeſſion. And in order to this he thought it neceſſary for the chief and moſt learned divines of the ſeveral churches to meet together, and with all freedom and friendlineſs to debate the points of controverſy according to the rule of Scripture. And, after mature deliberation, by agreement of all parties, to draw up a book of articles, and heads of chriſtian faith and practice: which ſhould ſerve for the ſtanding doctrine of Proteſtants.

The diligence of the Archbiſhop in forwarding this deſign.

As for the place of this aſſembly, he thought England the fitteſt in reſpect of ſafety, as the affairs of Chriſtendom then ſtood: and, communicating this his purpoſe to the King, that religious Prince was very ready to grant his allowance and protection. And as Helvetia, France, and Germany, were the chief countries abroad where the Goſpel was profeſſed, ſo he ſent his letters to the moſt eminent miniſters of

each, namely, to Bullinger, Calvin, and Melanchthon, diſcloſing this his pious deſign to them, and requiring their counſel and furtherance. Melanchthon firſt of all came acquainted with it by Juſtus Jonas, junior, to whom the Archbiſhop had related the matter at large, and deſired him to ſignify as much in a letter to the ſaid Melanchthon; and that it was his requeſt to him, to communicate his judgment thereupon. This Jonas did, and Melanchthon accordingly writ to our Archbiſhop on the calends of May this year to this purpoſe: "That if his judgment and opinion were required, he ſhould be willing both to hear the ſenſe of other learned men, and to ſpeak his own, and to give his reaſons, τὰ μὲν πείθων, τάδε πειθόμενος, *perſuading and being perſuaded*, as ought to be in a conference of good men: letting truth, and the glory of God, and the ſafety of the church, not any private affection, ever carry away the victory." Telling him withal, "that the more he conſidered of this his deliberation, than which he thought there could be nothing ſet on foot more weighty and neceſſary, the more he wiſhed and preſſed him to publiſh ſuch a true and clear confeſſion of the whole body of chriſtian doctrine, according to the judgment of learned men; whoſe names ſhould be ſubſcribed thereto: that among all nations there might be extant an illuſtrious teſtimony of doctrine, delivered by grave authority; and that poſterity might have a rule to follow." And he was of opinion, that this confeſſion ſhould be much of the nature of their confeſſion of Augsburgh: only that ſome few points in controverſy might be in plainer words delivered than was in that. "That ambiguities might not hereafter occaſion new differences. And that in the church it was beſt to call a ſpade a ſpade: and not to caſt ambiguous words before poſterity, as an apple of contention. And that if in Germany there had been an entire conſent of all the churches, they had not fallen into thoſe miſeries." And ſo concludes, earneſtly exhorting our Prelate to apply himſelf vigorouſly in theſe his pious cares and thoughts for the good eſtate of the churches.

Ep. 66. lib. i. Melanchthon's judgment and approbation thereof.

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His caveat of avoiding ambiguous expreſſions.

In Eccleſia rectius eſt ſcapham, ſcapham dicere.

Not long after he purſued his firſt letter with a ſecond. Wherein he again reminded our reverend father of that

Renews the ſame caution in another letter.

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caution; *viz.* "That nothing might be left under general "terms, but expreſſed with all the perſpicuity and diſtinct- "neſs imaginable." Which, I ſuppoſe, he ſaid, to meet with the opinion of ſome, who thought it might be more convenient, in order to peace, to ſuffer ſome difficult and controverted points to paſs under dubious expreſſions, or in the very words of Scripture, without any particular deciſive ſenſe and explanation impoſed on them. And concerning this it is probable our Archbiſhop had deſired his opinion. This Melanchthon was againſt; ſaying, "that, for his part, he "loved not labyrinths; and that therefore all his ſtudy was, "that whatſoever matters he undertook to treat of, they "might appear plain and unfolded. That it was indeed the "practice of the council of Trent; which therefore made "ſuch crafty decrees, that ſo they might defend their errors "by things ambiguouſly ſpoken. But that this ſophiſtry "ought to be far from the church. That there is no ab- "ſurdity in truth rightly propounded: and that this good- "neſs and perſpicuity of things is greatly inviting, where- "ſoever there be good minds."

Peter Martyr of this judgment. *Quod vir bonus ſibi perſuaſiſſet poſſe hac ratione tolli gravem, quæ eſt de hac cauſa, controverſiam, et ita Eccleſiæ pacem diu deſideratam reſtitui.* In Vit. P. Mart. per Joſiam Simlerum.

And of this very judgment was Peter Martyr, another great divine. For when Bucer, in a diſcourſe with him at Straſburg, had adviſed him, when he ſpake of the Euchariſt, to uſe more dark and ambiguous forms of ſpeech, that might be taken in a larger acceptation, urging to him, that this was the courſe he himſelf took, and "that a certain good "man" [whom I ſuſpect ſtrongly to be our Archbiſhop] "had "perſuaded him, that by this means the great controverſy "concerning the real preſence in the ſacrament might be "at an end, and ſo peace, ſo long wanted, might be re- "ſtored to the church:" Martyr was over-perſuaded by his friend ſo to do, and uſed for ſome time the ſame form of ſpeech with him, when he had occaſion to diſcourſe of that doctrine. But afterward he returned to his former more dilucid ſtyle, as well in the matter of the real preſence, as in all other ſubjects he treated of. And that both becauſe he ſaw this would not ſuffice them, who held a groſs and carnal preſence of Chriſt's body, unleſs their groſs manner of expreſſion were received, and their as groſs interpretation too; and becauſe he found that many weaker brethren were

greatly offended with theſe ambiguities of ſpeech, and ſo entangled and confounded, that they ſcarce knew what to think in this point. And ſo, leaving Bucer to purſue his obſcurer phraſes, he choſe to ſpeak more clearly and diſtinctly. And neither did Bucer diſallow of Martyr in this courſe, nor was Martyr ignorant of Bucer's true ſenſe, however doubtful his expreſſions were: as the author of his life tells us. This I mention to ſhew, how exactly Martyr accorded with Melanchthon in this opinion, of expreſſing things in clear and perſpicuous terms; which the ſaid Melanchthon thought it highly neceſſary now to be inculcated, when deliberation was had of drawing up a general confeſſion of faith. After he had thus declared his mind in this matter, he particularly deſcended to the doctrine of fate; telling the Archbiſhop, how "the Stoical diſputes of that ſubject among "them in the beginning were too rough, and horrid, and "ſuch as were prejudicial to diſcipline." Which, I ſuppoſe, might be occaſioned from ſome paſſage in the Archbiſhop's letter, adviſing with this learned man how to propound the doctrines of predeſtination and free-will.

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Joſias Simler.

What Melanchthon thought of the doctrine of fate.

CHAP. XXV.

The Archbiſhop correſponds with Calvin.

THESE his counſels he brake alſo to John Calvin, the chief guide of the French churches: who alſo highly approved of his pious propoſition. The Archbiſhop, in a letter to that great reformer, had been lamenting the differences that were in the reformed churches; having his eye, I ſuppoſe, herein upon thoſe of Geneva and Germany; and, like a true father of the church, conſulting for the making up of the breaches, he thought no fitter remedy could be uſed, than for pious and wiſe men, and ſuch as were well exerciſed in God's ſchool, to meet together and profeſs their conſents in the doctrine of godlineſs. This Calvin acknowledged was rightly and prudently adviſed by him: applauding him that he did not only lead the way in purging the

Calv. Ep. 126.

The Archbiſhop breaks his purpoſe alſo to Calvin.

Calvin's approbation thereof, and commendation of the Archbiſhop.

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doctrine of God's church from corruption, but did ſo voluntarily exhort and encourage others therein. And that he did not only take care of religion at home in his own country, but all the world over. And as to the meeting and converſe of divines for this purpoſe, which Cranmer had told him he had made the King ſo ſenſible of the need and uſefulneſs of, that he was forward in it, and had offered a place in his kingdom for them ſecurely to aſſemble together in; that French divine wiſhed, "that learned and wiſe men "from the chief churches would accordingly meet, and, di- "ligently diſcuſſing the chief heads of faith, would by com- "mon conſent deliver to poſterity the certain doctrine of "the Scripture. But that, among the great evils of that "age, this alſo was to be reputed, that churches were ſo "divided from one another, that human ſociety was ſcarcely "kept up among them: much leſs that ſacred communion "of the members of Chriſt, which all profeſſed with their

Offers his ſervice.

"mouths, but few did ſincerely take care to preſerve. That "as to himſelf, if he might be thought to be of any uſe, he "would not grudge to paſs over ten ſeas, if there were need. "That if it were only to contribute ſome aſſiſtance to the "kingdom of England, he ſhould eſteem it a reaſon lawful "enough; but much more, he thought, he ought to ſpare "no labour, no trouble, to procure a means, whereby the "churches, that were ſo widely divided, might unite among "themſelves. But he hoped, his weakneſs and inſufficiency "being ſuch, he might be ſpared: and that he would do "his part in proſecuting that with his prayers and wiſhes,

Excites the Archbiſhop to proceed.

"which ſhould be undertaken by others." And whereas our Archbiſhop had hinted to him his jealouſy, that the buſineſs would hardly find a good iſſue by reaſon of certain difficulties attending it, Calvin not only exhorted, but earneſtly beſeeched him to go forward, till it ſhould have ſome effect at leaſt, though it ſucceeded not in all reſpects according to his wiſh. And ſo prayed God to guide him with his holy Spirit, and to bleſs his pious endeavours.

This excellent purpoſe fruſtrated.

But the troubles at home and abroad fruſtrated this excellent purpoſe, which for two years he had been labouring to bring to ſome good iſſue. His next reſolution was to go as far as he could in this matter, ſince he could not go as far as

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he would. And he bethought himſelf of aſſembling together the divines of his own church, (and that by the King's authority,) to confer with them about drawing up a body of articles of religion: which purpoſe he had likewiſe communicated to Calvin. For which he greatly commended him; telling him, "that ſince the times were ſuch, that that could "not in the leaſt be hoped for, which was ſo much to be "wiſhed, *viz.* that the chief teachers of the divers churches, "which embraced the pure doctrine of the Goſpel, might "meet together, and publiſh to poſterity a certain and clear "confeſſion, out of the pure Word of God, concerning the "heads of religion then in controverſy; he did extremely "commend that counſel which he had taken to eſtabliſh "religion in England; leſt things remaining any longer in "an uncertain ſtate, or not ſo rightly and duly compoſed "and framed as it were convenient, the minds of the people "ſhould remain in ſuſpenſe and wavering." And then, quickening him, told him, "that this was his part chiefly to "do: that he himſelf ſaw well what that place required of "him, or rather what God exacted, in reſpect of that office "he had laid upon him. That he was of very powerful au-"thority; which he had not only by the amplitude of his "honour, but the long conceived opinion that went of his "prudence and integrity. That the eyes of the good were "caſt upon him, either to follow his motions, or to remain "idle upon the pretence of his unactiveneſs."

Thinks of drawing up articles of religion for the Engliſh church.

Which he communicates to Calvin. Ep. 125.

And Calvin's reply and exhortation.

He took the freedom alſo with Cranmer to blame him for not having made more progreſs in the reformation: which he thought he might have done in the three years ſpace, wherein King Edward had already reigned. And told him, "that he feared, when ſo many autumns had been "paſſed in deliberating only, at laſt the froſt of a perpetual "winter might follow:" meaning that the people would grow ſtark cold in minding a reformation. Then "he re-"minded him of his age, that that called upon him to "haſten, leſt, if he ſhould be called out of the world before "matters in religion were ſettled, the conſcience of his "ſlowneſs might create great anxiety to him. He particu-"larly put him in mind of the great want of paſtors to "preach the Goſpel, and that the church's revenues were

Blames him for having not made more progreſs in the reformation.

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"made ſuch a prey. Which he called *an intolerable evil:* "and ſaid, that this was a plain reaſon why there was ſo "little preaching among us. That a parcel of ſlow-bellies "were nouriſhed from the revenues of the church, to ſing "veſpers in an unknown tongue. But, in the cloſe, he ex- "cuſed him in regard of the many and great difficulties that "he wreſtled with." Which was certainly moſt true: inſomuch that, if he had not been a man of great conduct and indefatigable induſtry, the reformation had not made ſo fair a progreſs as it did in his time. And one may admire rather that he went ſo far, the iniquity of the times conſidered, than that he went no farther.

But not juſtly.

The clergy preach againſt ſacrilege.

For the great ones, in the minority of the King, took their opportunity moſt inſatiably to fly upon the ſpoils of the church, and charitable donations; little regarding any thing elſe than to enrich themſelves. Very vicious and diſſolute they were in their lives, as the ſoberer ſort in thoſe days complained; and therefore the leſs to be wondered they were ſo negligent to provide for the promoting the reformed religion and piety in the land. In the mean time, the chief preachers did what they could to redreſs theſe evils: for they plainly and boldly rebuked this evil governance; and eſpecially the covetouſneſs of the courtiers, and their ſmall regard to live after the Goſpel: and ſometimes incurred no ſmall danger by this freedom. Mr. Rogers, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, and afterwards a martyr under Queen Mary, was one of theſe: who ſo freely diſcourſed once at St. Paul's Croſs concerning the abuſe of abbeys, and the church's goods, that he was ſummoned before the privy-council to anſwer for it. And ſo were divers others upon the ſame reaſon. And I am apt to think that theſe preachers did what they did by the counſel and direction of the Archbiſhop. So that the preſent ſtate of things, and the endeavours of him and the reſt of the clergy conſidered, he was a little too haſtily cenſured by Calvin in that behalf. But Cranmer was of ſo mild and gracious a ſpirit, that he did not ſeem to conceive any diſpleaſure againſt Calvin for this his unjuſt charge of negligence; but kept up a great eſteem and value for him.

But, that I may take occaſion here to inſiſt a little longer

upon this argument, and vindicate the honeſty and boldneſs of the Engliſh clergy, in ſpeaking their minds againſt the ſacrilegious ſpirit that reigned in theſe times; it may not be amiſs to give ſome account of a communication that happened about December or January, 1552, at court, between Sir William Cecyl, the King's ſecretary, and one Miles Wilſon, a grave divine, and acquaintance of the ſaid Cecyl, and a man of eminency in the univerſity of Cambridge. Diſcourſe happening between them of divers and ſundry things, relating partly to the propagating Chriſt's religion, and partly to the preſervation and increaſe of the commonwealth; the ſaid Wilſon delivered to Cecyl an oration to read, which he had compoſed, *De rebus Eccleſiæ non diripiendis*; "concerning not ſpoiling the church of her "means:" and which he once pronounced in the public ſchools of the Univerſity, about that time when thoſe matters were in agitation above. Cecyl, being a good and conſcientious man, had in this conference ſignified to him his earneſt deſire to hear and ſee what could be propoſed out of the holy Scripture in ſo unuſual an argument. To ſhew this, and to give alſo a ſhort view of his ſaid oration, becauſe the Secretary's infinite buſineſs would not allow him to read long diſcourſes, Wilſon ſoon after digeſted the contents thereof, reducing it into ſome ſyllogiſms and ratiocinations, more apt to urge, and eaſier to remember, and more accommodate to perſuade. Theſe, with his letter, he ſent to the Secretary. His ends herein were to ſatisfy him in this point, being a man of great ſtroke in the public tranſactions of thoſe times: who might accordingly uſe his intereſt and endeavour to retrieve what had been ſo unjuſtly taken from the church; that the famous ſchools lately diſſolved, to the great ruin of the Univerſity, might be reedified again; and that thoſe livings, which were miſerably ſpoiled by covetous patrons, might be reſtored, and enjoy their whole revenues, to the real honour of the ſtate. And, laſtly, that the hoſpitals, impoveriſhed or wholly beggared, might, by his means, be remedied and helped by the King's council; that they might revert to their former condition; that is, to ſuccour and help the poor. He urged moreover to Cecyl, that the deſtruction of ſchools would be the deſtruction of the uni-

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The Univerſity-men declaim againſt it in the ſchools.

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verſities: and that all learning would ſoon ceaſe, and Popery and more than Gothic barbariſm would invade all, if learned men were not better taken care of than they were; and if the rewards of learning, *viz.* rectories, prebends, and all, were taken away from them.

And the redreſs urged upon ſome at court.

This man had alſo freely diſcourſed theſe matters to two other great and public-ſpirited men, *viz.* Goodrich, the Lord Chancellor, who was Biſhop of Ely; and Holgate, Archbiſhop of York: to both whom he had alſo given the names of a great many ſchools, parſonages, and hoſpitals, that had undergone this ſacrilegious uſage. And he particularly mentioned to Cecyl a town not far from Cambridge, called Childerlay, where a gentleman had pulled down all the houſes in the pariſh, except his own. And ſo, there being none to frequent the church, the inhabitants being gone, he uſed the ſaid church, partly for a ſtable for his horſes, and partly for a barn for his corn and ſtraw. This letter of Wilſon to the Secretary, together with his arguments againſt pilling the church ſubjoined, I have thought worthy preſerving in the repoſitory for ſuch monuments in the Appendix. But to return from this digreſſion, which Calvin's cenſure of our Archbiſhop occaſioned.

No. XCIII.

Calvin ſends letters, and certain of his books, to the King. Ep. 123.

And when, in the year 1551, he diſpatched into England one Nicolas, (that Nicolas Gallaſius, I ſuppoſe, who was afterward by Calvin recommended to be miniſter to the French congregation in London, at the deſire of Grindal, Biſhop of London, that he would ſend over ſome honeſt able perſon for that place,) with letters to the Duke of Somerſet, and likewiſe to the King; to whom he preſented alſo, at the ſame time, his book of Commentaries upon Eſay, and the Canonical Epiſtles, which he had dedicated to him; both the King's council, and the King himſelf, were much pleaſed and ſatisfied with this meſſage: and the Archbiſhop told Nicolas, "that Calvin could do nothing more profitable to the church, than to write often to the King." The ſubſtance of what he wrote to the King, that was ſo well taken, was to excite and ſharpen the generous parts of the royal youth, as Calvin hinted in a letter to Bullinger.

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Well taken by the King and council.

What the Archbiſhop told the meſſenger hereupon. Ep. 120.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Archbiſhop highly valued Peter Martyr.

AS for the learned Italian, Peter Martyr, who is worthy to be mentioned with Melanćthon and Calvin, there was not only an acquaintance between him and our Archbiſhop, but a great and cordial intimacy and friendſhip: for of him he made particular uſe in the ſteps he took in our reformation. And, whenſoever he might be ſpared from his public readings in Oxford, the Archbiſhop uſed to ſend for him, to confer with him about the weightieſt matters. This Calvin took notice of, and ſignified to him by letter how much he rejoiced that he made uſe of the counſels of that excellent man. And when the reformation of the eccleſiaſtical laws was in effect wholly devolved upon Cranmer, he appointed him, and Gualter Haddon, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, his chaplain, and no more, to manage that buſineſs: which ſhews what an opinion he had of Martyr's abilities, and how he ſerved himſelf of him in matters of the greateſt moment. And in that bold and brave challenge he made in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, to juſtify, againſt any man whatſoever, every part of King Edward's reformation; he nominated and made choice of Martyr therein to be one of his aſſiſtants in that diſputation, if any would undertake it with him. This divine, when he was forced to leave Oxford upon the change of religion, retreated firſt to the Archbiſhop at Lambeth; and from thence, when he had tarried as long as he durſt, he departed the realm to Straſburgh.

Peter Martyr and the Archbiſhop cordial friends.

The uſe the Archbiſhop made of him.

Ep. 127.

This man was he that ſaw and reported thoſe voluminous writings of this Archbiſhop, which he had collected out of all the ancient church-writers, upon all the heads of divinity; and thoſe notes of his own pen, that he had inſerted in the margin of his books: which the Archbiſhop communicated to him, when he converſed with him at his houſe. And from theſe, and ſuch-like of the Archbiſhop's labours, he acknowledged he had learned much, eſpecially in the doctrine of the ſacrament; as he writ in his epiſtle before his tract of the Euchariſt.

Martyr ſaw the voluminous writings and marginal notes of the Archbiſhop.

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Two letters of Martyr from Oxford. No. XCIV. XCV.

The fame of Peter Martyr, and the defire of preſerving all remains of ſo learned a profeſſor, and great an inſtrument of the reformed religion, hath inclined me to put two of his letters into the Appendix, though otherwiſe not to our preſent purpoſe; being originals, writ by his own hand from Oxon. The one to James Haddon, a learned court-divine, and Dean of Exon, to procure a licence from the King or
414 the council for a friend and auditor of his to preach publickly. The other to Sir William Cecyl, to forward the payment of a ſalary due to him, that read the divinity-lecture in the room of Dr. Weſton, a Papiſt, who had claimed it himſelf, and laboured to detain it from him.

An inſtance of his love to the Archbiſhop.

I cannot forbear mentioning here an inſtance of his love and great concern for our Archbiſhop, his old friend and patron, after the iniquity of the times had parted them; the one then in priſon, and the other at Straſburgh. It was in June 1555, when Queen Mary, ſuppoſing herſelf with child, was reported to have ſaid in her zeal, "That ſhe could never "be happily brought to bed, nor ſucceed well in any other "of her affairs, unleſs ſhe cauſed all the hereticks ſhe had "in priſon to be burnt, without ſparing ſo much as one." Which opinion, very likely, the Biſhop of Winchester, or ſome other of her zelotical chaplains, put into her head. This report coming to Martyr's ears, afflicted him greatly; not only for the deſtruction that was like ſuddenly to befall many holy profeſſors, but more eſpecially for the imminent hazard he apprehended that great and public perſon, the Archbiſhop, to be in. Which made him expreſs himſelf in this manner, in a letter to Peter Alexander, to whom that moſt reverend father had alſo formerly been a kind hoſt and patron; "That, from thoſe words of the Queen, he might "diſcover that my Lord of Canterbury was then in great "danger."

Pet. Martyr. Ep. Theolog.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Archbiſhop's Favour to John Sleidan.

To all theſe learned and religious outlandiſh men, to whom the Archbiſhop was either a patron or a friend, or both, we muſt not forget to join John Sleidan, the renowned author of thoſe exact Commentaries of the ſtate of religion, and the commonwealth in Germany, in the time of Charles V. About the end of March, anno 1551, he procured for him from King Edward an honorary penſion of two hundred crowns a year, as ſome aid for the carrying on his Commentaries, which he then was buſy about; and, as it ſeems, encouraged by Cranmer to take in hand and proſecute. And when Dr. Bruno, a learned man, and father-in-law to Sleidan, departed out of England, which was about the time before mentioned, being the agent of the Duke of Saxony, the Archbiſhop informed him of this ſtipend, by the King granted unto his ſon-in-law; confirming the ſame to him in the King's name, and encouraging the Commentator hereby to proceed cheerfully in his uſeful undertaking.

The Archbiſhop's favour to John Sleidan.

Procures him a penſion from the King.

But upon the ſtirs at court, the payment of this penſion was neglected a great while: which cauſed Sleidan to call upon the Archbiſhop more than once, as alſo upon his friends Cheke and Cecyl; entreating them to remind the Archbiſhop of him, and to communicate to his Lordſhip the letters he had writ to them. But alas! he needed not to have been excited to things of this nature, bearing ſo good a will to them, and being of his own nature ſo forward to favour learned and honeſt men, and uſeful deſigns; nor was his good will to Sleidan any whit abated, but his intereſt at court was, now towards the declenſion of King Edward's reign.

The payment neglected.

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But, becauſe his penſion depended only upon a verbal promiſe of the King, and the getting it under his ſeal might contribute to the payment of it in better ſort hereafter, he laboured with our Prelate, and the two other perſons mentioned, that it might be confirmed by letters patents. He

Sleidan labours with the Archbiſhop to get the penſion confirmed by letters patents.

BOOK III.

urged to them, "that he could have employed himſelf in "other buſineſs, that would have redounded more to his "profit, as many others did. But he reckoned himſelf "called to this work from heaven, and that he could take "no reſt in his mind till he had brought the hiſtory down "to that preſent time; (it being then the year 1553.) That "he had hope, that they, according to their humanity and "prudence, who well underſtood things, would take ſome "pains that the arrears of his promiſed ſtipend might be "paid, and that ſome further care might be taken for the "due payment of it hereafter, that ſo he might the more "conveniently and freely follow that matter. Leaving it "to them to conſider how much that labour coſt him:" [as to the charges, he means, of correſpondence for the getting particular and faithful accounts of things, that paſſed in all parts.] And laſtly, "That it belonged properly to kings to "cheriſh ſuch labours as would be ornaments to religion "and learning, and of uſe to the common good." And, in another addreſs to Secretary Cecyl, he deſired, "that he "would plead in his behalf with the moſt reverend the "Archbiſhop;" adding, "that he did wholly give up him-"ſelf to this work, and was in a diligent purſuit of all mat-"ters in order to the compiling a complete hiſtory."

Though I have ſaid ſo much already of Sleidan, yet I will take this occaſion to add ſomewhat more; that I may retrieve as much as I can of this honeſt man, and excellent writer. In the month of September, anno 1552, he ſent to the King, together with a letter, his Commentaries of the German Wars, brought down to that very time: being a ſhort draught of that he intended afterwards more largely and fully to write. And Cheke and Cecyl were the men that preſented them to his Majeſty. With this kind of writing the King declared himſelf much pleaſed, as Cecyl wrote him back; and ſo he and Cheke alſo were.

Sends his Commentaries to the King.

This encouragement put our Author upon another deſign, reſolving to write the whole actions of the council of Trent: wherein he himſelf had been a part, having been agent there for five months from the city of Straſburg. This he intended to do for the King's own ſake: that he might thoroughly underſtand the form of councils, and might then

Deſigns to write the hiſtory of the Council of Trent.

For the King's uſe.

CHAP. XXVII.

make his judgment of the reſt of the Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion, which he was then writing.

Anno 1553. ſends the King a ſpecimen thereof.

The ſpring after he preſented the King with a ſpecimen of his writing concerning the council of Trent. It was the beginning and entrance into that treatiſe he intended to write of that ſubject. This he deſired might be kept in the King's ſtudy, and communicated to no other hand; and that no copy of it might be taken, it being but a ſmall part of a future work, and ſo imperfect. 416

In order to the proceeding with his Commentaries, deſires Cecyl to ſend him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII.

He had now, in the ides of March, completed his Commentaries from the year 1517 to the year 1536; and was reſolved, by God's grace, to go on with it in the ſame method. In order to which, in the month of December before, he had deſired of Cecyl, that he would procure him the whole action between King Henry VIII. and Pope Clement VII. when that King vindicated his own liberty, and that of his kingdom, from papal pretences of ſupremacy over each. This matter between the King and the Pope he called, "*lo-*"*cus illuſtris et memorabilis*, and judged it very worthy for "poſterity to know. Adding, that though he had in his "own hands ſome matters relating thereto, yet they were "not ſo exact and certain as he could wiſh; becauſe he de-"ſired to deſcribe every thing properly and moſt exactly ac-"cording to truth. He entreated alſo, that if either he or "Cheke had any other matters of that nature to impart, "they would oblige him with them." Which paſſages make me conclude that, in relation to the Engliſh affairs, he made great uſe of intelligences from Cecyl and Cheke, and probably our Archbiſhop too. Which conſideration may add a great reputation unto the credit of his book.

Bucer writes to Cecyl in behalf of Sleidan. No. XCVI. XCVII. XCVIII. XCIX. C. CI. CII.

Now, to preſerve as much as we can of this excellent hiſtorian, John Sleidan, I have thought good to inſert divers of his letters in the Appendix; and likewiſe becauſe mention is often therein made of our Archbiſhop: to which I have ſubjoined a letter of Martin Bucer, a great name, wrote to Cecyl in behalf of the ſaid Sleidan. For he did not only importune thoſe courtiers before mentioned, but, when no anſwer came from them, he made Bucer alſo his ſolicitor from Cambridge: who, anno 1551, Feb. 18, wrote to Cecyl to further Sleidan's buſineſs, and to diſ-

BOOK III.

patch the payment of his ſtipend; and that Sleidan might be reſolved one way or other; giving Cecyl this memento, that "this would well become the adminiſtration of a kingdom "ſo much adorned as with other things, ſo with the benefit "of religion." By the way, the date of this letter would deſerve well to be noted, ſerving to judge of the true date of Bucer's death: which by hiſtorians is variouſly ſet down, if we may believe Fuller in his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of Cambridge. It is certain Bucer was ill when he wrote that letter to Cecyl; for he mentions therein an epiſtle, which he ſent to Dr. John Quercetanus the phyſician, upon the ſaid Cecyl's deſire, the which, he ſaid, he was hardly able to dictate. This letter to Cecyl I take to be writ in his laſt ſickneſs, nine days before the date which Sleidan his friend affigned for the day of his death. To which agrees, within a day, a paſſage at the end of a piece of Bucer's, intituled, *Explicatio de vi et uſu S. Miniſterii;* where it is ſaid, "that "he died at Cambridge before he finiſhed it. *Pridie Cal.* "*Martias*, anno 1551."

Feb. 27. 1551.

Scripta Anglie.

John Leland.

I have one learned man more behind to mention, and he our own countryman; to whom our Archbiſhop was a patron; and that is the celebrated antiquarian John Leland, library-keeper to Henry VIII. and who, by a commiſſion under the broad-ſeal, granted to him for that purpoſe by
417 the King, had got together a vaſt heap of collections of the hiſtorical antiquities of this nation: which he was many years a making by his travels and diligent ſearches into the libraries of abbeys and religious houſes, before, and at their diſſolution, and elſewhere. From whence he intended to compile a complete hiſtory of the antiquities of Britain; to which he wholly devoted himſelf. But being at that time poor, and the charges of ſuch an undertaking great, he wanted ſomebody to make this known to the King, and to recommend him effectually to his favour and countenance; and to procure him a royal gratuity: for which purpoſe he made his application to Cranmer, (who, he well knew, was the great encourager of learning and ingenuity,) in a very elegant addreſs in verſe, as he was an excellent poet. And, I am apt to think, the preferments that ſoon after befel him, as a good parſonage near Oxford, and a canonry of the

King's college in that Univerſity, and a prebendſhip elſe- CHAP. XXVII.
where, accrued to him by the means of the Archbiſhop, laying open his ſtate before the King. His copy of verſes were as follow:

Ad Thomam Cranmerum Cantiorum Archiepiſcopum.

EST congeſta mihi domi ſupellex,
Ingens, aurea, nobilis, venuſta,
Qua totus ſtudeo Britanniarum
Vero reddere gloriam nitori.
Sed fortuna meis noverca cœptis,
Jam felicibus invidet maligna.
Quare ne pereant brevi vel hora
Multarum mihi noctium labores
Omnes, et patriæ ſimul decora
Ornamenta cadant, ſuuſque ſplendor
Antiquis male defit uſque rebus,
Cranmere, eximium decus piorum,
Implorare tuam benignitatem
Cogor. Fac igitur tuo ſueto
Pro candore, meum decus, patronumque,
Ut tantum faveat, roges, labori
Incœpto: pretium ſequetur amplum.
Sic nomen tibi litteræ elegantes
Recte perpetuum dabunt, ſuoſque
Partim vel titulos tibi receptos
Concedet memori Britannus ore.
Sic te poſteritas amabit omnis,
Et fama ſuper æthera innoteſces.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Archbiſhop Cranmer's Relations and Chaplains.

To look now a little into the Archbiſhop's more private and domeſtic concerns. He had two wives. While he was fellow of Jeſus College in Cambridge, not being in orders, His wives and children.

BOOK III. he married his firſt, named Joan, dwelling at the Dolphin, oppoſite to Jeſus-lane, which I think is a public houſe to this day: which occaſioned ſome of his enemies afterwards to ſay, "That he was once an oſtler," becauſe he lodged ſometime with his wife at that houſe. Her he buried within a year, dying in child-bed. And then for divers years he continued ſtudying hard, and reading learned lectures in the univerſity, and bringing up youth, till he was called to the court. His ſecond wife, named Ann, he married in Germany, while he was ambaſſador there. By her he had children. In King Henry's reign he kept her
418 ſecret; and, upon the act of the ſix Articles, he ſent her away into Germany, that he might give no offence, nor draw any danger upon himſelf. In the time of King Edward, when the marriage of the clergy was allowed, he brought her forth, and lived openly with her. He had children that ſurvived him; for whoſe ſake an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1562, to reſtore them in blood, their father having been condemned for treaſon in conſenting to the Lady Jane's ſucceſſion to the crown: for which yet he was pardoned by Queen Mary. Probably the pardon was only verbal, or not authentickly enough drawn up, or might admit of ſome doubt: to take off which ſuch an act was procured. How many children he had, or what iſſue remains of them to this day, I am not able, after all my inquiries, to ſhew.

His wife ſurvived him.

His wife ſurvived him: for we may give ſo much credit to a very angry book, writ againſt the *Execution of Juſtice in England*, by Cardinal Allen; which, charging the Archbiſhop with breach of vows, faith, "that, at the very day "and hour of his death, he was ſacrilegiouſly joined in "pretended marriage to a woman, notwithſtanding his vow "and order." And living ſhe was toward the latter end of Archbiſhop Parker's time; and for her ſubſiſtence enjoyed an abbey in Nottinghamſhire: which King Henry, upon Dr. Butts his motion, without the Archbiſhop's knowledge, granted to him and his heirs.

Sincere and modeſt Defence of Engliſh Catholicks.

MS. Life of Cranmer in Benet College.

Divers Crammers.

For his wife and children he could not eſcape many a taunt from his enemies behind his back; and one to his face from Dr. Martin, one of thoſe that were commiſſionated to

CHAP. XXVIII.

fit as judges upon him at Oxford. He told him in reproach, "that his children were bondmen to the ſee of Canter-"bury." Whether there be any ſuch old canon law, I know not: but the Archbiſhop ſmiled, and aſked him, "If "a prieſt at his benefice kept a concubine, and had children "by her, whether thoſe children were bondmen to the "benefice, or no? And that he truſted they would make "his children's caſe no worſe." I find two of his name in King Edward's reign; but whether they were his, or his brother Edmund's, ſons, or ſome other relations, I cannot tell. There was one Richard Cranmer, one of the witneſſes at the abjuration of Aſhton, prieſt, an Arian, 1548. Daniel Cranmer of Bilſington, of the dioceſe of Canterbury, who, about adminiſtering to a will, was, for contumacy to the court of Canterbury, excommunicate: and a *ſignificavit* was iſſued out againſt him thereupon, in the year 1552. There was alſo a Thomas Cranmer about theſe times, who bought ſomething in Ware-lane of the city of Canterbury: he was public notary, and regiſter to the Archdeacon in the year 1569. I find likewiſe one Robert Cranmer, Eſq. who was nephew to the Archbiſhop, and alive at the latter end of Queen Elizabeth. This Robert left one only daughter and heireſs, named Ann; whom Sir Arthur Harris, of Crixey in Eſſex, married, and enjoyed with her three manors: Poſtling, which came to the ſaid Robert in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth; Kingſnorth in Ulcomb, and Saltwood; both which he purchaſed in the latter end of that Queen: upon whoſe grandchild, Sir Cranmer Harris, of Lincoln's Inn, Kt. thoſe eſtates deſcended. There was another Cranmer of Canterbury, who enjoyed a manor called Sapinton, in Petham in Kent: one of whoſe offspring by deſcent ſucceſſively was entitled to the propriety of it, and was alive when Philpot publiſhed his book of that county, *viz.* 1659. There be living at this time, among divers others, two knights of this name, Sir Ceſar Cranmer, once belonging to the court; and Sir William Cranmer, a worthy merchant of London, and now Deputy-governor of the Hamburgh company.

Cranm. Regiſt.

Sumner's Ant.

419

Philpot's Villar. Cantian.

But, if we look backward, the Archbiſhop's ſtock and pedigree was very ancient, and of good credit. His father was Thomas Cranmer of Alacton in Nottinghamſhire,

The Archbiſhop's ſtock.

BOOK III.

Eſquire; and his mother was Agnes, the daughter of Laurence Hatfield of Willoughby, of like degree, a gentleman, if I miſtake not, of the ſame county. Which two had iſſue three ſons; John, and Thomas our Archbiſhop, and Edmund, who was the Archdeacon: and four daughters; Dorothy, Ann, Jane, and Iſabel. Which ſiſters of our Archbiſhop were thus matched: Dorothy to Harold Roſel of Radcliff in this county, Eſquire; Ann to Edmund Cartwright of Oſſington in Staffordſhire, Eſquire; Jane to John Moning, Lieutenant of Dover Caſtle; and Iſabel to Sir .... Shepey, Knight. Matches, I ſuppoſe, eſpecially the two latter, of the Archbiſhop's own making, for the preferment of his ſiſters. His elder brother John married Jone, daughter of Fretchvile, of a good family in the ſame county: whoſe grandchild Thomas, and grand-nephew to our Archbiſhop, had none but daughters; one of whom, being a coheir, married John Roſel, grandchild to Harold aforeſaid, and the other to good families in thoſe parts.

Aſlacton.

The Archbiſhop's great grandfather, Edmund, married Iſabel, daughter and heir of William de Aſlacton, a very ancient family. This Edmund was alive in the reign of Henry VI.

Whatton.

In the church of Whatton, in this county, is an ancient monument of an anceſtor of our Archbiſhop, with this inſcription; *Hic jacet Thomas Cranmerus. Qui obiit 27 Maii, 1501. Cujus animæ propitietur Deus. Amen.* And on the monument the coat of arms of the Cranmers; being a chevron between three cranes, quartered with thoſe of the Aſlactons, Newmarches, Whattons, and two families more. This might probably enough be the Archbiſhop's father.

The rectories whereof the Archbiſhop purchaſed.

The Archbiſhop, in the firſt year of King Edward VI. purchaſed of that King the rectories of Whatton and Aſlacton, (the manors whereof belonged to his family before,) with the advowſons of the churches: both which had pertained to the diſſolved monaſtery of Welbeck. Which rectories the Archbiſhop, as it ſeems, made over to his nephew Thomas, ſon to his brother John: for he died ſeiſed of them both; and they deſcended to his ſon and heir Thomas. The manors of the ſaid Whatton and Aſlacton are now come into the noble family of Dorcheſter: the tithes and glebe

to the Armſtrongs of Scarrington. For theſe collections I am beholden to Thoroton's Hiſtory of Nottinghamſhire. CHAP. XXVIII.

And now, in the laſt place, let us look into the Archbiſhop's domeſtic affairs. He took great heed to the well-government of his family, that all things there might beſeem the houſe of a truly chriſtian Biſhop, and the chief ſpiritual governor of the Engliſh church. And, in order to this, one of his cares was to have learned men about him: a few whereof, as I could retrieve them, I ſhall here mention, and give ſome account of. And firſt let us begin with his chaplains. His chaplains. 420

I can find but a few of them: but men they were of great parts and achievements in learning, as well as piety. One of them was Rowland Taylor, doctor of both laws, and preferred by the Archbiſhop to be Parſon of Hadley in Suffolk: who ſealed his doctrine with his blood. An extraordinary man, both for his learning, as well as his bold and brave profeſſion of Chriſt's religion, even to the fiery trial. He had read over (which was rare in thoſe days) all St. Auguſtine's works, St. Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzen, Euſebius, Origen, and divers other fathers. He profeſſed the civil law, and had read over the canon law alſo: as he told the Lord Chancellor Gardiner, when in his ſcorn and rage together he called him an *ignorant beetle-brow*. The Archbiſhop made uſe of him in his affairs: and he was one of thoſe that were joined with him, in King Edward's days, for making a reformation in the eccleſiaſtical laws. Soon after he was inveſted in his benefice, leaving the Archbiſhop's family, he went and reſided, like a careful paſtor, and performed among his pariſhioners all the parts of an excellent miniſter, in reſpect of his doctrine, example, and charity. He was ſent down to his own pariſh of Hadley, where he was extremely beloved, to be burnt. But I refer the reader to the large and full account that Fox gives of him in his book of Acts and Monuments; and ſhall only recite his epitaph, as it now remaineth, or lately did, in a braſs plate hanging in the church of Hadley, where he deſerved ſo well. Rowland Taylor.

BOOK III.

Gloria in altiſſimis Deo.

His epitaph.

OF Rowland Taylor's fame I ſhow, an excellent divine,
A doctor of the civil law, a preacher rare and fine.
King Henry and King Edward's days, preacher and parſon here,
That gave to God continual praiſe, and kept his flock in fear.
And for the truth condemn'd to die he was in fire and flame,
Where he received patiently the torment of the ſame:
And ſtrongly ſuffer'd to the end. Which made the ſtanders by
Rejoice in God, to ſee their friend and paſtor ſo to die.
O Taylor! were thy mighty fame uprightly here enroll'd,
Thy deeds deſerve that thy good name were cipher'd here in gold. *Obiit* 1555.

And in Aldham-common, not far from Hadley town, is a great ſtone, that aſſigns the place where he ſuffered, and on it are written theſe words, or to this effect;

Dr. Taylor, for maintaining what was good,
In this place ſhed his blood.

421 A ſermon preached the day after his burning.

His living was immediately ſupplied by one Newal: and, to deſerve his preferment, or by commandment, perhaps, from above, to render their taking away Dr. Taylor the more juſtifiable, he made a ſermon February 10, 1555, being the day next after he ſuffered, upon this text; *Sic currite, ut comprehendatis.* His work was to perſuade the people to return to the old ſuperſtitions, and to beſpatter the martyr with falſe reports. And, meeting with a writing that containeth the ſum of this ſermon, I will crave leave here to inſert it; to give a ſpecimen of popiſh preaching in theſe days.

Inter Foxii MSS.

Wherein the martyr is groſsly ſlandered.

" He exhorted to run in the ſtrait way, and leave the wide " gate; *viz.* to leave the new-found learning, and but *new-* " *found* indeed, and follow all one religion. For ye were " (ſaid he) erroneouſly taught by ſuch men as died yeſter-

" day: of whom I will ſpeak, but for no malice, as God I " take to record.

" His opinions were, wherefore he died, one, that prieſts " might have wives: the other, that in the ſacrament was " not the very body and blood of our Saviour Chriſt ſub- " ſtantially and really.

" The firſt, that prieſts ſhould have wives, he could prove " by no Scripture, but by three other authors. And he " was demaunded, if he were willing to ſtand to the laſt? " He anſwered, Yea, before God. Then the book laid afore " him, and read to him in Latin and Engliſh: and he, read- " ing the Engliſh of it himſelf, ſaid he would read the Latin; " and ſo did, and confuted himſelf. And ſtood then as " amazed; as can witneſs five hundred.

" And I dare ſay there were a thouſand texts reherſed to " him to the contrary: but he could anſwer not to one. " And ſo had divers admonitions, but was ſo ſtubborn in his " own conceit, according to Paul's ſaying, *Si ſit homo ſec-* " *tuum, Let him be admoniſhed once or twice;* and ſo hath " he been. *If he will not turn, let him be caſt out*: and ſo " he is now. For better were it ſo to do, then to put many " ſouls in danger with evil doctrine.

" And one text I will declare to you for prieſts having " wives. St. Paul, when he was tempted, rid to our Saviour " Chriſt, and aſked what remedy were for temptation, for " his temptation? but whether it were of luſt of the fleſh, " or vain-glory, I cannot tell; but let that go to the opinion " of men. And Chriſt anſwered, *Why, Paul, is not my* " *grace ſufficient for thee?* But he did not ſay, Take a wife, " and let that be thy remedy, But they ſtrait take a drab " by the tail, ſaying, That no man can live chaſt without the " gift of God.

" And as concerning the ſacrament, to prove it, he " brought Paul in the end of the firſt to the Corinthians, " Luke, John, ſixth of Mark. And it is not to be called " the *Supper of the Lord*, as theſe Banbury gloſers have " called it. For *cœnâ factâ*, he ſaid, *This is my body*, which " is, or ſhall be, betrayed. And in one text Cyprian, one " of the primitive church, ſaid in a ſermon of the ſupper,

BOOK III. " *The bread which Chriſt gave to his diſciples, by the omnipo-*
" *tency of the word, is made fleſh.* And Dionyſius and Hilary
" *ſimiliter.*

" To err is a ſmall fault, but to perſevere is a deviliſh
422 " thing: for it moveth many minds to ſee an heretick
" conſtant, and to die. But it is not to be mervelled at: for
" the Devil hath power over ſoul and body. For he cauſeth
" men to drown and hang themſelves at their own wills:
" much more he may cauſe a man to burn; ſeeing he is
" tied, and cannot fly. Barnabe ſaith ſo. Cyprian, *unus*
" *clericorum*, ſaith, That grievous is the fault of diſcord in
" Chriſt's church, and cannot be cleanſed with burning, or
" any other ſacrifice. *Ergo*, damned.

" For ſure he died in damnable caſe, if he did not other-
" wiſe repent in the hour of pain. For though he did burn
" in this caſe, he ſheweth himſelf a chriſtian man no other-
" wiſe than the Devil ſheweth himſelf like Chriſt: and ſo
" maketh no end of a martyr. Auſtin ſaith, *He that will*
" *deny the church to be his mother, God will deny him to be*
" *his ſon.* And ſo Pope Julius the third prayed for, &c." He made an end for lack of his books, becauſe, he ſaid, he was but new come, and brought not his books with him.

" Item, laſt, the perſon being laboured by the way, to
" have left his opinion, anſwered, Alas! what would you
" have me to do? Once I have recanted, and my living is
" gone. I am but a wretch: make an end of me. And, I
" warrant you, ſaid not one word at his death, more than
" deſired the people to pray for him. Which was no token
" of a chriſtian, but of ſtubbornneſs. But I am glad that
" ye were ſo quiet."

A right popiſh ſermon, patched up of ignorance, malice, uncharitableneſs, lies, and improbabilities. That he had no Scripture to produce for himſelf. That his adverſaries had a thouſand againſt him. That he ſhould be willing to ſtand to a quotation out of a father, and know no better what it was, as, when he ſaw it, to be ſo confounded and amazed. That if he were ſo convinced and ſpeechleſs, that he ſhould be ſo ſtupid and ſenſeleſs to ſuffer death, for matters which he ſaw were not true. But ſuch a character was here given

of him, as was no ways agreeable to the great learning, wiſdom, and piety, that this excellent man was endued with. CHAP. XXVIII.

John Ponet, or Poinet, a Kentiſh man, and of Queen's College, Cambridge, was another of his chaplains; a very ingenious as well as learned man: afterward Biſhop of Rocheſter, and then of Wincheſter. A great friend to that accompliſhed ſcholar, Roger Aſcham; who, in confidence of his friendſhip, writ to him, when domeſtic chaplain to the Archbiſhop, to deliver his letter, and forward his ſuit to his Grace, to diſpenſe with him from eating fiſh, and keeping Lent, as was mentioned before. He was of great authority with Cranmer, and of his council in matters of divinity. We may judge of his great abilities by what Godwin ſpeaks of him, *viz.* "That he had left divers writings in Latin and Eng- "liſh: and that, beſides the Greek and Latin, he was well "ſeen in the Italian and Dutch tongues. [Which laſt he "learned probably in his exile.] That he was an excellent "mathematician, and gave unto King Henry VIII. a dial of "his own deviſe; ſhewing not only the hour of the day, but "alſo the day of the month, the ſign of the ſun, the plane- "tary hour; yea, the change of the moon, the ebbing and "flowing of the ſea, with divers other things as ſtrange, to "the great wonder of the King, and his no leſs commenda- "tion." And he was as eminent for his gift in preaching as for his other qualifications, being preferred by King Edward for ſome excellent ſermons preached before him. One of our hiſtorians writes, that he was with Sir Thomas Wyat in his inſurrection: and, after his defeat, fled into Germany, where, in the city of Straſburgh, he died about the year 1556. But Bale ſpeaks not a word of his being with Wyat; but that he died, being forty years of age, buried at Straſburgh, and attended honourably to his grave with abundance of learned men and citizens. John Ponet. 423 Stow.

Thomas Becon, a Suffolk man, ſeems to have been his chaplain. To Cranmer Becon dedicated his treatiſe of Faſting: wherein he mentioned ſeveral benefits he had received from the Archbiſhop: one whereof was, his making him one of the ſix preachers of Canterbury. He was deprived in Queen Mary's reign, as all the other five were, for Tho. Becon.

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being married. He was a famous writer, as well as preacher, in the reigns of King Henry, King Edward, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth. So eminent, that he was one of the three (Vernon and Bradford being the other two) that were ſent for by Queen Mary's council, and committed to the Tower in the beginning of her reign, *viz.* Auguſt 16, 1553: from whence he was not delivered till March 22. following. During which time, as he complained himſelf, he underwent a miſerable impriſonment. To conceal himſelf in thoſe dangerous times, he went by the name of Theodore Baſil: and was one of thoſe authors, whoſe names were ſpecified in a ſevere proclamation put forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, 1555, as being writers of books, which, as contrary to the Pope and Roman catholick religion, were forbidden to be brought into England, or uſed, and commanded diligently to be ſearched for, and brought to the ordinary, upon penalty of the ſtatute of Henry IV. againſt hereſy. After his delivery from priſon, ſkulking about for ſome time, at length he ſaved himſelf by exile.

He was a man mightily toſſed about. For to look upon him, before this, in King Henry's reign; then, for his ſecurity, he was forced to leave his friends and country, wandering as far as Darbyſhire, and the Peak: where he privately taught ſchool for a ſubſiſtence. And, coming a mere ſtranger into Alſop in the Dale, one Mr. Alſop, a pious man in that barbarous country, ſhewed him great civility. Afterwards he travelled into Staffordſhire, where he alſo educated children in good literature, and inſtilled into their minds the principles of chriſtian doctrine. After a year's tarrying there, and in Leiceſterſhire, he flitted into Warwickſhire, where he taught alſo divers gentlemen's ſons, and where he met with old father Latimer, to his great joy, who had firſt made him acquainted with the Goſpel, when he was a ſcholar in Cambridge, twenty years before. He wrote a great many books, forty in number, ſuited to the various occaſions of chriſtians, both in the perſecutions under Queen Mary, and the free profeſſion and reſtoration of the Goſpel under King Edward and Queen Elizabeth: and many more againſt the religion of the Roman church. All theſe did this learned and painful author compoſe for the

benefit of the profeſſors of religion: whereby he did ſuch ſervice to the enlightening of men's minds in the knowledge of the truth, and for the expoſing the corruptions of Popery, that it was thought convenient that ſome of that communion ſhould be employed to write againſt him. And ſo Richard Smith, ſometime reader of divinity in Oxon, and one that had ſubſcribed to the reformed religion, and after fled into Brabant, and became a zealous aſſerter of Popery, writ in a bitter ſtyle againſt ſome of Becon's books, as he had done againſt the Archbiſhop himſelf before. CHAP. XXVIII. 424

I find this Becon put up to preach one of the Lent ſermons at St. Paul's Croſs, in the year 1566. And ſuch then was his fame for a preacher, and ſuch his favour with the greateſt prelates, that the Lord Mayor for that year ſent a meſſage to Archbiſhop Parker, that his Grace would prevail with him to preach one of the ſermons at the Spittle that Eaſter.

In the year 1564. he reviſed and reprinted all his former books in three volumes; dedicating the whole to all the Archbiſhops and Biſhops of the realm. And, in commendation thereof, Parkhurſt, Biſhop of Norwich, wrote theſe verſes to him:

Vidi et perlegi doctos, Bæcone, Libellos,
Quos tua non pridem Sancta Minerva dedit.
Diſpeream, ſiquid legi unquam ſanctius, aut ſi
Quid potuit populo tradier utilius.
Auſpice perge Deo tales vulgare Libellos:
Vaniloquax ſed nec lingua timenda tibi eſt.
Sic Chriſtum poſſis avido inculcare popello,
Sic poſſis nomen condecorare tuum.

Beſides theſe, there was his Poſtil, being godly and learned ſermons on all the Sunday-Goſpels in the year: printed in quarto in the year 1567.

I ſhall ſay no more of his chaplains, after I ſhall have mentioned Richard Harman. Who ſeems to have been one of his firſt chaplains; being once of King's College, but went away ſcholar, (probably for religion;) afterwards lived in Jeſus College, and commenced maſter of arts with Cran- Richard Harman.

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mer: whom he alſo preferred to be his domeſtic afterwards. This man was one of thoſe Cambridge men that were elected into St. Frideſwide's College in Oxon; and ſuffered much there for religion. He was afterwards a Canon of Windſor; but fell back to Popery.

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Archbiſhop Cranmer's Officers.

I SHALL now add a few words of two of his civil officers: his ſteward and his ſecretary. One Nevyl was his ſteward in King Henry's reign; who conducted Sir Thomas Seimour, coming with a meſſage from the King, through the hall, when the tables were ſumptuouſly ſet, unto the Archbiſhop at dinner: him I have nothing to ſay of. But he had another afterwards, named Robert Watſon, born in Norwich, of whom I have a word or two to ſay. He was a great civilian, and an exile for religion in Queen Mary's reign. But, before his eſcape beyond ſea, he lay in priſon in Norwich a year and four months, ſaith Bale; almoſt two years, ſaith Fox: and then was moſt fortunately delivered, without doing any violence to his conſcience, by the ſubſcription which he made. Being abroad, he wrote a piece, intituled, *Ætiologia, to all that ſincerely profeſſed Chriſt, whereſoever diſperſed, eſpecially his Countrymen, the Engliſh, baniſhed with him.* In this tract he gave a relation of himſelf, and his impriſonment, and eſcape; and of the diſputes that happened between him and his adverſaries concerning tranſubſtantiation, and the real preſence of Chriſt in the ſacrament; and by what means he eſcaped ſafe in body and conſcience: which was a rare matter to do from ſuch inquiſitors. It was propounded to him to ſet his hand to theſe words; *viz.* "That he believed and confeſſed that the bread and wine "in the Euchariſt, through the omnipotency of God's "Word, pronounced by the prieſt, were turned into the "body and blood of Chriſt; and after conſecration, under "the forms of bread and wine, remained the true body and

Robert Watſon, the Archbiſhop's ſteward.

"blood of Chriſt, and no other ſubſtance." To which he made this ſubſcription; *His omnibus eatenus aſſentior et ſubſcribo, quatenus Verbo Dei nituntur, eoque ſenſu, quo ſunt ab Eccleſia Catholica et a ſanctis Patribus intellecta.* By the means of one Dr. Barret, a learned friar of Norwich, he was upon this favourable ſubſcription diſmiſſed. But Chriſtopherſon, Dean of Norwich, when he underſtood it, was much incenſed, and laid out to take him again. But he, by the help of friends, eſcaped over the ſeas.

His ſecretary, Ralph Morice.

Now, laſtly, of Ralph Morice his ſecretary, ſo much employed, and ſo greatly entruſted by our Archbiſhop, it may not be amiſs to ſet down a few memorials. He was his ſecretary, not ſo much for ordinary matters incident to his archiepiſcopal office, as his amanuenſis for learned treatiſes and diſcourſes which he compoſed. In this place he remained for twenty years; that is, from the Archbiſhop's firſt entrance upon his ſee, to the death of King Edward VI. his good maſter. He was a very conſiderable perſon, and of good birth, being the ſon of James Morice of Royden in the county of Eſſex, Eſq. Which James was ſometime ſervant unto the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Richmond and Derby, and clerk of her kitchen, and maſter of her works; and particularly of Chriſt's College and St. John's in Cambridge, both which ſhe founded. He alſo and his ſon William were joint receivers of the lands, called Richmond Lands; and other lands, called the Recovered Lands.

His parentage.

Well known to divers eminent biſhops.

Our Ralph, by reaſon of his ſervice about the Archbiſhop, was well known to Biſhop Heth, Biſhop Thirlby, Biſhop Cox, Biſhop Barlow, and Biſhop Scory; men that were much about the Archbiſhop, and his friends: and who were privy to thoſe volumes that the ſecretary writ out for his maſter. He dwelt ſometime in Chartham, not far from Canterbury; and had the farm of that parſonage, and the nomination of the curate. And, being a man of conſcience and integrity, endeavoured to procure here an honeſt and able preacher; and ſo preſented to the church one Richard Turner, a man of an irreprehenſible life, and well learned in the holy Scriptures: who, for his doctrine againſt the popiſh ſuperſtition, and the Pope's ſupremacy, met with great troubles. But his patron very ſtiffly ſtood by him,

Preſents Turner to Chartham.

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and procured the Archbiſhop to favour him: and, having an intereſt with Sir Anthony Denny and Sir William Butts, courtiers, he wrote Mr. Turner's caſe at large to them, and got them to read his letter before the King. Who, though before he had been by ſiniſter reports ſo incenſed againſt him, as to command him to be whipped out of the country, now by this means he conceived better thoughts of him, and commanded him to be cheriſhed as a good ſubject; as I have before more at large related.

And ſtands by him in his troubles for his faithful preaching.

Another paſſage I meet with of this man relates to the kindneſs of the Archbiſhop his maſter to him: who, in token of his good will he bore him, and of his readineſs to reward his diligence and faithfulneſs in his ſervice, did procure him a leaſe of the parſonage of Oſpring in Kent, being an impropriation belonging unto St. John's College in Cambridge, worth better than forty marks by the year *de claro*, when wheat was but a noble the quarter. This the Archbiſhop got a grant of from the ſaid college for him. But, when the leaſe was prepared, and ready to be ſealed, one Hawkins of the guard, by his importunate ſuit, got King Henry VIII. to obtain it of the college to be ſealed for the uſe of him the ſaid Hawkins. The Archbiſhop then ſolicited the King in his ſervant's behalf, and the King promiſed him, and alſo Dr. Day, the Maſter of the college, that he would otherwiſe recompenſe Morice for the ſame, with like value or better. Which was never done, the King dying before he did any thing for him.

An inſtance of the Archbiſhop's kindneſs to this his Secretary.

This cauſed Morice to prefer a ſupplication unto Queen Elizabeth, ſetting forth his ſaid caſe, and deſiring therefore her liberality, aid, and ſuccour; eſpecially conſidering, that her royal father had in his will provided, that all ſuch who had ſuſtained any manner of damage or hinderance by him ſhould be ſatisfied for the ſame: ſuing therefore to her Majeſty for a penſion, that had been allowed unto one Wilbore, late Prior of the monaſtery of St. Auguſtine's, lately deceaſed, that it might be conferred upon him during his life. And indeed he ſeemed now, in his old age, to have need of ſome ſuch favour, his condition being but mean according to worldly things, and having four daughters all marriageable, and not wherewithal to beſtow them according to

Morice his ſuit to Queen Elizabeth for a penſion.

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their quality. This his poverty he urged to the Queen, and that the granting him this penſion would be a good furtherance of his ſaid daughters' marriage.

His ſecond ſuit to the Queen to confirm certain lands deſcended to him from his father.

The ſame perſon had ſome lands deſcended to him from James his father out of two manors, the one called Royden Manor, and the other called the Temple, both ſituate and lying in the pariſh of Royden. His ſaid father, upon ſome certain reaſons and agreements, ſurrendered two long leaſes of both theſe manors into King Henry VIII. his hands. In conſideration of which, and of long and true ſervices, the ſaid King did give, except, and reſerve certain tenements, lands, paſtures, and meadows, out of the ſaid two lordſhips, to the uſe of the ſaid James and his heirs and aſſigns for ever, as appeared by his letters patents. And James did enjoy them peaceably and quietly, without any moleſtation, until his death; which was in the ſecond year of Queen Mary. But of late the leaſes of the manors being ſold away unto others, they laid claim and title unto the ſaid reſerved lands, upon the information of one Thurgood, ſteward of the courts there; pretending that there were not words ſufficient in the ſaid letters patents to juſtify the ſaid exceptions. This occaſioned Ralph Morice the ſon, who enjoyed ſome of the copyholds within the ſaid exceptions, to ſue unto the Queen for her Majeſty's letters patents, to ratify and confirm the ſaid exceptions, that the King's godly diſpoſition, intent, and meaning might be in force to James Morice's heirs and aſſigns for ever. 427

What ſucceſs he had in this and the former petition, I find not; but am ready to think the Queen gratified him in both, as well for his own merits, as out of that high reſpect ſhe bore to the memory of our incomparable Prelate, whoſe ſervant he had ſo long been, and for whoſe ſake he recommended himſelf and his ſuit to her. I have inſerted the former of theſe ſupplications in the Appendix, being an original of Morice's own hand-writing, and containing ſome memorable paſſages in it. No. CIII.

He was Regiſter to the commiſſioners in King Edward's viſitation.

This man was, by the Archbiſhop's means, appointed a Regiſter in King Edward VI. his viſitation, which was in the ſecond year of his reign; the articles whereof were drawn up by the Archbiſhop, and preſerved to us in Biſhop Spar-

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row's Collections. And, being ready to depart with the King's commiſſioners, the Archbiſhop ſent for him to Hampton Court, and willed him to make notes of certain matters in the ſaid viſitation, whereof he gave him particular inſtructions; and had large diſcourſe with him of the good ſucceſs that this courſe was like to have.

Suffered under Queen Mary.

In the beginning of Queen Mary he ſuffered much: being glad to fly from his own houſe; but afterwards taken by the juſtices, and committed to cuſtody. Out of which he eſcaped by breaking priſon. His houſe was often ſearched. But he outlived thoſe hard times, and was alive in the year 1565; and then lived at Bekeſborn.

Morice ſupplied Fox with many material notices in his book.

It was this Morice that ſupplied Mr. Fox, the writer of the Acts and Monuments, with thoſe memorials concerning the Biſhop of Wincheſter, which ſhewed how ſmall a ſhare he had in King Henry's affections, notwithſtanding his boaſting thereof, which he was very apt to do; and particularly how that King came to leave him out of his laſt will. All which Sir Anthony Denny related to our Archbiſhop, in the hearing of this his ſecretary: who was alive when Fox wrote this, and whom he aſſerts, towards the end of his eighth book, as a witneſs to the ſame. For it is to be noted here, that, among thoſe perſons that aſſiſted this author with matter for the compiling his laborious books, this Morice was one, and to whom we are to reckon ourſelves beholden for divers other material paſſages of our church-hiſtory, and eſpecially thoſe of his lord and maſter the Archbiſhop, which are preſerved in the ſaid books to poſterity. To Day the printer he ſent many papers of monuments for the furniſhing Fox's Hiſtory; and many more he had communicated, but that, in Queen Mary's reign, his houſe in two
428 years was thrice ſearched; by which means he loſt a great ſort of things worthy perpetual memory; and eſpecially divers letters of King Edward to the Archbiſhop, and of the Archbiſhop to him.

Morice a cordial friend to Latimer. Fox.

I meet with one Morice, a man of worſhip, that was much acquainted with, and very well affected towards, Mr. Hugh Latimer, whom the ſaid reverend father called "his truſty "friend." When he was Parſon of Weſt-Kingſton in Wiltſhire, the prieſts at Briſtol and thereabouts had combined,

againſt him; and, accuſing him in ſeveral articles, which they had maliciouſly and falſely collected out of his ſermons, got him convented before Warham Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Stokeſly Biſhop of London. By them he was detained a great while, and underwent many an examination. While he was in theſe his troubles, Morice, whom I ſuſpect to be either this Ralph or his father, wrote a kind letter to him to comfort him. To which Latimer gives an anſwer; wherein he explains at large to him the reaſons of his troubles, thanking him for this kindneſs, as well as for others heretofore ſhewn him; and for which he prayed God to reward him. CHAP. XXIX.

CHAP. XXX.

A Proſpect of the Archbiſhop's Qualities.

THERE is an original writing of this Morice's hand, preſerved in the Benet-library, entitled, *A Declaration, &c.* which he drew out for the uſe, and by the command, of Archbiſhop Parker. Wherein divers remarkable paſſages of this Archbiſhop, not yet mentioned, are ſet down: and particularly, he is herein vindicated from one thing, which to this day he is by ſome blamed for; namely, for alienations, and long leaſes of the revenues of the ſee, granted to the King, and others. A great part therefore of this I ſhall here tranſcribe. Morice's declaration concerning the Archbiſhop.

" He was of ſuch temperance of nature, or rather ſo mor-
" tified, that no manner of proſperity or adverſity could al-
" ter or change his accuſtomed conditions: for were the
" ſtorms never ſo terrible, or odious, or the proſperous ſtate
" of the times never ſo pleaſant, joyous, or acceptable; to
" the face of the world his countenance, diet, or ſleep, com-
" monly never altered or changed. So that they which
" were moſt near and converſant about him, never or ſeldom
" perceived, by any ſign or token of countenance, how the
" affairs of the Prince or realm went. Notwithſtanding pri- His temperance of nature.

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" vately, with his ſecret and ſpecial friends, he would ſhed " forth many bitter tears; lamenting the miſeries and cala- " mities of the world.

His carriage towards his enemies.

" Again, he ſo behaved himſelf to the whole world, that " in no manner of condition he would ſeem to have any " enemy; although in very deed he had both many great " and ſecret enemies, whom he always bare with ſuch coun- " tenance and benevolence, that they could never take good " opportunity to practiſe their malice againſt him, but to
429 " their great diſpleaſure and hinderance in the end. And as " concerning his own regard towards ſlanders and reproach, " by any man to him imputed or impinged, ſuch as entirely " knew him can teſtify, that very little he eſteemed or re- " garded the bruit thereof; becauſe he altogether travailed " evermore from giving of juſt occaſion of detraction. " Whereupon grew and proceeded that notable quality or " virtue he had, to be beneficial unto his enemies. So that " in that reſpect he would not be acknown to have any ene- " my at all. For whoſoever he had been that had reported " evil of him, or otherwiſe wrought to do him diſpleaſure, " were the reconciliation never ſo mean or ſimple on the be- " half of his adverſary, if he had any thing at all relented, " the matter was both pardoned and clearly forgotten; and " ſo voluntarily caſt into the ſatchel of oblivion behind the " back parts; that it was more clear now out of his me- " mory, than it was in his mind, before it was either com- " menced or committed. Inſomuch that, if any ſuch perſon " ſhould have had any ſuit unto him afterward, he might " well reckon, and be as ſure to obtain, (if by any means he " might lawfully do it,) as any other of his ſpecial friends. " So that on a time I do remember, that Dr. Hethe, late " Archbiſhop of York, partly miſliking this his over-much " lenity, by him uſed, ſaid unto him, My Lord, I now know " how to win all things at your hand well enough. How " ſo? quoth my Lord. Marry, ſaith Dr. Hethe, I perceive " that I muſt firſt attempt to do unto you ſome notable diſ- " pleaſure; and then, by a little relenting, obtain of you " what I can deſire. Whereat my Lord bit his lip, as his " manner was when he was moved, and ſaid, *You ſay well;*

" *but yet you may be deceived. Howbeit, having ſome conſi-*
" *deration ſo to do, I may not alter my mind and accuſtomed*
" *condition, as ſome would have me to do.*

Severe in his behaviour towards offending Proteſtants.

" Again, one thing he commonly uſed, wherein many did
" diſcommend him; which was this: he always bare a
" good face and countenance unto the Papiſts, and would,
" both in word and deed, do very much for them; pardon-
" ing their offences: and, on the other ſide, ſomewhat over-
" ſevere againſt the Proteſtants. Which being perceived not
" to be done but upon ſome purpoſe, on a time a friend of
" his declared unto him, that he therein did very much
" harm; encouraging thereby the Papiſts, and alſo thereby
" diſcouraging the Proteſtants. Whereunto he made this
" anſwer, and ſaid, What will ye have a man do to him that
" is not yet come to the knowledge of the truth of the Goſ-
" pel, nor perchance as yet called, and whoſe vocation is to
" me uncertain? Shall we perhaps in his journey coming
" towards us, by ſeverity and cruel behaviour, overthrow
" him, and, as it were in his voyage, ſtop him? I take not
" this the way to allure men to embrace the doctrine of the
" Goſpel. And if it be a true rule of our Saviour Chriſt, to
" do good for evil; then let ſuch as are not yet come to fa-
" vour our religion learn to follow the doctrine of the Goſ-
" pel by our example, in uſing them friendly and charitably.
" On the other ſide, ſuch as have taſted of ſincere religion,
" and as it were taken hold of the Goſpel, and ſeem in
" words to maintain the true doctrine thereof, and then, by
" the evil example of their lives, moſt perniciouſly become 430
" ſtumbling-blocks unto ſuch as are weak, and not at all
" as yet entered into the viage; what would you have me
" do with them? Bear with them, and wink at their faults;
" and ſo willingly ſuffer the Goſpel, by their outrageous
" doings, to be trodden under feet? Uſing herewith another
" notable ſaying of our Saviour out of our memory: which
" ſaith, The ſervant, knowing his lord and maſter's pleaſure
" and commandment, if he regardeth not the ſame, is, as a
" man might ſay, of all others worthy of many plagues.
" And thus with theſe two Scriptures, or doctrines of our
" Saviour Chriſt, he anſwered mine eldeſt brother, who was

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Stout in God's or the King's cauſe.

" earneſt with him for his amendment of this quality. Mr. " Iſaac, yet living, is a witneſs of the ſame.

" Again, if there were any matter of weight, (beſides his " own cauſe, wherein evermore, with all kinds of perſons, " he was ready to relent and give place, according to the " quality of the matter, more than became his ſtate,) which " touched God perceaſe, or his Prince, there was no man " more ſtout or more inexorable. So far forth, that nei- " ther fear of loſing of promotion, nor hope of gain, or win- " ning of favour, could move him to relent, or give place " unto the truth of his conſcience. As experience thereof " well appeared, as well in defence of the true religion " againſt the ſix Articles in the parliament, as in that he " offered to combat with the Duke of Northumberland in " King Edward's time; ſpeaking then on behalf of his " Prince, for the ſtaying of the chauntries, until his High- " neſs had come unto lawful age: and that eſpecially for " the maintenance of his better ſtate then. But if at his " Prince's pleaſure, in caſe of religion, at any time he was " forced to give place, that was done with ſuch humble pro- " teſtation, and ſo knit up for the ſafeguard of his faith and " conſcience, that it had been better his good-will had never " been requeſted, than ſo to relent or give over as he did. " Which moſt dangerouſly (beſides ſundry times elſe) he " eſpecially attempted, when the ſix Articles paſſed by par- " liament; and when my Lord Crumwel was in the Tower: " at what time the book of Articles of our Religion [a] was " new penned. For even at that ſeaſon the whole rabble- " ment (which he took to be his friends, being commiſ- " ſioners with him) forſook him, and his opinion and doc- " trine: and ſo, leaving him *poſt* alone, revolted altogether " on the part of Stephen Gardiner, Biſhop of Wincheſter. " As by name, Biſhop Hethe, Shaxton, Day, and all other " of the meaner ſort. By whom theſe ſo named were chiefly " advanced and preferred unto dignities. And yet this ſud- " den inverſion notwithſtanding, God gave him ſuch favour " with his Prince, that book altogether paſſed by his aſſer-

[a] Viz. *The Erudition of a Chriſten Man.*

"tion, againſt all their minds: more to be marvelled at, "the time conſidered, than by any reaſon to compaſs how "it ſhould come to paſs. For then would there have been "laid thouſands of pounds to hundreds in London, that he "ſhould, before that ſynod had been ended, have been ſhut "up in the Tower, beſide his friend the Lord Crumwel. "Howbeit the King's Majeſty, having an aſſured and ap- "proved affiance of his both deep knowledge in religion, "and fidelity both to God and him, ſuſpected in that time "other men in their judgments not to walk uprightly, nor "ſincerely; for that ſome of them ſwerved from their for- "mer opinions in doctrine: and, having great experience of "the conſtancy of the Lord Cranmer, it drave him all along "to join with the ſaid Lord Cranmer in the confirmation "of his opinion and doctrine againſt all the reſt, to their "great admiration.

The King ſides with Cranmer againſt all the biſhops. 431

"For at all times, when the King's Majeſty would be "reſolved in any doubt or queſtion, he would but ſend "word to my Lord over night; and by the next day the "King would have in writing brief notes of the doctors' "minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new; with "a concluſion of his own mind: which he could never get "in ſuch a readineſs of any; no, not of all his chaplains and "clergy about him, in ſo ſhort a time. For, being tho- "roughly ſeen in all kinds of expoſitors, he could incon- "tinently lay open thirty, forty, ſixty or more, ſome whiles, "of authors. And ſo, reducing the notes of them altoge- "ther, would advertiſe the King more in one day, than all "his learned men could do in a month.

His great ability in anſwering the King's doubts.

"And it was no mervail; for it was well known, that "commonly, if he had not buſineſs of the Prince's, or ſpe- "cial urgent cauſes before him, he ſpent three parts of the "day in ſtudy as effectually as he had done at Cambridge. "And therefore it was that the King ſaid on a time to the "Biſhop of Wincheſter, the King and my ſaid Lord of "Wincheſter defending together, that the canons of the "Apoſtles were of as good authority as the four Evangeliſts, "contrary to my Lord Cranmer's aſſertion; *My Lord of "Canterbury*, ſaid the King, *is too old a truant for us "twain.*

Cranmer ſtudied three parts of the day.

BOOK III.

"Again, his eſtimation was ſuch with his Prince, that in "matters of great importance, wherein no creature durſt "once move the King for fear of diſpleaſure, or moving the "King's patience, or otherwiſe for troubling his mind, then "was my Lord Cranmer moſt violently, by the whole coun- "cil, obtruded and thruſt out to undertake that danger and "peril in hand. As, beſide many other times, I remember "twice he ſerved the council's expectation. The firſt time "was, when he ſtaid the King's determinate mind and ſen- "tence; in that he fully purpoſed to ſend the Lady Mary, "his daughter, unto the Tower, and there to ſuffer as a ſub- "ject; becauſe ſhe would not obey the laws of the realm, "in refuſing the Biſhop of Rome's authority and religion. "Whoſe ſtay in that behalf, the King then ſaid unto the "Lord Cranmer, would be to his utter confuſion at the "length. The other dangerous attempt was, in the diſ- "cloſing the unlawful behaviour of Queen Katharine "Howard towards the King, in keeping unlawful company "with Durrant, her ſervant. For the King's affection was "ſo marvellouſly ſet upon that gentlewoman, as it was "never known that he had the like to any woman. So that "no man durſt take in hand to open to him that wound, "being in great perplexity how he would take it. And "then the council had no other refuge but unto my Lord "Cranmer: who with overmuch importunity gave the "charge; which was done with ſuch circumſpection, that "the King gave over his affections unto reaſon, and wrought "marvellous colourably for the trial of the ſame.

Would ſpeak to the King when none elſe durſt.

Lady Mary.

Queen Katharine Howard.

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"Now as concerning the manner and order of his hoſ- "pitality and houſekeeping. As he was a man abandoned "from all kind of avarice, ſo was he content to maintain "hoſpitality, both liberally and honourably, and yet not "ſurmounting the limits of his revenues: having more re- "ſpect and foreſight unto the iniquity of the times, being "inclined to pull and ſpoil from the clergy, than to his own "private commodity. For elſe, if he had not ſo done, he "was right ſure that his ſucceſſors ſhould have had as much "revenues left unto them, as were left unto the late ab- "beys: eſpecially conſidering, that the lands and revenues of "the ſaid abbeys, being now utterly conſumed and ſpread

His hoſpitality.

" abroad; and for that there remained no more exercise to " set on work, or no officers but surveyors, auditors, and " receivers; it was high time to shew an example of liberal " hospitality. For although these said workmen, only " brought up and practised in subverting of monastical pos- " sessions, had brought that kind of hospitality unto utter " confusion, yet ceased they not to undermine the Prince, by " divers persuasions, for him also to overthrow the honour- " able state of the clergy.

Falsely accused of ill house-keeping.

" And, because they would lay a sure foundation to build " their purpose upon, they found the means to put into the " King's head, that the Archbishop of Canterbury kept no " hospitality, or house, correspondent unto his revenues and " dignity; but sold his woods, and, by great incomes and " fines, made money, to purchase lands for his wife and chil- " dren. And to the intent that the King should with the " more facility believe this information, Sir Thomas Sey- " mor, the Duke of Somerset's brother, being one of the " privy-chamber, was procured to take this matter in hand. " And, before he informed the King thereof, he blasted it " abroad in the court. Insomuch that the gentlemen and " he fell out for the same: they declare, that his report was " manifestly false, as well for the keeping of his house, as " for the purchasing lands for his wife and children. This " notwithstanding, Mr. Seymor went through with his in- " formation, and declared unto the King, as is before de- " clared. The King, hearing this tale with the sequel, (that " was, That it was meet for the bishops not to be troubled, " ne vexed with temporal affairs, in ruling their honours, " lordships, and manors; but rather, they having an honest " pension of money yearly allowed unto them for their hos- " pitality, should surrender unto the King's Majesty all their " royalties and temporalties,) said, I do marvel that it is " said my Lord of Canterbury should keep no good hos- " pitality; for I have heard the contrary. And so, with a " few more commendations of my Lord, as one that little " regarded the suit; but yet, as it appeared afterward, some- " thing smelling what they went about, left off any further " to talk of that matter, and converted his communication " to another purpose.

BOOK III. 433

"Notwithſtanding, within a month after, whether it was "of chance, or of purpoſe, it is unknown; the King, going "to dinner, called Mr. Seymour unto him, and ſaid, Go ye "ſtraightways unto Lambeth, and bid my Lord of Canter- "bury come and ſpeak with me at two of the clock at af- "ternoon. Incontinently Mr. Seymor came to Lambeth, "and, being brought into the hall by the porter, it chanced "the hall was ſet to dinner. And when he was at the "ſkreen, and perceived the hall furniſhed with three princi- "pal meſſes, beſide the reſt of the tables thorowly ſet, "having a guilty conſcience of his untrue report made to "the King, recoiled back, and would have gone in to my "Lord by the chapel-way. Mr. Nevyl, being ſteward, per- "ceiving that, roſe up and went after him, and declared "unto him, that he could not go that way; and ſo brought "him back unto my Lord through the hall. And when he "came to my Lord, and had done his meſſage, my Lord "cauſed him to ſit down and dine with him. But making "a ſhort dinner, becauſe he would bring the King word "again of his meſſage, he departed and came to the King, "before he was riſen from the table. When he came to "the King's preſence, ſaid the King, Will my Lord of Can- "terbury come to us? He will wait on your Majeſty, ſaid "Mr. Seymor, at two of the clock. Then ſaid the King, "Had my Lord dined before you came? No forſooth, ſaid "Mr. Seymor, for I found him at dinner. Well, ſaid the "King, what cheer made he you? With theſe words Mr. "Seymor kneeled down, and beſought the King's Majeſty "of pardon. What is the matter? ſaid the King. I do "remember, ſaid Mr. Seymor, that I told your Highneſs "that my Lord of Canterbury kept no hoſpitality corre- "ſpondent unto his dignity: and now I perceive that I did "abuſe your Highneſs with an untruth. For, beſides your "Grace's houſe, I think he be not in the realm, of none "eſtate or degree, that hath ſuch a hall furniſhed, or that "fareth more honourably at his own table. Ah, ſaid the "King, have you ſpied your own fault now? I aſſure your "Highneſs, ſaid Mr. Seymor, it is not ſo much my fault as "other men's; who ſeemed to be honeſt men, that informed "me hereof. But I ſhall henceforth the worſe truſt them

" while they live. Then ſaid the King, I knew your pur-
" poſe well enough; you have had among you the commo-
" dities of the abbeys, which you have conſumed: ſome
" with ſuperfluous apparel, ſome at dice and cards, and
" other ungracious rule. And now you would have the
" biſhops' lands and revenues to abuſe likewiſe. If my
" Lord of Canterbury keep ſuch a hall as you ſay, being
" neither term nor parliament, he is metely well viſited at
" thoſe times, I warrant you. And if the other biſhops kept
" the like for their degree, they had not need to have any
" thing taken from them, but rather to be added and
" holpen. And therefore ſet your hearts at reſt; there ſhall
" no ſuch alteration be made while I live, ſaid the King.
" So that in very deed, where ſome had penned certain
" books for the altering that ſtate in the next parliament,
" they durſt never bring them forth to be read. Where-
" upon it alſo came to paſs, that, when the King underſtood,
" that, contrary unto the report, my Lord of Canterbury
" had purchaſed no lands, his Highneſs was content upon
" the only motion of Dr. Butts, without my Lord Cran- 434
" mer's knowledge, that he ſhould have the abbey in Not-
" tinghamſhire; which his wife now enjoyeth.

" Thus much I have declared concerning Mr. Seymor's
" practice, to the intent men may underſtand that my Lord
" Cranmer's hoſpitality was a mean to ſtay the eſtate of the
" clergy in their poſſeſſions."

CHAP. XXXI.

Archbiſhop Cranmer preſerved the Revenues of his See.

The preſerving the biſhops' revenues owing to the Archbiſhop.

" AND here I muſt anſwer for my Lord Cranmer againſt
" certain objections, which are in divers men's heads, that
" by his means all the preferments, offices, and farms, are
" ſo given and let out, that his ſucceſſors have nothing to
" give or beſtow upon their friends and ſervants; nor that
" ſuch hoſpitality can be kept by reaſon of his fault, in let-
" ting go ſuch things as ſhould have maintained proviſions

BOOK III.

" of houſehold. But to anſwer this in a few words, before " I deſcend to any particular declaration. It is moſt true, " that, if he had not well behaved himſelf towards his " Prince and the world, his ſucceſſors ſhould not been cum- " bered with any piece of temporal revenues; either lands, " woods, or other revenues. And I pray God they may " maintain, in this mild and quiet time, that which he in a " moſt dangerous world did uphold, and left to his ſuc- " ceſſors. Yet for better declaration, in anſwering to thoſe " objections, it is to be conſidered, that, when he entered " upon his dignity, every man about the King made means " to get ſome reverſion of farms, or of other office of him. " Inſomuch that the King himſelf made means to him for " one or two things, before he was conſecrated: as for the " farm of Wingham-Barton. Which was granted unto Sir " Edward Bainton, Kt. for fourſcore and nineteen years. " When my Lord perceived, that, in ſuch ſuits as he granted " to the King and Queen, men would needs have an hun- " dred years ſave one, he wrote to the Chapter of Chriſt- " Church, and willed them, in any condition, not to con- " firm any more of his grants of leaſes, which were above " one and twenty years. By this means much ſuit was " ſtopped. So that in very deed he gave out his leaſes but " for one and twenty years. Which would not ſatisfy the " greedy appetites of ſome men: and therefore they found " a proviſion for it. For when my Lord had let out certain " goodly farms at Pinner, Heyes, Harrow on the Hill, " Mortlake, &c. to the number of ten or twelve farms, for " one and twenty years, taking no manner of fine for them; " all theſe farms by and by were put into an exchange for " the King. And the King had them not in poſſeſſion ſix " days, but they were my Lord North's and other men's. " And they were not paſt one year in their poſſeſſions, but " that the reverſion of every of them was ſold for more " years: ſome for an hundred pounds, and ſome for more, " and ſome for leſs, making ſweepſtakes of altogethers. " And ſo was my Lord uſed in all things almoſt that he did " let out for one and twenty years.

The Archbiſhop vindicated about his leaſes.

" By means whereof Juſtice Hales, and other of his coun- " ſel, learned in the laws, adviſed him to let out his farms

By long leaſes he ſaved the revenues.

" for many years, which might be a mean that they ſhould " not be ſo much deſired in exchanges as they were: for " thoſe farms, which came to my Lord, came with years " enough upon their backs. And ſo, upon this concluſion, " my Lord was fain to alter his purpoſe in letting of his " farms. Whereupon he did let St. Gregory's in Canter- " bury to Mr. Nevyl, the priory of Dover, Chiſlet-Park, " and Curleſwood-Park, with others, for ſo many years as " he did, on purpoſe to ſtay them; or elſe he had gone with- " out them one time or other. And, as I heard ſay, ſince " your Grace was elect, Curleſwood-Park was in exchange, " and the rent thereof paid for one half year unto the " Queen's uſe: but, ſo ſoon as they underſtood there were " ſo many years to come, it was reverſed to the archbi- " ſhoprick again. So that hereby partly may be perceived " in what ſtate my Lord Cranmer ſtood with his lands.

" And as touching the diminiſhing of his rents, houſes, " and other commodities, for the proviſion of his hoſpita- " lity; if all things be well pondered, he had left the ſame " in better ſtate than he found it. For, as touching his ex- " changes, men ought to conſider with whom he had to do: " eſpecially with ſuch a Prince as would not be bridled " nor be gainſaid in any of his requeſts, unleſs men would " danger altogethers. I was by when Otford and Knol " were given him. My Lord, minded to have retained Knol " unto himſelf, ſaid, That it was too ſmall an houſe for his " Majeſty. Marry, ſaid the King, I had rather have it than " this houſe, meaning Otford; for it ſtandeth on a better " ſoil. This houſe ſtandeth low, and is rheumatick, like " unto Croiden, where I could never be without ſickneſs. " And as for Knol, it ſtandeth on a ſound, perfect, whole- " ſome ground: and if I ſhould make abode here, as I do " ſurely mind to do now and then, I will live at Knol, and " moſt of my houſe ſhall live at Otford. And ſo by this " means both thoſe houſes were delivered up into the King's " hands. And as for Otford, it is a notable great and ample " houſe: whoſe reparations yearly coſt my Lord more than " men would think. And ſo likewiſe did Maidſtone, which " had no manner of commodity to belong unto it. And I " am ſure, that, after certain exchanges paſſed between the

Juſtified from diminiſhing the rents of the ſee.

Otford and Knol.

BOOK III.

" King and him, there were an hundred marks a year, or " thereabouts, allowed unto him in his laſt exchanges, for " recompenſe of parks and chaſes: and yet thoſe parks " and chaſes, beſide the proviſion of his veniſon, ſtood him " yearly in much more, by the reaſon of the patents and " fees belonging unto them, than he by any means elſe got " by them.

Curleſwood.

" For as for Curleſwood, it ſtood him in twenty nobles a " year fee. And yet there was no gain in it, but only co- " nies: which the keeper had alſo in his patent. So that the " Archbiſhop, by ſuppreſſing of that, and raiſing that ſmall " rent it payeth, may ſpend thereby ſeven pounds a year more " than it was accuſtomed to pay towards the archbiſhoprick.

Chiſlet-Park.

" And touching Chiſlet-Park, it came to my Lord in ex- " change for eight pounds a year. And the farmer payeth 486 " ten pounds: ſo that thereby is gained forty ſhillings a " year. Wherefore it cannot be indifferently gathered, that " my Lord, in preferring his friends unto theſe things, hath " any whit hindered the revenues of the biſhoprick.

Paſture and meadow.

" And as touching paſture and meadow for the proviſion " of his houſe, both at Croyden, and about Canterbury, " Ford, and Chiſlet, there is thrice ſo much meadow, paſture, " and marſh, as was left unto him.

Woods.

" And as for the ſale of his woods, like as he was driven " to exchange them, and ſell them for to maintain his hoſ- " pitality, eſpecially having almoſt twenty years together " learned men continually ſitting with him in commiſſion; " for the trying out, and ſetting forth of the religion re- " ceived, and for the diſcuſſing of other matters in contro- " verſy: ſome of them daily in diet with him, and ſome " evermore living in his houſe; ſo provided he again like " woods, more commodious for his houſes; as the Blene- " woods, belonging to St. Auſtin's; and Pyne-wood, and " others, which be known well enough.

Corn.

" And as touching proviſion for corn out of Chiſlet-Court, " and in other places, it is incredible what a buſineſs he had " and ado with Sir Chriſtopher Hales, for that farm and " corn; who challenged it of the King by promiſe; and " ſo would have defeated my Lord thereof, had not the " King very benignly ſtood on his ſide. And it is no ſmall

" revenue to have yearly ſo much corn, both wheat, malt,
" and oats, at ſo mean a price.

" And therefore let men leave off that report of him, that
" he was not beneficial to his ſucceſſors. Other biſhops,
" ſome of them, loſt whole manors and lordſhips, without
" any exchange at all. Thus much my conſcience hath
" compelled me to ſay, in defence of my lord and maſter
" his good name: whom I knew to take as much care for
" his ſucceſſors in that biſhoprick, as ever did Archbiſhop, or
" ſhall. And would have as much advanced the ſame, if
" the iniquity of the world would have permitted him.

" Now, finally, concerning his behaviour towards his fa- The beſt maſter towards his ſervants.
" mily: I think there was never ſuch a maſter among men,
" both feared, and entirely beloved. For as he was a man
" of moſt gentle nature, void of all crabbed and churliſh
" conditions, ſo he could abide no ſuch quality in any of
" his ſervants. But, if any ſuch outrageouſneſs were in any
" of his men or family, the correction of thoſe enormities
" he always left to the ordering of his officers: who weekly
" kept a counting-houſe. And if any thing univerſally were
" to be reformed or talked of; on that day, which com-
" monly was Friday, the ſame was put to admonition. And
" if it were a fault of any particular man, he was called
" forth before the company: to whom warning was given,
" That if he ſo uſed himſelf after three monitions, he ſhould
" loſe his ſervice.

" There was an infamy of him, that he ſhould have been An infamy that he was an hoſtler.
" an hoſtler: which the ignorant popiſh prieſts, for very
" malice, had publiſhed againſt him. Saying, that he had
" no manner of learning at all, more than hoſtlers are wont 437
" to have. And this rumour ſprang of that, that when he
" had married his firſt wife, being reader then of Bucking-
" ham College, he did put his wife to board in an inn at
" Cambridge; and he reſorting thither unto her in the inn,
" ſome ignorant prieſts named him to be the Hoſtler, and
" his wife the Tapſter. This bruit then began, but it much
" more was quickened when he was Archbiſhop than before.
" Inſomuch that a prieſt far north, about Scarborough, ſit-
" ting among his neighbours at the ale-houſe, and talking
" of Archbiſhop Cranmer, divers men there commending

BOOK III.

" him: What, ſaid the prieſt, make ye ſo much of him? He " was but an hoſtler, and hath as much learning as the " goſlings of the green that go yonder. Upon which " words, the honeſt men of the pariſh, which heard him, gave " information to my Lord Crumwel of thoſe his ſlanderous " words. The prieſt was ſent for before the council, and " caſt into the Fleet; my Lord Cranmer not being that day " among the council, nor hearing no manner of word of the " prieſt's accuſation. It chanced the prieſt to lie in the Fleet " eight or nine weeks, and nothing ſaid unto him. He then " made ſuit by one, named Cherſey, (a grocer dwelling " within Ludgate, now yet alive, and uncle, as I ſuppoſe, to " the prieſt,) unto my Lord Cranmer for his deliverance. " This Cherſey brought the copy of the prieſt's accuſation " from my Lord Crumwel's houſe. Whereby plainly ap- " peared there was nothing laid unto the prieſt but thoſe " words againſt my Lord Cranmer. And therefore he be- " ſought him to help him out of priſon; for it had put him " to great charges living there, and he had a benefice which " was unſerved in his abſence; and ſaid, that he was very " ſorry he had ſo unhoneſtly abuſed himſelf towards his " Grace. Whereupon my Lord Cranmer ſent to the Fleet " for the prieſt. When he came before my Lord, ſaid my " Lord Cranmer to him, It is told me that you be priſoner " in the Fleet for calling me an hoſtler, and reporting that " I have no more learning than a goſling. Did you ever " ſee me before this day? No, forſooth, quoth the prieſt. " What meant you then to call me an hoſtler; and ſo to " deface me among your neighbours? The prieſt made his " excuſe, and ſaid, that he was overſeen with drink. Well, " ſaid my Lord's Grace, now ye be come, you may oppoſe " me to know what learning I have. Begin in grammar, " if you will, or elſe in philoſophy, or other ſciences, or di- " vinity. I beſeech your Grace pardon me, ſaid the prieſt; " I have no manner of learning in the Latin tongue, but al- " together in Engliſh. Well then, ſaid my Lord, if you " will not oppoſe me, I will oppoſe you. Are you not wont " to read the Bible? quoth my Lord. Yes, that we do daily, " ſaid the prieſt. I pray you tell me, quoth my Lord, then, " who was David's father? The prieſt ſtood ſtill, and ſaid,

"I cannot ſurely tell your Lordſhip. Then ſaid my Lord "again, If you cannot tell me that, yet declare unto me "who was Solomon's father? Surely, quoth the prieſt, I "am nothing at all ſeen in thoſe genealogies. Then I per-"ceive, quoth my Lord, however you have reported of me, "that I had no learning, I can now bear you witneſs, that "you have none at all. There are ſuch a ſort of you in "this realm, that know nothing, nor will know nothing, 438
"but ſit upon your ale-bench, and ſlander all honeſt and "learned men. If you had but common reaſon in your "heads, you that have named me an hoſtler, you might "well know that the King, having in hand one of the "hardeſt queſtions that was moved out of the Scripture this "many years, would not ſend an hoſtler unto the Biſhop of "Rome, and the Emperor's council, and other Princes, to "anſwer and diſpute in that ſo hard a queſtion; even among "the whole college of Cardinals, and the rout of Rome. "By all likelihood the King lacked much the help of "learned men, that was thus driven to ſend an hoſtler on "ſuch a voyage: or elſe the King hath many idle prieſts, "without wit or reaſon, that can ſo judge of the Prince and "his council, and of the weighty matters of the realm. "God amend you, ſaid he, and get ye home to your cure, "and from henceforth learn to be an honeſt man, or at leaſt "a reaſonable man.

"The prieſt, lamenting his folly, went his way into his "country; and my Lord Cranmer diſcharged him out of "the Fleet, becauſe there was no matter againſt him, but "that which only concerned my Lord. My Lord Crumwel, "within four days after, came to my Lord Cranmer, and "ſware a great oath, That the popiſh knaves ſhould pick "out his eyes, and cut his throat, before he would any "more rebuke them for ſlandering him. I had thought "that the knave prieſt, which you have diſcharged and "ſent home, ſhould have recanted at Paul's Croſs on Sun-"day next. Yea, marry, quoth my Lord Cranmer, you "would have all the world know by that mean that I was "an hoſtler indeed. What manner of blockheads would "ſo think? quoth my Lord Crumwel. Too many Papiſts, "quoth my Lord Cranmer. Howbeit, quoth he, you have

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" cauſed the poor prieſt to ſpend all that he hath in priſon;
" and would you now put him to open ſhame too? He is
" not the firſt, not by five hundred of them, that hath called
" me ſo; and therefore I will not now begin to uſe extre-
" mity againſt this prieſt: I perceive he is ſorry for it.
" Well, quoth my Lord Crumwel, if you not care for it, no
" more do I: but I warrant you one day, if they may, they
" will make you and me both as vile as hoſtlers. This I
" repeat to declare his lenity, and promptneſs to remit no-
" table offences; howbeit it ſhould have been placed before,
" if I had remembered it.

" Thus I have haſtily penned ſuch things as came to my
" memory, ſince Saturday laſt: beſeeching your Grace to
" take it in good part, being certainly aſſured that I have
" declared nothing of mine head, as concerning the very
" matters."

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Some Obſervations upon Archbiſhop Cranmer.

Obſervations upon the Archbiſhop.

BESIDES theſe obſervations, made to my hand by another, of this great Archbiſhop, I ſhall gather ſome further obſervations of his endowments and qualities, whether chriſtian or moral: whereby we ſhall have occaſion offered us of gathering up a few more memorials of him.

His learning very profound.

He was a moſt profound learned man in divinity, as alſo in the civil and canon laws. As appeared by thoſe many voluminous writings and common-places, by him deviſed or collected out of all the Fathers and church-writers: which Peter Martyr reported he himſelf ſaw; and were indeed communicated to him by the Archbiſhop, while he harboured him at Lambeth. And there was no book, either of the ancient or modern writers, eſpecially upon the point of the euchariſt, which he had not noted with his own hand in the moſt remarkable places: no councils, canons, decrees of popes, which he had not read and well conſidered. And

from this his indefatigable reading, and exact knowledge of authors, he ventured publickly, before the Pope's delegate, and Queen Mary's commiſſioners, to make this challenge; "That if it could be proved by any doctor above a thouſand "years after Chriſt, that Chriſt's body is in the ſacrament "of the altar really, he would give over." CHAP. XXXII.

So that his library was the ſtorehouſe of eccleſiaſtical writers of all ages: and which was open for the uſe of learned men. Here old Latimer ſpent many an hour; and found ſome books ſo remarkable, that once he thought fit to mention one in a ſermon before the King. And when Aſcham of Cambridge, a great ſtudent of politer learning, and of Greek authors, wanted Gregory Nyſſen in Greek, (not the Latin tranſlation of him,) and which it ſeems the Univerſity could not afford, he earneſtly entreated Poynet, his Grace's chaplain, to borrow it in his name, and for his uſe, for ſome months of the Archbiſhop. For in thoſe times it was rare to meet with thoſe Greek Fathers in their own language, and not ſpoiled by ſome ill Latin tranſlation. Another of his books I will mention, becauſe it is now in the poſſeſſion of a reverend friend of mine near Canterbury: in which book the Archbiſhop's name is yet to be ſeen, written thus with his own hand, *Thomas Cantuarienſis*; and a remarkable book it is, which we may conclude the Archbiſhop often peruſed, *viz. Epiſtolæ et Hiſtoria Joannis Hus.* Printed at Wittemberg, 1537. His library.

And this learning happening in a mind poſſeſſed with piety, made him the more deeply ſenſible of the greatneſs of the charge that lay upon him. And as he well knew under what needs the church laboured, ſo he was very ſolicitous that nothing might be wanting on his part: ſhewing himſelf a moſt conſcientious Biſhop and tender Paſtor of Chriſt's flock. He was not guided in his epiſcopal function by vainglory, or affectation of popular applauſe, or worldly ambition, or covetouſneſs, but only by the holy and pious ends of diſcharging his duty, and promoting the honour of Chriſt, and the knowledge of his Goſpel, and the good of his people: as he took God to witneſs in the preface of his book of the Sacrament. A paragraph whereof I think not unworthy to be here inſerted, whereby it may appear of what An excellent biſhop.

BOOK III. a truly apoſtolical ſpirit our Archbiſhop was. "When I "ſee," ſaid he, "Chriſt's vineyard overgrown with thorns, "brambles, and weeds, I know that everlaſting woe apper- "taineth to me if I hold my peace, and put not to my hand "and tongue to labour in purging his vineyard. God I "take to witneſs, who ſeeth the hearts of all men tho- "roughly unto the bottom, that I take this labour for none "other conſideration but for the glory of his name, and the "diſcharge of my duty, and the zeal I have toward the flock "of Chriſt. I know in what office God hath placed me, "and to what purpoſe. That is to ſay, to ſet forth his word "truly unto his people to the uttermoſt of my power, with- "out reſpect of perſons, or regard of things in the world, "but of him alone. I know what account I ſhall make to "him hereof at the laſt day, when every man ſhall anſwer "for his vocation, and receive for the ſame, good or evil, ac- "cording as he hath done. I know how Antichriſt hath "obſcured the glory of God, and the true knowledge of his "Word, overcaſting the ſame with miſts and clouds of error "and ignorance, through falſe gloſſes and interpretations. "It pitieth me to ſee the ſimple and hungry flock of Chriſt "led into corrupt paſtures, to be carried blindfold they "know not whither, and to be fed with poiſon, inſtead of "wholeſome meats. And, moved by the duty, office, and "place, whereunto it hath pleaſed God to call me, I give "warning in his name unto all that profeſs Chriſt, that they "flee far from Babylon, if they will ſave their ſouls, and to "beware of that great harlot, that is to ſay, the peſtiferous "ſee of Rome, that ſhe make you not drunk with her plea- "ſant wine, &c."

His care of his own dioceſe.

And as he had this care of the whole church of this land, as the high patriarch thereof, ſo he particularly had his eye upon his own dioceſe. He took care, even in King Henry's tickliſh reign, to place ſuch miniſters in Kent as were learned, and dared to open their mouths to preach Goſpel-doctrine, and to convince the people of the uſurpations of the Biſhop of Rome, and of the idolatry and ſuperſtitions, wherein they had been ſo long nurſled up. And for the preventing whereof, for time to come, he ordered his Arch-deacon, and other his officers, to take down images out of

churches, and deface them. Which things created him much hatred among the popiſh clergy, whoſe gain depended ſo much therein. He had a peculiar regard of the greater towns of his dioceſe, that ſuch places might be furniſhed with able men, where the inhabitants were numerous, and the ſalaries generally ſmall. Whereby he ſaw it came to paſs, that where there was moſt need of learned men, there the moſt ignorant were placed. Therefore he thought this worthy his redreſſing. I meet with this memorandum in one of his note-books: "Theſe towns following are eſpe- "cially to be remembered: that in them there be placed "learned men, with ſufficient ſtipends." In the Bennet-library. 441

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Sandwich,	Tenderden,	Whitſtable,
Dover,	Crambroke,	Marden,
Folkſton,	Faverſham,	Maydſton,
Aſhford,	Hearn,	Wye, and Wingham.

In theſe great towns, as well as Canterbury, he often preached himſelf. And, for his ſermons at Sandwich, he was once complained of openly in the parliament-houſe, to have brought him under the laſh of the ſtatute of the ſix Articles. And within ſeven or eight years, after his firſt entrance into the ſee, he had placed ſuch ſtore of good preachers about Kent, that, at another time, a long liſt of articles were drawn up againſt them, and given in to the juſtices of the county at a quarter-ſeſſions of the peace; and they by a combination preferred the complaint to the King and council. At the great towns he preached often.

His high eſtate puffed him not up, nor made him forget the great work of his calling; which he very earneſtly deſired to proſecute above all things in the world. Nor did he care at all for the high titles that were attributed to him, as he was Archbiſhop of Canterbury, as may appear by this paſſage. Upon occaſion of a queſtion ariſing concerning his ſtyle of Primate of all England, for bearing which, in his ſummons for a provincial viſitation, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, out of malice, had complained to King Henry againſt him, as though it were an encroachment upon the King's ſupremacy; he proteſted to Crumwel, then Secretary, (who Affected not his high ſtyles.

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had ſent him word of it,) "That, as God ſhould be merciful "to him in the day of judgment, he ſet not more by any "title or ſtyle than he did by the paring of an apple, fur- "ther than it ſhould be to the ſetting forth God's word "and will." His expreſſion was, "That they were the "ſucceſſors of Diotrephes that affected glorious titles, "ſtyles, and pomps." He profeſſed, "he could have been "willing that biſhops ſhould lay aſide their lofty ſtyles, and "only write themſelves by the ſtyle of their offices; *The "Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt.* And wiſhed heartily, that the "chriſtian converſation of the people were the letters and "ſeals of their offices, (as the Corinthians were to St. Paul, "who told them, that they were his letters, and the ſigns of "his apoſtleſhip,) and not paper, parchment, lead, or "wax."

His diligence in reforming religion.

Great indeed and painful was his diligence in promoting God's truth, and reforming this church: inſomuch that he raiſed up againſt himſelf the malice and hatred of very many thereby. Theſe memorials, before related, do abundantly evince the ſame. The words of Thomas Becon, in an epiſtle dedicatory, deſerve here to be tranſcribed: "In plucking "up the enemy's tares, and in purging the Lord's field, that "nothing may grow therein but pure wheat, your moſt "godly and unreſtful pains, moſt reverend father, are well "known in this church of England, and thankfully ac- "cepted of all faithful chriſten hearts. Inſomuch that very "many do daily render unto God moſt humble and hearty "thanks for the ſingular and great benefits which they have "received of him, through your vertuous travel, in attaining "the true knowlege of juſtification, and of the ſacrament of "Chriſt's body and blood, [thoſe two things eſpecially he "laboured to retrieve and promote a true knowledge of,] "and ſuch other holy myſteries of our profeſſion. And al- "beit the devil roar, the world rage, and the hypocrites "ſwell, at theſe your moſt chriſtian labours, which you wil- "lingly take for the glory of God, and the edifying of his "congregation, yet, as you have godly begun, ſo without "ceaſing continue unto the end." And ſo he did, to the effuſion of his blood not many years after.

Before his *Treatiſe of Faſting.*

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For he was very ſenſible of the groſs abuſes and corrup-

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tions into which the chriſtian church had ſunk: which made him labour much to get it purged and reſtored to its primitive conſtitution and beauty. And this he ceaſed not to make King Henry ſenſible of, putting him upon the reformation of the Engliſh church, as he could find occaſion, and convenience ſerve him, to move him thereunto. Which found at laſt that good effect upon the King, that, towards the latter years of his reign, he was fully purpoſed to proceed to a regulating of many more things than he had done[a]. But the ſubtilty of Gardiner Biſhop of Winton, and his own death, prevented his good deſigns. While the aforeſaid Biſhop was ambaſſador abroad, employed about the league between the Emperor and the Engliſh and French Kings, our Archbiſhop took the opportunity of his abſence to urge the King much to a reformation; and the King was willing to enter into ſerious conference with him about it. And at laſt he prevailed with the King to reſolve to have the roods in every church pulled down, and the accuſtomed ringing on Alhallow-night ſuppreſſed, and ſome other vain ceremonies. And it proceeded ſo far, that, upon the Archbiſhop's going into Kent, to viſit his dioceſe, the King ordered him to cauſe two letters to be drawn up, prepared for him to ſign: the one to be directed to the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the other to the Archbiſhop of York. Who were therein to be commanded to iſſue forth their precepts to all the biſhops in their reſpective provinces, to ſee thoſe enormities redreſſed without delay. Which our Archbiſhop accordingly appointed his ſecretary to do. And the letters, ſo drawn up, were ſent by the Archbiſhop up to court. But the King, upon ſome reaſons of ſtate, ſuggeſted to him in a

Puts King Henry upon a purpoſe of reforming many things.

[a] As long as Queen Ann, T. Crumwel, Biſhop Cranmer, Mr. Denny, Dr. Butts, with ſuch-like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Chriſt's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by ſuch monuments, inſtruments, and acts, ſet forth by him; in ſetting up the Bible in the church; in exploding the Pope with his vile pardons; in removing divers ſuperſtitious ceremonies; in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and ſects; in putting chantrey prieſts to their penſions; in permitting white meats in Lent; in deſtroying pilgrimage-worſhip; in abrogating idle and ſuperſtitious holy-days; both by acts public, and by private letters to Boner. *Acts and Monum.* p. 1147. a. Edit. 1610.

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letter from Gardiner, his ambaſſador beyond ſea, being by ſome made privy to theſe tranſactions, ſuſpended the ſigning of them.

The King again purpoſeth a reformation.

And that put a ſtop to this buſineſs for that time, till ſome time after the King, at the royal banquet made for Annebault the French King's ambaſſador, leaning upon him and the Archbiſhop, told them both his reſolution of proceeding to a total reformation of religion: ſignifying that, within half a year, the maſs both in his kingdom, and in that of France, ſhould be changed into a communion; and the uſurped power of the Biſhop of Rome ſhould be wholly rooted out of both; and that both Kings intended to exhort
443 the Emperor to do the ſame in his territories, or elſe they would break off the league with him. And at that time alſo he willed the Archbiſhop to draw up a form of this reformation, to be ſent to the French King to conſider of. This he ſpake in the month of Auguſt, a few months before his death. This his purpoſe he alſo ſignified to Dr. Bruno, ambaſſador here from John Frederick Duke of Saxony, ſome little time after, ſaying, "That if his maſter's quarrel with "the Emperor was only concerning religion, he adviſed him "to ſtand to it ſtrongly, and he would take his part." But the King's death prevented all.

His influence upon King Edward.

And as for this King's next ſucceſſor, King Edward, the Archbiſhop had a ſpecial care of his education. Whoſe towardlineſs, and zealous inclination to a reformation, was attributed to the ſaid Archbiſhop, and three other biſhops; *viz.* Ridley, Hoper, and Latimer, by Rodulph Gualter of Zurick: who, partly by his living ſome time in England, and partly by his long and intimate familiarity and correſpondence with many of the beſt note here, was well acquainted with the matters relating to this kingdom. Of the great influence of one of theſe upon this King, *viz.* the Archbiſhop, the former memorials do ſufficiently ſhew.

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Archbiſhop Cranmer procures the Uſe of the Scriptures.

THE Archbiſhop was a great ſcripturiſt; and, in thoſe darker times of Popery, was the chief repairer of the reputation of the holy Scriptures: urging them ſtill for the great ſtandard and meaſure in all controverted matters relating to religion and the church. By theſe he diſentangled King Henry VIII. his great matrimonial cauſe, when all his other divines, who had the Pope's power and laws too much in their eyes, were ſo puzzled about it; ſhewing how no human diſpenſation could enervate or annul the Word of God. And in the courſe he took about the reforming of religion, the holy Scripture was the only rule he went by; caſting by ſchoolmen, and the Pope's canons and decretals, and adhering only to the more ſure word of prophecy, and divine inſpiration. And ſo Roger Aſcham, in a letter to Sturmius, in the year 1550, when they were very buſy in the reformation, writes: [b] "That ſuch was the care of their "Joſiah, (meaning King Edward,) the Archbiſhop of Can- "terbury, and the whole privy-council, for true religion, "that they laboured in nothing more than that as well the "doctrine as diſcipline of religion might be moſt purely "drawn out of the fountain of the ſacred Scriptures; and "that that Roman ſink, whence ſo many human corruptions "abounded in the church of Chriſt, might be wholly ſtopped "up." A great ſcripturiſt.

This his high value of the Scriptures made him at laſt the happy inſtrument of reſtoring them to the common people, by getting them, after divers years oppoſition, printed in the Engliſh tongue, and ſet up in churches, for any to read that would for their edification and comfort; when, for ſome 444 Procures the publiſhing the Engliſh Bible.

[a] Ea veræ religionis cura apud Joſiam noſtrum imprimis, et Cantuarienſem, et univerſum concilium regium excubat, ut in nulla re æque laboratum ſit, quam ut religionis, tum doctrina tum diſciplina, ex Sacrarum Literarum fonte, puriſſime hauriatur: et ut ſentina illa Romana, qua tot humanæ ſordes in eccleſiam Chriſti redundârunt, funditus obſtruatur.

BOOK III. hundred years before, thoſe treaſures had, for the moſt part, been locked up and concealed from them.

The biſhops oppoſe it. But, firſt, great was the labour of our Archbiſhop before he could get this good work effected, being ſo diſliked and repugned by the patrons of popery. For he had almoſt all the biſhops againſt him; as may appear by what I am going to relate. The King being by the Archbiſhop brought to incline to the publiſhing thereof, the tranſlation done by Coverdale was, by Crumwel or the Archbiſhop, preſented into the King's hands; and by him committed to divers biſhops of that time to peruſe, whereof Stephen Gardiner was one. After they had kept it long in their hands, and the King had been divers times ſued unto for the publication thereof, at laſt, being called for by the King himſelf, they redelivered the book. And being demanded by the King, what their judgment was of the tranſlation? they anſwered, That there were many faults therein. Well, ſaid the King, but are there any hereſies maintained thereby? They anſwered, There were no hereſies that they could find maintained in it. If there be no hereſies, ſaid the King, then, in God's name, let it go abroad among our people. This circumſtance I thought fit to mention, being the ſubſtance of what Coverdale himſelf afterwards, at a Paul's Croſs ſermon, ſpake in his own vindication, againſt ſome ſlanderous reports that were then raiſed againſt his tranſlation; declaring his faithful purpoſe in doing the ſame: confeſſing withal, "That he did then himſelf eſpy ſome faults; which, if he "might review it once again, as he had done twice before, "he doubted not (he ſaid) but to amend." This is related by Dr. Fulk, who was then one of Coverdale's auditors, and heard him ſpeak and declare all this.

Defence of the Engliſh Tranſlat. ch. 1. p. 4. edit. 1583.

The firſt edition of the Bible. The firſt edition of the Bible was finiſhed by Grafton, in the year 1537, or 1538. That year our Archbiſhop procured a proclamation from the King, allowing private perſons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their houſes. And about two or three years after they were reprinted, and backed with the King's authority, the former tranſlation having been reviſed and corrected, whether by certain learned men of both univerſities, or by ſome members of the convocation that were then ſitting, it is uncertain. But to this tranſlation the

Antiq. Brit. in Vit. Cranm.

Archbiſhop added the laſt hand, mending it in divers places with his own pen, and fixing a very excellent Preface before it. In which he divided his diſcourſe between two ſorts of men: the one, ſuch as would not read the Scripture themſelves, and laboured to ſtifle it from others. The other, ſuch as read the Scripture indeed, but read it inordinately, and turned it into matter of diſpute and contention, rather than to direct their lives. And thereby, while they pretended to be furtherers thereof, proved but hinderers, as the others were; theſe being as blameleſs almoſt as thoſe.

The Preface to the Bible made by the Archbiſhop.

As to the former ſort; "he marvelled at them that they "ſhould take offence at publiſhing the Word of God. For "it ſhewed them to be as much guilty of madneſs, as thoſe 445 "would be, who, being in darkneſs, hunger, and cold, "ſhould obſtinately refuſe light, food, and fire. Unto which "three God's Word is compared. But he attributed it to "the prejudice of cuſtom: which was ſo prevalent, that, "ſuppoſing there were any people that never ſaw the ſun, "ſuch as the Cimmerii were fancied to be; and that God "ſhould ſo order it, that that glorious light ſhould in pro-"ceſs of time break in upon them, at the firſt ſome would "be offended at it. And when tillage was firſt found out, "according to the proverb, many delighted notwithſtanding "to feed on maſt and acorns, rather than to eat bread made "of good corn. Upon this reaſon he was ready to excuſe "thoſe, who, when the Scripture firſt came forth, doubted "and drew back: but he was of another opinion concerning "ſuch as ſtill perſiſted in diſparaging the publiſhing of the "Scripture, judging them not only fooliſh and froward, but "peeviſh, perverſe, and indurate. And yet, if the matter "were to be tried by cuſtom, we might allege cuſtom for "reading the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and preſcribe "more ancient cuſtom than for the contrary. Shewing that "it was not above an hundred years ſince the reading it in "Engliſh was laid aſide within this realm: and that many "hundred years before it had been tranſlated and read in "the Saxon tongue, being then the mother tongue; and "that there remained divers copies of it in old abbeys. And "when that language became old, and out of common "uſage, it was tranſlated into the newer tongue: and of

The contents thereof.

BOOK III. "this many copies then ſtill remained, and were daily "found."

Then, from cuſtom, he proceeded to conſider the thing in its own nature; ſhewing how available it was that the Scripture ſhould be read of the laity. For which he takes a large quotation out of St. Chryſoſtom, in his third ſermon *De Lazaro*; wherein that father exhorted the people "to read "by themſelves at home, between ſermon and ſermon; that "what he had ſaid before in his ſermons upon ſuch and "ſuch texts, might be the more fixed in their minds and "memories: and that their minds might be the more pre-"pared to receive what he ſhould ſay in his ſermons which "he was to preach to them. And that he ever had, and "would exhort them, not only to give ear to what was ſaid "by the preacher in the church, but to apply themſelves to "reading the Scriptures at home in their own houſes." And a great deal more upon the ſame argument.

And then, as to the other ſort, our Archbiſhop ſhewed, "how there is nothing ſo good in the world, but might be "abuſed and turned from unhurtful and wholeſome, to "hurtful and noiſome. As above in the heavens, the ſun, "moon, and ſtars, were abuſed by idolatry; and here on "earth, fire, water, meat, drink, gold, ſilver, iron, ſteel, are "things of great benefit and uſe, and yet we ſee much harm "and miſchief done by each of theſe, as well by reaſon of "the lack of wiſdom and providence in them that ſuffer evil "by them, as by the malice of them that work the evil by "them. Adviſing therefore all that came to read the Bible, "which he called *the moſt precious jewel, and moſt holy re-*
446 "*lick that remained upon earth*, to bring with them the fear "of God; and that they read it with all due reverence, and "uſed their knowledge thereof, not to the vainglory of fri-"volous diſputation, but to the honour of God, increaſe of "virtue, and edification of themſelves and others."

And then he backed this his counſel with a large paſſage out of Gregory Nazianzen; which was levelled againſt ſuch as only talked and babbled of the Scripture out of ſeaſon, but were little the better for it. And, laſtly, he concluded his Preface, by directing to ſuch qualifications as were proper for ſuch as came to read theſe ſacred volumes.

Namely, "That he ought to bring with him a fear of Al-
"mighty God, and a firm purpoſe to conform himſelf there-
"unto; and ſo continue to proceed from time to time,
"ſhewing himſelf a ſober and fruitful hearer and learner."
This whole Preface, for the antiquity and uſefulneſs of it, and to preſerve as much as we can of the writings of this moſt reverend man, I have tranſcribed and placed in the Appendix. No. CIV.

The frontiſpiece of Cranmer's edition of the Bible.

The edition in the year 1540 had a remarkable frontiſpiece before it: which, becauſe it is ſomewhat rare, both in regard of the antiquity and device of it, I will relate. In the upper part thereof you ſee King Henry VIII. ſitting in ſtate, guarded on each hand of him with the lords ſpiritual and temporal; holding in his right hand a Bible cloſed, which he delivered unto Archbiſhop Cranmer, being on his knee, in the name of the reſt of the biſhops; all which ſtood at his right hand bare-headed, their mitres lying upon the ground, in token of their acknowledgment of the King's ſupremacy; and this motto iſſuing out of the King's mouth, *Hæc præcipe et doce.* Holding alſo in his left hand another Bible, ſtretched towards the lords temporal, and delivered to one (whom I ſuppoſe to be intended for the Lord Crumwel) at the head of them, ſtanding on the left ſide, and this word coming out of the King's mouth towards them; *Quod juſtum eſt, judicate*: and this; *Ita parvum audietis, ut magnum*: and this; *A me conſtitutum eſt, et decretum, ut in univerſo imperio et regno meo homines revereantur et paveant Deum viventem.* Among theſe nobles is the figure of one on his knees, and theſe words iſſuing out of his mouth; *Verbum tuum lucerna pedibus meis.* Over the King's head is the figure of God Almighty ſitting in the clouds, with theſe words coming out of his mouth in a ſcroll towards the right hand; *Verbum quod egredietur de me, non revertetur ad me vacuum, ſed faciet quæcunque volui.* And in another ſcroll towards the left, with his hand pointing to the King, *Ecce ſervum, qui faciet omnes voluntates meas.* Underneath the biſhops there is another figure, repreſenting Archbiſhop Cranmer, his coat of arms by him, with the diſtinction of a creſcent. He ſtood with his mitre on his head, and dreſſed in his *pontificalibus*, his chaplain behind him, and a prieſt

BOOK III. with a tonſure kneeling before him, in the poſture of a candidate for prieſt's orders, and having his hand ſtretched out to receive the Bible offered him by the Archbiſhop, and out of his mouth this ſcroll; *Paſcite, qui in vobis eſt, gregem Chriſti.* On the other ſide, oppoſite to the Archbiſhop, and underneath the lords temporal, ſtood another perſon, whom
447 I conjecture to be the Lord Crumwel, with his ſhield by him blank, without any bearing; and out of his mouth came, *Diverte a malo, ſequere pacem et perſequere.* In the loweſt part of this frontiſpiece you have the reſemblance of a prieſt, preaching out of a pulpit before a great auditory of perſons of all ranks, qualities, orders, ſexes, ages; men, women, children, nobles, prieſts, ſoldiers, tradeſmen, countrymen. Out of the mouth of the preacher went this verſe; *Obſecro igitur primum omnium fieri obſecrationes, orationes, poſtulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus,* &c. Implying the benefit accruing to princes by the people's knowledge of the Scriptures, namely, that it taught them to obey and pray for them. And out of the mouths of theſe hearers of all ſorts iſſued, *Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex;* and out of the mouths of the children, *God ſave the King:* denoting the great joy the people conceived for the enjoyment of God's Word, and the preaching thereof, and their thankfulneſs to the King for his permiſſion of the ſame. In the middle ſtood the title of the Bible: which was this; "The Bible in Engliſh; that is to ſay, The Con-
" tents of all the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Teſ-
" tament, with a Prologue thereunto made by the Reverend
" Father in God Thomas Archbiſhop of Canterbury. This
" is the Bible appointed to the Uſe of the Churches.
" Printed by Richard Grafton, *cum privilegio ad imprimen-*
" *dum ſolum. An. Dom.* MDXL."

CHAP. XXXIV.

Archbiſhop Cranmer compaſſionate towards ſufferers for Religion.

AS he had a great love and value for the eminent profeſſors and patrons of the Goſpel, ſo he bare a moſt compaſſionate ſpirit towards thoſe that ſuffered for the ſake of it. It made a very great impreſſion upon him when he heard that Sir John Cheke had been taken up and indicted, ſoon after Queen Mary's acceſs to the crown; namely, in the month of Auguſt, which was the next month after. And not knowing wherefore he was indicted, whether for his meddling in the Lady Jane's buſineſs, or for his zeal in promoting religion, he earneſtly deſired Sir William Cecyl to inform him whether. If for the former, "conſidering (as "he ſaid) he had been none of the chief doers in that mat-"ter, he hoped he ſhould have been one of them that "ſhould have partaken of the Queen's favour. But if it "were for the latter, *viz.* his earneſtneſs in religion, if he "ſuffer for that, (ſaid he,) *Bleſſed is he of God that ſuf-"fereth for his ſake, howſoever the world judge of him. For "what ought we to care for the judgment of the world, when "God abſolves us?*" But wiſhing moſt paſſionately withal that ſome means might be uſed for the relief of him and the Lord Ruſſel, who it ſeems was clapped up for the ſame cauſe.

His affection and compaſſion towards profeſſors of the Goſpel. Particularly for Sir John Cheke, a priſoner;

And the Lord Ruſſel.

And indeed as our Archbiſhop was in the time of King Edward, he was the ſame under King Henry; that is, the common patron, as far as he might, or dared, of ſuch prieſts who were drawn into trouble for profeſſing or preaching the Goſpel. So he ſhewed himſelf to Turner before mentioned: and in the year 1533, or 1534, I find him in a commiſſion for the relieving of another that had been moſt ſtraitly and rigorouſly handled by Stokeſly, then Biſhop of London, and his Chancellor: his name was Thomas Patmore, Parſon of Hadham in Hertfordſhire, a learned and godly man, who

A patron to ſuch as preached the Goſpel in King Henry's days.

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BOOK III.

had by them been condemned to impriſonment for life, together with the loſs of his benefice and goods, becauſe he had perſuaded his curate to marry a wife; and, being privy to his marriage, did nevertheleſs ſuffer him to officiate in his church: and becauſe he had preached certain doctrines at Cambridge, as laying little ſtreſs upon the Pope's curſe, and that we are ſaved only by God's mercy; and that all that are ſaved, are ſaved by faith; and that it is againſt God's law to burn hereticks. This poor man, after three years cloſe impriſonment in Lollards Tower, by the means of his friends, who put up frequent petitions to the King and the Lady Ann Bolen, was at laſt releaſed, and obtained of the King a commiſſion to our Archbiſhop, to whom were joined Audley, Lord Chancellor; and Crumwel, Secretary of State, to inquire into his injuries and unjuſt handling, and to determine thereof according to equity and juſtice. Fox.

Thus favourable he was to religion and good men in the two former kings' reigns: but when Queen Mary ſucceeded, he could no longer be a ſanctuary or ſuccour unto them, unleſs it were to comfort them by words, and to pray for them, as was ſaid before.

The Archbiſhop added, "that he was for his part now "utterly unable either to help or counſel, being in the "ſame condemnation that they were. But that the only "thing that he could do, he would not omit; and that was, "to pray for them, and all others then in adverſity." But he entreated Cecyl, who by this time ſeemed to have gotten his pardon, or at leaſt to be in good aſſurance of it, and ſo in a better capacity to raiſe up friends to thoſe honeſt men, to uſe what means poſſible he could for them.

His ſuccour of afflicted ſtrangers in King Edward's days.

This was all he could do now for the priſoners of Chriſt. But while he was in place and capacity of ſuccouring ſuch diſtreſſed perſons, as he was in King Edward's days, he gave them countenance, entertainment at his houſe and table, preferment, recommendation to the King and Protector. And indeed there was great need of ſome ſuch patrons of poor Proteſtants, the perſecutions in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Germany, and other places, being about this time extremely hot: which occaſioned the flight of great numbers into this nation; which ſome of them ſtyled *Chriſti*

Aſylum, "A ſanctuary for Chriſt [a]." In the year 1549 the perſecution in France grew very warm: which was partly occaſioned upon the inauguration of King Henry II. and his entrance into Paris for that purpoſe. For the burning of martyrs in ſeveral ſtreets of the city, where and when the King was to paſs by, made a barbarous part of the ſolemnity. In this year many French Proteſtants, who had been impriſoned for religion in their own country, were either baniſhed, or ſecretly made their eſcape into this kingdom. Theſe applied to ſome French miniſters, entertained, as it ſeems, in the Archbiſhop's family, with Bucer, Peter Martyr, and others: which miniſters delivered the condition of theſe poor men to the Archbiſhop. And having a petition to preſent to the Lord Protector, declaring their miſerable ſtate, and requiring relief, he appointed the French miniſters to apply themſelves to Cecyl, then Maſter of Requeſts to the Lord Protector: and, that he might be the more ready to recommend and forward the petition, to render it the more effectual, he adviſed Bucer, Martyr, Alexander, and Fagius, to write their letters jointly unto the ſaid Cecyl, for the French miniſters to carry along with them as their letter of credence. For the Archbiſhop well knew that Cecyl had a great eſteem for thoſe learned men, and that their letters would go a great way with him. Such was the particular care and diligence our Prelate piouſly uſed for relief of theſe poor French exiles. The copy of this letter I have thought well worthy to be put in the Appendix. No. CV.

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Indeed it was noted at this time, as a quality of the nation, that it was φιλόξενος, "addicted to ſhew favour to ſtrangers;" nay, "to admire them." And ſurely it was not without the providence of God, that when, in theſe difficult times, ſo many honeſt, pious, learned men, were forced from their own countries, friends, and eſtates, they found ſuch hoſpitable entertainment here. Care was taken for their ſufficient livelihoods; and for thoſe of them that were towards learning, places were aſſigned them in the colleges

England harbourous of ſtrangers.

Anglos φιλοξένους eſſe non nego, et peregrinorum habiti ſunt admiratores. Humfrid. de Nobilit.

[a] Ad vos, ceu in aſylum et portum tutiſſimum ſub ſanctiſſimi Regis alas confluebant Germani, Galli, Hiſpani, Itali, Poloni, Scoti, ut illic Deo ſuo in fidei libertate ſervirent, quam ipſis patria ingrata negabat. Gualt. Præf. ante Hom. in prior. D. Paul. Ep. ad Cor.

BOOK III. of the univerſities, and yearly ſtipends ſettled on them. Of thoſe that were moſt forward and exemplary in theſe chriſtian offices, Dr. Laurence Humfrey (one who lived in thoſe times, and was well acquainted with theſe matters) names King Edward in the firſt place: who, as he aſſerts of his own knowledge, was extraordinarily bountiful to them, both in London, and in the univerſities. Among the noblemen he mentions Henry Earl of Dorſet and Duke of Suffolk: and among the biſhops, Thomas Cranmer, the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, of whom he beſtowed this character; "that he "was worthy to ſucceed William Warham in his ſee, "whom he ſo well imitated, both in courteous behaviour "and hoſpitality."

In lib. de Nobilitat. p. 253.

The Archbiſhop's favour to foreigners.

And as he was in King Edward's days of ſuch an hoſpitable diſpoſition towards ſtrangers, ſo he was noted for it in the reign of his father King Henry, being wont then to ſhew himſelf very kind and humane to ſuch as travelled into theſe parts for learning, as well as for ſhelter. Gualter, the great divine of Zurick, being but a young man, came into England about the year 1537; and was ſo affected with the civilities he received here, that he let it ſtand upon record, in the Preface to his Homilies upon the firſt epiſtle to the Corinthians, how humanely he was received at Oxford, not only by the ſtudents, but by the public profeſſors, and by divers at court. But among them he particularly mentioned "how Archbiſhop Cranmer, whom he ſtyled *The immortal* "*Glory of England*, received him, though a young man "then, and a ſtranger, and had no experience of things, nor "any mark or excellency to recommend him."

450 And as he was compaſſionate and hoſpitable, ſo he was of a free and liberal diſpoſition; and, as became a chriſtian biſhop, and an Engliſh peer, kept great hoſpitality. Yet however he could not eſcape the imputation of niggardice and cloſeneſs. He had been once accuſed of it to his maſter King Henry, but came off with honour, the King himſelf clearing him of that injurious ſcandal, and giving him a character of a quite contrary nature.

Unjuſtly charged with covetouſneſs.

His words to Cecyl upon this charge.

And again in King Edward's reign, in the year 1552, ſome taking the advantage of his abſence from the court, ſlandered him as though he were covetous. Which coming

to his ear, by the cordial friendſhip of Cecyl, the King's ſecretary, he wrote that courtier a letter in vindication of himſelf; profeſſing, "that he was not ſo doted to ſet his "mind upon things here, which neither he could carry "away with him, nor tarry long with them. And that he "took not half ſo much care for his living when he was "a ſcholar at Cambridge, as he did at that preſent, when he "was Archbiſhop of Canterbury; for as he had now much "more revenue than he had then, ſo he had much more to "do withal. And, that he rather feared ſtark beggary at "laſt."

This, and other things to the ſame purpoſe, he ſignified in that letter; that Cecyl thereby might the better underſtand his condition, and know how and what to plead at court in his behalf, as occaſion ſerved, as hath been more at large related before.

Reduced, as he feared, to ſtark beggary before his death.

By the way, I cannot but reflect upon one of the Archbiſhop's expreſſions, which ſeemed to have been uttered prophetically; ſo exactly did the event anſwer to his words: for to ſtark beggary he was indeed at laſt reduced: when, in his impriſonment at Oxon, he had not a penny in his purſe. And, which was more, his enemies were ſo barbarouſly ſevere, that it would not be allowed any well-diſpoſed perſon to relieve his neceſſity, nor to give him an alms; a privilege allowed any beggar beſide. And when a gentleman of Glouceſterſhire, ſenſible of the Archbiſhop's need, and withal knowing how dangerous it was to give the poor Archbiſhop any money, had conveyed ſomewhat to the bailiffs, to be by their hands beſtowed on him, Boner and Thirleby, the two biſhops that degraded him, ſtaid this gentleman, intending to ſend him up to the council, had he not gotten off by the interceſſion of ſome friends.

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Some Account of Archbiſhop Cranmer's Houſekeeping.

Some account of his houſekeeping.

BUT the more fully to confute this calumny, it will not be amiſs to look more narrowly into his houſekeeping. His daily cuſtom at Lambeth was, to dine in a room above, where all noblemen, and perſons of better quality, that came to dine with him, were entertained. Here he was very honourably ſerved, both with diſhes and attendants. In the hall the table was every day very plentifully furniſhed, both for houſehold ſervants and ſtrangers, with three or four principal head-meſſes of officers: beſides the relief of the poor at his gates. And, which is a very obſervable charity, as well as hoſpitality, he appropriated his manſion-houſe at Bekeſborn in Kent, and his parſonage-barn, for harbour and lodgings for the poor, ſick, and maimed ſoldiers, that came from the wars of Bulloign, and other parts beyond ſeas. For theſe he alſo appointed an almoner, a phyſician, and a chirurgeon, to attend on them, and to dreſs and adminiſter phyſic to ſuch of them as were not able to reſort to their own countries; having alſo daily from his kitchen hot broth and meat: beſides the common alms of his houſehold, that were beſtowed upon the poor people of the country. And when any of theſe were recovered, and were able to travel, they had money given them to bear their charges, according to the number of miles they were to paſs before they got home.

Retrenches the clergy's ſuperfluous houſekeeping.

I do not know whether ſome might have taken advantage thus to ſlander him, from a laudable endeavour of his to reduce within ſome bounds the proviſions of clergymen's tables, which in the latter times of King Henry the Eighth grew to great exceſs and extravagancy, ſo unbecoming ſpiritual men. For in the year 1541 the Archbiſhop, with the conſent of the other Archbiſhop, and moſt of the biſhops, and divers other deans and archdeacons, made a conſtitution for moderating the fare of their tables; *viz.*

"That archbiſhops ſhould not exceed ſix divers kinds of

" fleſh, or as many diſhes of fiſh on fiſh-days. A biſhop not CHAP.
" above five. A dean or archdeacon, four; and all under XXXV.
" that degree, three. But an archbiſhop was allowed at ſe-
" cond courſe to have four diſhes, a biſhop three, and all
" others two; as cuſtards, tarts, fritters, cheeſe, apples,
" pears, &c. But if any of the inferior clergy ſhould en-
" tertain any archbiſhop, biſhop, dean, or archdeacon, or any
" of the laity of like degree, as duke, marquis, earl, viſ-
" count, baron, lord, knight, they might have ſuch provi-
" ſion as were meet for their degree: nor was their diet to
" be limited when they ſhould receive an ambaſſador, [to
" recommend, I ſuppoſe, to foreigners the Engliſh hoſpi- 452
" tality."] It was ordered alſo, " That of the greater fiſh
" or fowl, as cranes, ſwans, turkeys, haddocks, pike, tench,
" there ſhould be but one in a diſh: of leſſer ſorts than they,
" as capons, pheaſants, conies, woodcocks, but two: of leſs
" ſorts ſtill, as of partridges, an archbiſhop, three; a biſhop,
" and other degrees under him, two. The number of the
" black-birds were alſo ſtinted to ſix at an archbiſhop's table,
" and to four for a biſhop. And of little birds, as larks,
" ſnytes, &c. the number was not to exceed twelve."

But ſo ſtrongly bent were the clergy in thoſe days to this ſort of ſenſuality, that theſe injunctions of our Archbiſhop were obſerved but two or three months, and ſo they returned to their old ſuperfluity again.

His pious deſign therein.

The Archbiſhop's pious deſign hereby was only to curb intemperance and unneceſſary prodigality in ſuch, upon whoſe office thoſe vices caſt ſuch juſt reflections: but it could not reaſonably argue any covetous temper in him; for, that the poor might not fare the worſe for this intrenchment of exorbitant hoſpitality, but rather the better, the Archbiſhop in theſe aforeſaid orders provided, " That what-
" ſoever was ſpared out of the old houſekeeping, ſhould not
" be pocketed up, but laid out and ſpent in plain meats for
" the relief of poor people."

Others charged him with prodigality.

And that this charge may ſtill appear to be nothing but a mere detraction, proceeding from envy, or ſome other ill principle, others there were that would blame him for the contrary vice, of too much laviſhing and unprofitable ex-

BOOK III.

pence. So hard a matter is it for the beſt men to eſcape the ſpiteful and venomous inſinuations of the world. But he patiently and with an even mind bore all.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

Archbiſhop Cranmer humble; peaceable; bold in a good cauſe.

Humble and condeſcending.

FOR, which is another thing to be remarked in him, he was very humble and condeſcending, and did not only bear to be reproved, but was thankful for it; and that even when the reproof was undeſerved: which was the more to be valued in him, conſidering the height and dignity of his calling. To give an inſtance or two of this.

When, in the year 1552, Cecyl had charged him with the imputation of covetouſneſs, as a report that went of him in the court, and which himſelf ſeemed partly to believe, begging withal pardon of his Grace for his freedom with him: our Archbiſhop told him, "That as for the admonition, he "took it very thankfully; and that he had ever been moſt "glad to be admoniſhed by his friends; accounting no man "ſo fooliſh, as he that would not hear friendly admoniſh-"ment." And when, at another time, the ſame Cecyl (who would always take the liberty to ſpeak his mind to his friends, whenſoever he thought they wanted counſel) had ſignified to him the hazard he incurred in not ſhewing more compliance towards the Duke of Northumberland, who now ſwayed all; and then apologizing for his boldneſs; Cranmer was ſo far from taking this ill, that "he returned him "his very hearty thanks for his friendly letter and adver-"tiſements; deſiring him to be aſſured that he took the "ſame in ſuch good part, and to proceed of ſuch a friendly "mind, as he ever looked for at his hands, and whereof he "would not be unmindful, if occaſion hereafter ſerved, to "requite the ſame."

And this good temper led him alſo to gentleneſs and le-

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nity. He was no huffer nor contender, but of an exceeding peaceable and amicable ſpirit. Whereunto he was moved by the reaſon of policy, as well as religion: becauſe he well ſaw how a contentious quarrelſome diſpoſition in great men would be apt to give an ill example unto inferiors. There happened once, in the year 1552, a conteſt between him and the Lord Warden of the Cinque-ports, who lived not far from him; and ſo probably it might be about ſome worldly matters. It was Sir Thomas Cheyny; who, in the year 1549, was one of thoſe that met with Warwick in London, and publiſhed a proclamation againſt the Archbiſhop's friend, the Duke of Somerſet, as a traitor: which might be an occaſion that the Archbiſhop did not much affect Cheyny, nor Cheyny the Archbiſhop. Concerning this difference between them, which it ſeems was taken notice of at court, when his true friend Cecyl had wrote to him, adviſing a reconciliation, he gave this chriſtian and meek anſwer from his houſe at Ford; "That there was no man more loth to 454
"be in contention with any man than he was; eſpecially
"with him who was his near neighbour, dwelling both in
"one county, and whoſe familiar and entire friendſhip he
"moſt deſired, and that for the quietneſs of the whole
"county." Adding, "That the examples of the rulers and
"heads would the people and members follow."

Peaceable and mild.

His peaceableneſs alſo appeared in his hearty deſires of the public peace, as well as private. When, upon occaſion of hearing of the wars that were about the year 1552, eagerly followed both in Chriſtendom and out of it, he uſed theſe words; "The Sophy and the Turk, the Emperor
"and the French King, not much better in religion than
"they," [ſuch it ſeems was his cenſure of them, by reaſon of the cruelty and perſecution they exerciſed, and the diſturbances they made in the world,] "rolling the ſtone, or
"turning the wheel of fortune up and down; I pray God
"ſend us peace and quietneſs with all realms, as well as
"among ourſelves."

His ſpeech upon the news of wars abroad.

But though he were of ſo quiet and mild a ſpirit, yet, being a plain downright man, he would never learn the arts of flattery and baſe compliances with them that were upper-

Unacquainted with the arts of court-flattery.

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moſt: which had like to have created him much trouble from Northumberland; to whom he carried not himſelf with that deference and pleaſingneſs as he expected. For Cranmer knew the bad heart of this haughty man, and could not forget the ill meaſure his friend, the Duke of Somerſet, had found at his hands. He did not care to make any application to him, nor to be an inſtrument in forwarding any of his deſigning buſineſs. When he was to write up to ſome of the court concerning Reiner Wolf, I ſuppoſe for licenſe to print the Articles of Religion, anno 1552, he deſired to take Cecyl's advice, to whom he ſhould write; "For I know not," ſaith he, "to whom to write but my "Lord of Northumberland;" to whom to make any addreſs he would fain have avoided if he could. There was, about the year 1552, a commiſſion iſſued out for a ſtrict inquiry to be made after all ſuch as had defrauded the King of any goods or treaſure, accruing to him by the ſuppreſſion of chauntries, or that belonged to churches. Now this was done by Northumberland and his creatures on purpoſe that it might light heavy upon Somerſet's friends, who had been the chief viſitors in thoſe affairs, and had many of them been ſuppoſed to have enriched themſelves thereby. Commiſſioners were appointed in each county. In Kent the commiſſion was directed to the Archbiſhop, and to ſeveral other gentlemen and juſtices of peace. The Archbiſhop, perceiving well the ſpite and malice of this commiſſion, acted very ſlowly in it: inſomuch that Northumberland began to be highly angry with him. Cecyl obſerving it, and having ever a great veneration for that good man, and fearing he might feel the effects of his fury, writ to him, ſignifying Northumberland's diſpleaſure, and giving him advice to take heed of him: for which the Archbiſhop thanked him, and prudently writ his excuſatory letter to that Duke, dated November 20, ſignifying, "that the cauſe of his ſtay of the
455 "commiſſion was, becauſe he was alone, and that the gen-
"tlemen and juſtices of peace, who were in commiſſion
"with him, were then at London, [probably becauſe of the
"Term,] before whoſe coming home, if he ſhould proceed
"without them, he might," as he ſaid, "travel in vain, and

Would never crouch to Northumberland.

"take more pains than he ſhould do good." And by ſuch ſoft but honeſt words mollifying him for the procraſtination of that which he had no mind to meddle in.

He and Ridley fall under the Duke's diſpleaſure.

But not long after he, and Ridley Biſhop of London with him, fell under great diſpleaſure with this Duke, and the reſt of the great men of his party; who in the latter end of King Edward's reign governed all. The reaſon whereof was, for oppoſing, as much as they could, though to no effect, the ſpoil of the church-goods; which were taken away only by a commandment of the higher powers, without requeſt or conſent of them to whom they did belong; as Ridley himſelf relates in his treatiſe, wherein he lamented the change of religion in England: which indeed was more than ever Henry VIII. had done.

Ridley's lamentation.

Bold and undaunted in God's cauſe.

Add to the reſt, that our Biſhop was of a bold and undaunted courage in the cauſe of God and his church. It was a brave and generous act, and worthy the chief Biſhop of the Engliſh church; I mean that public challenge which he made to maintain the Common Prayer-Book, and the other parts of the reformation, by the Scripture and Fathers, in open diſputation, againſt whomſoever, if the Queen ſo pleaſed to permit it: which was done by him ſoon after the Queen's coming to the throne. And had he not been prevented by others, who diſperſed copies of this challenge without his knowledge, it had been made very ſolemnly, as he freely told the Queen's council, by fixing this his declaration on the doors of St. Paul's, and other churches, with his hand and ſeal to it. And his courage herein appeared the greater, becauſe he was at this very time under a cloud, and in great danger; having ſome time before now been convented before the council, and confined to Lambeth.

Falſely charged with cowardice, and too much flexibility.

And whoſoever ſhall conſider that good progreſs that by his means was made in religion, not only in King Edward's reign, but even in that of King Henry, under the diſcouragements of an anciently-riveted ſuperſtition and idolatry; and withal ſhall ponder the haughty nature of that Prince, of ſo difficult addreſs, and ſo addicted to the old religion; and how dangerous it was to diſſent from him, or to attempt to draw him off from his own perſuaſions; cannot but judge

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Cranmer to have been of a very bold ſpirit, to venture ſo far as he did. And undoubtedly his courage went an equal pace with his wiſdom and diſcretion, and was no whit inferior to his other excellent qualifications. And this I ſay the rather, to vindicate the memory of this moſt reverend Prelate from an unworthy reflection, made upon him in a trifling account of his life: wherein he is charged to be *Abel Redivivus.* "of too eaſy and flexible a diſpoſition, which made him "cowardly to comply with the church of Rome. And, 456 "that though he never did any harm to the Proteſtants, yet "he did not unto them ſo much good as he might or "ought." For the confutation of which, I appeal to numberleſs paſſages which I have written of him. But it is eaſy to ſee from whence this author had this character of our Archbiſhop; namely, from Parſons and Saunders, two malicious calumniating jeſuits. The former hath theſe words Three Converſions. of him; "That to the King's will and liking he reſolved to "conform himſelf, as well in religion as in other things. "And, that when King Henry was large towards the Pro"teſtants, Cranmer was ſo alſo; but when the King became "more ſtrict and rigorous, eſpecially after the ſix Articles, "Cranmer was ready to proſecute the ſame." And therefore Saunders framed a name for the Archbiſhop, calling him *Henricianus;* in the ſame ſenſe as Herod's creatures in the Scriptures were called *Herodiani.* A very falſe character of this good Archbiſhop, to ſay no worſe of it.

Of ardent affections.

I muſt here make a note of one quality more of our Archbiſhop: which was this; that he was a man of ardent affections, and of an open and generous temper; and where he loved, he thought he could never enough expreſs it. An inſtance of this I will give in Biſhop Thirleby: to whom, for the good qualities he ſuppoſed were in him, he had a moſt Inter Foxii MSS. earneſt love. An account of this I will lay down in the words of Morice, the Archbiſhop's ſecretary, who well knew it.

"Beſides his ſpecial favour to him," ſaith he, "that way, "[in recommending him to the King,] there was no man "living could more friendly eſteem any man of himſelf, as "my Lord Cranmer did this Thirleby; for there was no

" kind of pleaſure which my Lord Cranmer was liable to do, that was not at this man's commandment: whether it were jewel, plate, inſtrument, map, horſe, or any thing elſe, though he had it from the King's Majeſty; but if this man did once like or commend it, the gentle Archbiſhop would forthwith give it unto him. And many times Dr. Thirleby, for civility-ſake, would inſtantly refuſe the ſame, yet would he ſend it unto him the next day after to his houſe. Inſomuch that it came into a common proverb, *That Dr. Thirleby's commendation of any thing of my Lord's, was a plain winning or obtaining thereof.* So that ſome men thought, that if he would have demanded any finger, or other member of his, he would have cut it off to have gratified him therewith; ſuch was his ardent affection towards him. This no ſmall ſort of honeſt men, now living, can teſtify;" that is, about the year 1565, when this was written. CHAP. XXXVI.

Cranmer compared with Cardinal Wolſey.

It may deſerve alſo a remark, that our good Prelate roſe upon the fall of another great churchman, *viz.* the Cardinal of York. For about that very time the King rejected Wolſey from his favour and employment, Cranmer ſucceeded into them. It may be alſo obſerved, that, as the King's great matter of the divorce was firſt moved and managed by Wolſey; ſo it was taken up, and vigorouſly carried on, and ſucceſsfully ended, by Cranmer. And as the former ſtarted it upon an unjuſt policy, and ſo in the iſſue, by God's ſecret judgment, proſpered no better by it, it finally proving his ruin; ſo the latter, acting in it out of a better and more honeſt principle of conſcience and religion, became thereby advanced to the greateſt honour in the church: which he held for twenty years together. Though at laſt indeed it had the ſame fatal iſſue to him, by the ſecret malice of Queen Mary, as it had to the Cardinal before, by the ſecret diſpleaſure of Queen Ann. But as they were thus parallel in the cauſe of their falls, ſo their demeanors under their calamities were very different. The Cardinal under his ſhewed a moſt abject and deſponding mind; but our Archbiſhop's carriage was much more decent under his, remaining undaunted and magnanimous: having a ſoul well fortified by the principles 457

BOOK III. of ſolid virtue and religion, which the other had not. And this appeared in him, when, being brought forth to be baited before Brooks, the Pope's ſub-delegate; and Martin and Story, the King's and Queen's commiſſioners at Oxford; he gravely, and with an unmoved ſpirit, uſed theſe words: "That he acknowledged God's goodneſs to him in all his "gifts; and thanked him as heartily for that ſtate wherein "he found himſelf then, as ever he did in the time of his "proſperity; and that it was not the loſs of his promotions "that grieved him at all."

CHAP. XXXVII.

Oſiander's and Peter Martyr's Character of the Archbiſhop.

THE laſt thing I ſhall obſerve of him is, that he always remained the ſame man; not altered by his honours and high advancements. As he was a perſon of great piety, goodneſs, affability, and benignity, before he was Archbiſhop, and the ſunſhine of royal favour, ſo he continued at all times after. For a witneſs of this, I will ſet down two characters given him by two foreign learned men, both which knew him well.

Oſiander's character of the Archbiſhop.

The one ſhall be of Oſiander; from whom we may take this account of what he was before he was Biſhop, while he remained abroad in Germany. Oſiander, that great divine of Norinberg, profeſſed to love him for ſome excellent endowments that were common to him with ſome other good men, but eſpecially for others more extraordinary and peculiar to himſelf: of the former ſort was, "that he was a "gentleman of good birth and quality; that he had an aſ-"pect and preſence that carried dignity with it, an incre-"dible ſweetneſs of manners; that he had learning beyond "the common degrees of it; was benign and liberal to-"wards all, and eſpecially to thoſe that were ſtudious and "of good literature. Of the latter, were thoſe more ab-458 "ſtruſe and heroical virtues of his mind, rare to be found in "the age wherein he lived; *viz.* his wiſdom, prudence, for-

Epiſt. Dedicat. ante Harmon. Evangelic.

"titude, temperance, juſtice; a ſingular love towards his "country, the higheſt faithfulneſs towards the King; a con- "tempt of earthly things, a love of heavenly; a moſt burn- "ing ſtudy towards the evangelick truth, ſincere religion, "and Chriſt's glory." And this was Cranmer before he was placed in his high and honourable ſtation.

And Peter Martyr's.

The other character of Cranmer is that of Peter Martyr; who thus ſpeaks of him, when he was at the top of all his earthly honour, in the middle of King Edward's reign: "That his godlineſs, prudence, faithfulneſs, and his ſingular "virtues, were known to all the kingdom. That he was ſo "adorned with the grace and favour of Chriſt, as that, "though all others are the children of wrath, yet in him "piety, and divine knowledge, and other virtues, might "ſeem to be naturally born and bred; ſuch deep root had "they taken in him. So that Martyr often wiſhed and pro- "feſſed, he ſhould eſteem it as a great benefit vouchſafed "him of God, that he might come as near as might be to "his virtues, which he admired in him as the wonderful "gifts of God. And, as to himſelf and others, fled into "theſe quarters for religion, that Cranmer's kindneſs and "humanity, merits and benefits towards them, were ſuch, "that if he ſhould render juſt thanks, and ſpeak of them as "they deſerved, he muſt do nothing but tell of them; and "how much ſoever he ſhould extol them, the greatneſs of "the matter would overreach his ſpeech. And that it was "well known to all how humanely he received not him "only, but many other ſtrangers of his order, and how "kindly he treated them." *Ep. Dedicat. ante librum de Eucharift.*

Bale's character of the Archbiſhop.

To both theſe I will ſubjoin the judgment of another, who, I cannot but conclude, was well acquainted with the Archbiſhop, and a long and diligent obſerver of his demeanor in his ſuperintendency over the church; and that was John Bale, ſometime Biſhop of Oſſory. "He never placed," ſaid he, "the function of a biſhop in the adminiſtration of ſecular "things, but in a moſt faithful diſpenſation of God's Word. *In Centur.*

"In the midſt of wicked Babylon he always performed "the part of a good guide of Iſrael. And among Papiſts, "that tyrannized againſt the truth of Chriſt, he governed "the people of God with an admirable prudence.

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"No man ever ſo happily and ſteadily perſiſted, with "Chriſt himſelf, in the defence of the truth, in the midſt of "falſely learned men, in ſuch imminent hazard of his life, "and yet without receiving any harm.

"No man did more prudently bear with ſome falſe apo- "ſtles for a time, although, with St. Paul, he knew what "moſt peſtilent men they were, that ſo they might not be "provoked to run into greater rage and madneſs."

The difficult times wherein Cranmer lived.

All this that I have before written concerning this our venerable Prelate cannot but redound to his high praiſe and commendation: and it is very fit ſuch virtues and accompliſhments ſhould be celebrated and recorded to poſterity. 459 Yet I do not intend theſe my collections for ſuch a panegyrick of him, as to make the world believe him void of all faults or frailties, the condition of human nature. He lived in ſuch critical times, and under ſuch Princes, and was neceſſarily involved in ſuch affairs, as expoſed him to greater temptations than ordinary. And if any blemiſhes ſhall, by curious obſervers, be eſpied in him, he may therefore ſeem the more pardonable; and his great exemplary goodneſs and uſefulneſs in the church of God may make ample amends for ſome errors.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The Archbiſhop vindicated from Slanders of Papiſts.

A lying character of this Archbiſhop by a late French author.

I HAVE given, I hope, a juſt, though imperfect, account, from undoubted records and authentic manuſcripts, as well as the beſt publiſhed books, of the excellent endowments of this great Prelate, and of his innocent, prudential, and uſeful behaviour in his high place and ſtation. So that none, who impartially weighs the premiſſes, can conclude otherwiſe of him, than that he was a very rare perſon, and one that deſerves to be reckoned among the brighteſt lights that ever ſhone in this Engliſh church. And this all the ſober unprejudiced part of poſterity will believe, notwithſtanding

the unjuſt calumnies ſome hot-ſpirited Papiſts have caſt upon his memory. CHAP. XXXVIII.

I ſhall paſs over the unhandſome name that Feckenham gave him, calling him *Dolt*; as he did alſo his two other brethren in tribulation, Ridley and Latimer, priſoners then in Oxford, (men by far more learned than himſelf,) upon occaſion of Mr. Hawks eſteeming them deſervedly "godly "and learned men."

I ſhall alſo paſs by what Biſhop Boner then ſaid of him, *viz.* "That he dared to ſay, that Cranmer would recant ſo "he might have his living:" as though he were a man of a proſtituted conſcience, and would do any thing upon worldly conſiderations.

But there is a late French writer, whom I cannot but take notice of with ſome indignation; who, to ſhew his bigoted zeal to the Roman church, hath beſtowed this moſt defamatory character upon this our Archbiſhop; "That he "was one of the profligateſt men of England; that had no- "thing of chriſtianity in him, but the outward appearances; "being ambitious, voluptuous, turbulent, and capable of all "ſorts of intrigues." Of which all that I have written is an abundant confutation; beſides the ſevere chaſtiſements the right reverend the Biſhop of Sarum hath lately beſtowed upon this author: who queſtionleſs was well verſed in thoſe famous Popiſh calumniators of our reformation, and of this our Archbiſhop, the great inſtaurator thereof, and had a mind to outdo them in their talent of throwing dirt. Thoſe, I mean, who, living in the age paſt, did moſt bitterly and virulently, as it fell in their way, fly upon Cranmer's memory and fame, to eclipſe it to poſterity if they could; namely, Saunders, Allen, and Parſons, and ſome others. But thoſe who read theſe Memorials will be able eaſily to confute them, and will perceive that theſe men ſought not ſo much to ſay what was true, as what might ſerve the ends of their anger and ſpite; their reports being made up for the moſt part of nothing but lies and ſlanders illy patched together.

Varillas his Hiſtory of Hereticks.

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Allen, if he were the anſwerer of the *Execution of Engliſh Juſtice*, ſaith, "that Cranmer was a notorious perjured, "and often relapſed Apoſtata, recanting, ſwearing and for-

Allen's calumny of the Archbiſhop. *Sincere and*

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"ſwearing at every turn." A heavy charge; but we are left to gueſs what theſe perjuries, theſe ſo often ſwearings and forſwearings, theſe relapſes and recantations be. But it is enough for them to roar out "notorious perjuries, &c." But let us ſee what oaths Cranmer took, that might occaſion his perjuries. He ſwore, at his conſecration, the uſual oath to the Pope; and, in his future doings, laboured to reſtore the King's ſupremacy againſt the Pope's uſurpations, and to promote a reformation againſt the Pope's ſuperſtitions. Was this one of his "notorious perjuries?" It is pity the doing ſo good a thing ſhould fall under ſo bad a name. But, at the taking of that oath, did he not make a ſolemn proteſtation openly before public notaries, and that entered down into record, that he intended not by the ſaid oath to do any thing againſt the law of God, the King, or the realm, and their laws and prerogatives; nor to be abridged thereby from conſulting for the reformation of religion? In which way the beſt civilians then put him, and aſſured him, that by this means he might ſafely, without any guilt, take the oath to the Pope: which otherwiſe he would not have done. And truly, for my part, I think there was no other way to eſcape that perjury, that all other biſhops elect in thoſe times were entangled in, by ſwearing two contrary oaths, one to the Pope, and another to the King. Cranmer ſware alſo, at receiving orders, to live chaſtely; but he afterwards married a wife. Surely hereby he brake not his oath, but rather kept it. He did likewiſe ſwear to the ſucceſſion of Queen Ann: but would Allen have all that ſubmitted to that act of parliament to be perjured? That would reflect upon the wiſdom of the three eſtates at that time, in making ſuch an enſnaring law; and involve all ſorts of people, both clergy, nobility, and gentry, and all other perſons of age, in perjury, as well as the Archbiſhop, excepting only two perſons, More and Fiſher, who would not ſubmit to this act. And even they themſelves offered to ſwear to the ſucceſſion itſelf, and refuſed only to ſwear to the preamble of the ſaid act. There was indeed an act made, which ſeemed contrary to this act, namely, that which in the year 1536 put by the ſucceſſion of Queen Ann, and carried it to the King's children by another Queen;

modeſt Defence of Engliſh Catholicks, p. 45.

Wiped off.

and to this act the ſubjects were to ſwear alſo. And we will ſuppoſe that the Archbiſhop ſwore with the reſt to this act. Neither was there any perjury here; for this oath in truth was not contrary to the former: for by reaſon of ſome lawful impediment of Queen Ann's marriage with the King, as was then pretended, it was declared by the parliament, that the iſſue of that Queen was illegitimate, and not inheritable. And the firſt oath was only for the ſucceſſion of lawful iſſue by Queen Ann. Therefore, there being no lawful iſſue of that Queen, as was then at leaſt ſuppoſed, the oath to the lawful iſſue of another Queen might certainly be very innocently taken, without incurring the breach of the former. And where at length is this "notorious perjury, and ſwearing and forſwearing at every turn?" CHAP. XXXVIII. 461

Allen again lets fly upon him, calling him *Apoſtata*. But ſurely it is not apoſtaſy to leave error, ſuperſtition, and idolatry, for the true doctrine and profeſſion of the Goſpel. He chargeth him alſo with "often relapſing and recanting." He made no relapſes nor recantations at all, as I know of, unleſs a little before his death, when he ſubſcribed to a parcel of Popiſh articles, by the importunity of Papiſts, working upon his frailty and long-ſufferings. But he ſoon revoked all again, and died moſt patiently in the profeſſion of the true religion. And to this at laſt comes all this mighty clamour, that he was "notoriouſly perjured, an often relapſed Apoſtata, recanting, ſwearing and forſwearing at every turn." Cleared from his charge of apoſtaſy.

Saunders his ſcurrilous and falſe accounts of Cranmer are numberleſs; I will only mention one or two. He ſaith, "That from Cambridge he went to the ſervice of Sir Thomas Bullen, and by his preferment was made Archbiſhop of Canterbury." Whereas from Cambridge he was immediately made the King's chaplain, and wanted not the recommendation of any to his preferment, the King being ſo well acquainted with his merits. And though he abode ſome time with the Earl of Wiltſhire, whom he ſtyleth Sir Thomas Bullen, yet it was not in the quality of his chaplain, but of one whom the King recommended to him. He writeth, "that the Archbiſhop carried his wife about with "him in a cheſt, when he removed;" and addeth a ridi- Saunders's falſehoods of the Archbiſhop. *De Schiſm. Ang.*

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culous ſtory relating thereunto. And his brother Parſons ſaith, "This was a moſt certain ſtory, and teſtified at that "day by Cranmer's ſon's widow to divers gentlemen, her "friends," from whom Parſons ſaith he had it. Other Popiſh dignitaries in thoſe days kept and converſed with their concubines and whores more publickly; and did the Archbiſhop keep his wife ſo cloſe? But in caſe he had travelled with her more openly, who ſhould examine the Archbiſhop, and call him to account, whether ſhe were his wife or his concubine? and therefore the ſtory is moſt improbable. The King himſelf knew he had a wife well enough. And when the Archbiſhop ſaw the danger of having her with him, he ſent her away to her friends beyond ſea for a time. And that ſilly ſtory comes through too many hands, before it came to Parſons, to make it credible. Cranmer's ſon tells it to his wife, nobody knows where: ſhe, being a widow, tells it to certain gentlemen, nobody knows who: and they tell it to Parſons, nobody knows when. No one place, perſon, or time, mentioned. And ſo all the faith of the matter lies upon a woman's evidence, and her's upon the credit of thoſe two very honeſt men, Parſons and Saunders.

In his book of the *Three Converſions.*

Parſons his compliments to the Archbiſhop.

In Parſons his Three Converſions of England are theſe many favourable expreſſions of our Archbiſhop to be found: that "he was the firſt heretick in that order, [of Archbiſhops "of Canterbury.]" Becauſe he was the firſt that laboured a reformation of the horrible errors of the degenerate church of Rome. And, "that he was the firſt Archbiſhop "of Canterbury that ever brake from the Roman faith." And, that "this was the firſt change of religion in any "Archbiſhop, from the beginning unto his days." Deſigning thereby to fix a very black mark upon him, which rather redounds to his everlaſting honour. That "he was an "unconſtant man in his faith and belief: incontinent in his "life: variable in all his actions: accommodating himſelf "always to the times wherein he lived, and to the humours "of thoſe who could do moſt; and this in matters even "againſt right and conſcience." No, but quite contrary; he was conſtant in his faith and belief to the very laſt, except one fall, which he ſoon recovered: moſt chaſte in his life, living in the holy ſtate of marriage: ſteady in all his

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In his Kalendar.

actions; accommodating himſelf always, neither to the times nor to the humours of any man, let him be as great as he would, any farther than he might do in right and conſcience: and often oppoſing King, Parliament, Privy-council, and Synods, to his utmoſt danger, in defence of truth, and for the diſcharge of his own conſcience. CHAP. XXXVIII.

Again, "That he was a [Roman] Catholick in moſt "points during King Henry's reign." Whereas he was ſo in no point, excepting in that of the corporeal preſence. "That he applied himſelf to the religion which the ſtate and "Prince liked beſt to allow of in that time, [of King Henry "VIII.]" From which he was ſo far, that he often boldly and publickly declared againſt divers things which the King was bent upon; as in the act of the ſix Articles, and in compoſing the book called *The Neceſſary Erudition*. That "theſe three, the King, Queen Ann, and Archbiſhop Cran-"mer, held the catholick faith, uſages, and rites; and went "as devoutly to maſs as ever, and ſo remained they, in "outward ſhew, even to their deaths." Though ſome years before Cranmer's death, namely, from the firſt year of King Edward, the maſs was wholly laid aſide, and never uſed at all. That "Cranmer and Crumwel went to maſs, after the "King married the Lady Ann Bolen, as before." What they did as to the going to maſs, our hiſtories tell us little of: if they did, it was with little approbation of it. "And "as Crumwel on the ſcaffold proteſted, that he was a good "catholick man, (but there is difference between a good "catholick, and a Roman catholick,) and never doubted of "any of the church ſacraments then uſed." Thereby intending, I ſuppoſe, to make a difference between them and the Goſpel ſacraments. But ſurely Crumwel in his lifetime was ſo utterly againſt four or five of them, that he brought Aleſs, a learned man, into a convocation to diſpute there for two only. "And the like Cranmer had done no "doubt, if he had been brought to the ſcaffold in King "Henry's days: which had been a happy caſe for him." To a ſcaffold they of the Roman perſuaſion endeavoured many a year to bring him; and they would have thought it a happy caſe for them, if they could have brought it to paſs. But I verily believe the quite contrary to this confident aſ-

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ſertion, and that he would have owned the truth to the laſt, as he did afterwards in the reign of that King's daughter, Queen Mary.

463 That "he always fell jump with them that governed, and "could do moſt." No, he never fell in with Gardiner, who ſometime had the aſcendant over King Henry; nor with the Duke of Northumberland, who could do moſt, and did all for a time with King Edward. That "when King Henry "was large towards the Proteſtants, Cranmer was ſo alſo, "joining with Crumwel to protect them. But when the "King became more ſtrait and rigorous, eſpecially after "the ſix Articles, Cranmer was ready to proſecute the "ſame." He argued long and earneſtly in the Houſe againſt thoſe ſix Articles; and, when he ſaw they would paſs, he proteſted againſt it; and was ſo troubled about it, that the King ſent the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Crumwel, and divers other noble perſons, to comfort him in the King's name. So that I hardly think he would after this be brought to proſecute that bloody act, the making of which he ſo utterly diſliked. Nor is there the leaſt footſtep of it in hiſtory. Indeed Parſons bringeth in ſome perſons, in whoſe deaths he would have the Archbiſhop to have a hand. "As may appear," ſaith he, "by the ſentence of "death pronounced againſt Lambert, Thomas Gerard, Wil-"liam Jerome, and Ann Aſcue, and others, condemned by "him for denying the real preſence." Though in King Henry's time the Archbiſhop believed the real preſence, yet he was not for putting any to death that denied it. No; ſuch extreme rigours, for an error, he utterly deteſted. Lambert ſuffered before the act of the ſix Articles. Nor did the Archbiſhop condemn him, but only, by the King's command, diſputed againſt him. Gerard, [he means Garret,] and Jerome, and Ann Aſcue, were condemned and burnt indeed; but he had no manner of hand either in their condemnation or death, as we can find in our hiſtories. But Wincheſter, Boner, and Wriotheſly, and others of that gang, ſhed thoſe good people's blood. And it is an impudent falſehood to lay their condemnation to the Archbiſhop's charge.

He ſaith further, that "to the King's will and liking he "reſolved to conform himſelf, as well in religion, as in all

" other things." If he had ſaid this of Biſhop Gardiner, the character would have better by far fitted him. He ſaith, that " he divorced the King of his own authority from Queen " Katherine." Whereas, in truth, what he and Wincheſter, and other biſhops, did in this affair, was by commiſſion from the King, and not by their own authority. That " he mar- " ried the King to Queen Ann." That " it was in open " parliament, under his hand-writing, yet extant in public " printed records, to his eternal ſhame, that the Queen [that " is, Queen Ann] was never true wife unto the ſaid King." Where was the eternal ſhame of this, when he ſet his hand to no more than what ſhe herſelf confeſſed before him? See more of this before. That " after this he married the " King to Jane Seymour, and after to Queen Ann of Cleves, " and after that to Katherine Howard, and after that to Ka- " therine Parre." Which we muſt take upon his word: for I think it hard by any good hiſtory to know it. And what if Cranmer did all this? That " he joined with the Pro- " tector in overthrowing King Henry's will; and with Dud- " ley againſt the Protector." Palpable falſehoods! the contrary whereof is notoriouſly known to any ordinary hiſtorian. Of the ſame truth is, that " he joined with Dudley 464
" and the Duke of Suffolk for the overthrow of the King's " two daughters: and after that with Arundel, Pembroke, " Paget, for the overthrow of Northumberland and Suffolk." He joined with theſe for the ſetting the true heir in the throne, not for the overthrow of any particular perſons.

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Again, he ſaith, " Cranmer and Ridley followed King " Henry's religion and humour while he lived, and reſolved " to enjoy the pleaſures and ſenſualities of this time, [of " King Edward,] ſo far as any way they might attain unto." No, they were men more mortified, and that made little account of the pleaſures and vanities of this wretched world. " Getting authority into their hands by the Protector, and " others that were in moſt place, began to lay luſtily about " them, and to pull down all them, both of the clergy and " others, whom they thought to be able and likely to ſtand " in their way, or reſiſt their inventions." Inſtancing in Gardiner and Boner, and ſpeaking of their " unjuſt perſecu- " tion and deprivation, by ſuch violent and calumnious man-

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" ner as is proper to hereticks to uſe: whereby a man " may take a taſte what they meant to have done if they " had had time." Here they are ſet forth as a couple of moſt worldly, ambitious, haughty men, contriving by all, however baſe and unlawful ways, to build up themſelves and their fortunes upon the ruin of others, and to beat down all that oppoſed their deſigns. Whereas to any that ſhall read their hiſtories, there was nothing in the world ſo contrary to their aims, tempers, and inclinations. And things were done towards the two Biſhops before mentioned with great mildneſs and patience, under unſufferable provocations offered by them. Nor was it Cranmer's and Ridley's doings, but rather the King's council, who thought not fit to put up the affronts thoſe Biſhops had offered to the government.

He ſaith, that " in King Edward's time Cranmer played " the tyrant." That " he puniſhed one Thomas Dobb, a " maſter of arts of Cambridge, caſting him into the Coun- " ter, where he died. And John Hume, impriſoned for the " ſame cauſe by Cranmer." Both theſe paſſages the author had from Fox. Dobbs indeed, in the very beginning of King Edward's reign, diſturbed the maſs that was ſaying in a chapel in St. Paul's: for which the Mayor complained of him to the Archbiſhop. And what could he do better than commit him to the Counter, both to puniſh him for making a public diſturbance in the church, and alſo to deliver him from the rage of the multitude, till his pardon could be gotten him? which was obtained ſoon after from the Duke of Somerſet: but he ſuddenly died in priſon, before his deliverance. And as for Hume, he was a ſervant to a very ſtiff Papiſt, who ſent him up to the Archbiſhop, with a grievous complaint againſt him for ſpeaking againſt the maſs; but whether the Archbiſhop impriſoned him, or what followed, Fox mentioneth not, and leaves it uncertain what was done with him.

He ſaith, " that Cranmer ſtood reſolutely for the carnal " preſence in the ſacrament in King Edward's firſt parlia- " ment: wherein a diſputation about it was continued for the " ſpace of four months; that is, from November 4. to March " 14." Which was the full time of the ſecond ſeſſion of

that firſt parliament, and was in the year 1548. What he means by this long diſputation in that parliament, for ſo many months, I cannot tell. Does he mean, that the parliament did nothing elſe all that ſeſſion? Indeed there was once a notable diſpute of the ſacrament, in order to an uniformity of prayer to be eſtabliſhed. Or does he mean that this four months diſputation was the work of the convocation fitting that parliament-time? Before it indeed lay now the matter of the prieſts' marriage; which they agreed to, almoſt three againſt one: and likewiſe of receiving the ſacrament in both kinds; which was alſo agreed to *nemine contradicente*. But not a word of any diſputation then about the real preſence. And yet it is ſtrange that he ſhould with ſuch confidence put this ſtory upon the world, of four months diſputation in the parliament concerning the real preſence; and that the Archbiſhop then was ſo reſolute for it. Which cannot be true neither on this account, that Cranmer was a year or two before this come off from that opinion. He adds, "that Cranmer ſtood reſolutely in that "firſt parliament for a real preſence againſt Zuinglianiſm." But there was neither in that parliament, nor in that convocation, a word of the real preſence. "And that Cran-"mer and Ridley did allow a real preſence, and would not "endure the ſacrament ſhould be contemptibly ſpoken of, "as ſome now began to do." The real preſence that Parſons here means is, the groſs corporal preſence, fleſh, blood, and bone, as they uſed to ſay. This real preſence Cranmer and Ridley did not allow of at this time of day: now they were better enlightened. But moſt true it is notwithſtanding, that they could not endure to have the ſacrament contemptibly ſpoken of.

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King Edward's Journal.

He tells us romantickly on the ſame argument, that "many poſts went to and fro, between Peter Martyr and "Cranmer, while the imaginary diſputation before men-"tioned laſted, whether Lutheraniſm or Zuinglianiſm ſhould "be taken up for the doctrine of the church of England. "For that he was come, in his reading upon the eleventh "of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, to thoſe words, *This "is my body*, and did not know how to determine it, till it "was reſolved about. The meſſage returned him was, that

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" he ſhould ſtay, and entertain himſelf in his readings upon " other matters for a while. And ſo the poor Friar did, [as " Parſons calls that learned man,] with admiration and " laughter of all his ſcholars." Surely ſome of them had more eſteem and reverence for him. " Standing upon thoſe " precedent words; *Accepit panem, &c.* And, *Gratias dedit,* " *&c. Fregit. Et dixit, Accipite et manducate, &c.* Diſ- " courſing largely of every one of theſe points." And ſurely they were words of ſufficient weight to be ſtood upon, and points to be diſcourſed largely of. " And bearing one from " the other that enſued, *Hoc eſt corpus meum.* But when " the poſt at length came, that Zuinglianiſm muſt be de- " fended, then ſtepped up Peter Martyr boldly the next day, " and treated of *This is my body:* adding moreover, that he " wondered how any man could be of any other opinion." The reporters of this ſtory Parſons makes to be Saunders, Allen, and Stapleton, and others that were preſent: excellent witneſſes! Peter Martyr is here repreſented as a man of no conſcience or honeſty, but ready to ſay and teach what-
466 ſoever others bade him, be the doctrine right or wrong; and, at the beck of the ſtate, to be a Lutheran or a Zuinglian. But if he were of ſuch a verſatile mind, why did he leave his country, his relations, his ſubſtance, his honour, that he had there? which he did becauſe he could not comply with the errors of the church in which he lived. But all this fine pleaſant tale is ſpoiled, in caſe Martyr were not yet come to Oxford to be reader there: for he came over into England but in the end of November 1548, and was then ſometime with the Archbiſhop before he went to Oxford. Which we may well conjecture was till the winter was pretty well over; ſo that he could not well be there before the 14th of March was paſſed. The author of the *Athenæ Oxonienſes* conjectures, that he came to Oxon in February, or the beginning of March; but that it was the beginning of the next year that the King appointed him to read his lecture. So that either he was not yet at Oxon, or, if he were, he had not yet begun his reading till the parliament was over. And thus we have traced this ſtory till it is quite vaniſhed.

Simleri Orat. in Obit. P. Mart.

P. 107.

Further ſtill, he writes, " That Cranmer wrote a book for

" the real preſence, and another againſt it afterwards: CHAP.
" which two books Boner brought forth, and would have XXXVIII.
" read them, when he was depoſed by Cranmer and Ridley;
" or at leaſtwiſe certain ſentences thereof, that were con-
" trary one to the other." If Cranmer wrote any book for the real preſence, it was in Luther's, not in the Popiſh ſenſe; and againſt that ſenſe indeed he wrote in his book of the Sacrament. Nor did Boner bring any ſuch books forth at his depoſition, or deprivation, nor offered to read them, nor any ſentences out of them, for ought I can find in any hiſtorians that ſpeak of Boner's buſineſs: and I think none do, but Fox, who hath not a word of it, though he hath given a large narration of that whole affair. Indeed Boner at his firſt appearance told the Archbiſhop, " That he had written
" well on the ſacrament, and wondered that he did not more
" honour it." To which the Archbiſhop replied, (ſeeing him commend that which was againſt his own opinion,) " That if
" he thought well of it, it was becauſe he underſtood it not." Thus we may ſee how Parſons writ he cared not what; and took up any lying, flying reports from his own party, that might but ſerve his turn. But obſerve how this writer goes on with his tale; " But Cranmer bluſhing, ſuffered it not to
" be ſhewed; but ſaid, he made no book contrary to an-
" other." Then he needed not to have bluſhed. But if he did, it muſt be at the impudence of Boner, who carried himſelf in ſuch a tumultuous bold manner throughout his whole proceſs, as though he had no ſhame left. And laſtly, (to extract no more paſſages out of this author,) to prove that our Archbiſhop was for a corporal preſence in the beginning of King Edward, he ſaith, that " in the firſt year of
" that reign he was a principal cauſe of that firſt ſtatute, in-
" tituled, An Act againſt ſuch perſons as ſhall unreverently
" ſpeak againſt the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of
" Chriſt, commonly called, The Sacrament of the Altar." And a very good act it was: but it does not follow, that becauſe the Archbiſhop was the cauſe of this act, that therefore he believed a groſs carnal preſence; the plain deſign of the act being occaſioned by certain perſons, " who had con- 467
" temned the whole thing, for certain abuſes heretofore
" committed therein, (I uſe the very words of the act,) and

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" had called it by vile and unſeemly words. And it was " levelled againſt ſuch as ſhould deprave, deſpiſe, or con- " temn the bleſſed ſacrament." Nor is there any word in that act uſed in favour of the carnal preſence.

Fox in behalf of Cranmer.

Jo. Fox againſt Hieron. Oſorius, p. 338.

For a concluſion, let the reader not hear me, but another ſpeak for our Archbiſhop againſt one of theſe calumniators, and he a Portugal biſhop: " After Cranmer, by hearing " of the Goſpel, began to favour chriſtian profeſſion, " what wickedneſs was ever reported of him? With what " outrage of luſt was he enflamed? What murders, what " ſeditious tumults, what ſecret conſpiracies, were ever ſeen " or ſuſpected ſo much to proceed from him? unleſs ye ac- " count him blameworthy for this, that when King Henry, " father to Mary, upon great diſpleaſure conceived, was " for ſome ſecret cauſes determined to ſtrike off her head, " this reverend Archbiſhop did pacify the wrath of the " father, and with mild continual interceſſion preſerved the " life of the daughter: who, for life preſerved, acquitted her " patron with death.

" As concerning his marriage, if you reproachfully im- " pute that to luſt, which Paul doth dignify with ſo ho- " nourable a title; I do anſwer, that he was the huſband " of one wife, with whom he continued many years more " chaſtely and holily than Oſorius in that his ſtinking, ſole, " and ſingle life, peradventure one month, though he flee " never ſo often to his catholick confeſſions. And I ſee " no cauſe why the name of a wife ſhall not be accounted " in each reſpect as holy, with the true profeſſors of the " Goſpel, as the name of a concubine with the Papiſts." Thus Fox.

The concluſion.

And ſo I have at laſt, by God's favourable concurrence, finiſhed this my work: and have compiled an imperfect hiſtory, yet with the beſt diligence I could, of this ſingular Archbiſhop and bleſſed martyr; and, in the concluſion, have briefly vindicated him from thoſe many falſe ſurmiſes and imputations, that his implacable enemies of the Roman faction have reported and publiſhed abroad againſt him: not contented with the ſhedding of his blood, unleſs they

stigmatized his name and memory, and formed the world into a belief, that he was one of the vileſt wretches that lived, who in reality and truth appeareth to have been one of the holieſt Biſhops, and one of the beſt men that age produced. CHAP. XXXVIII.

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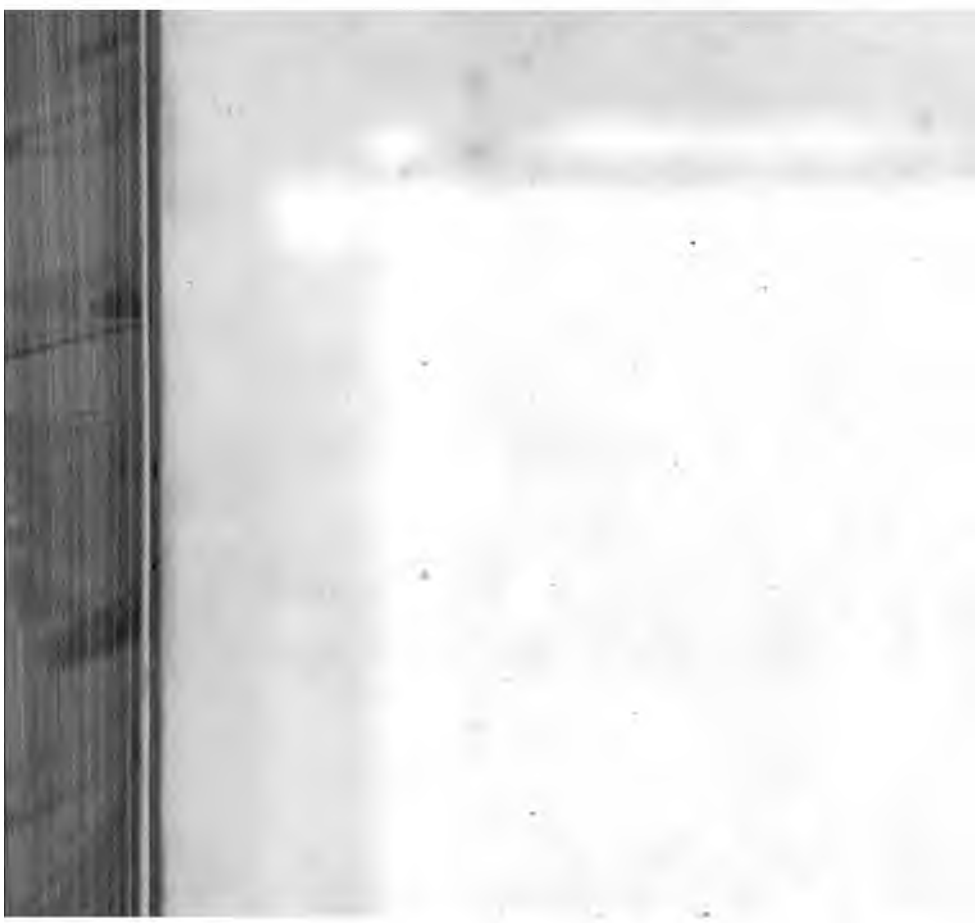

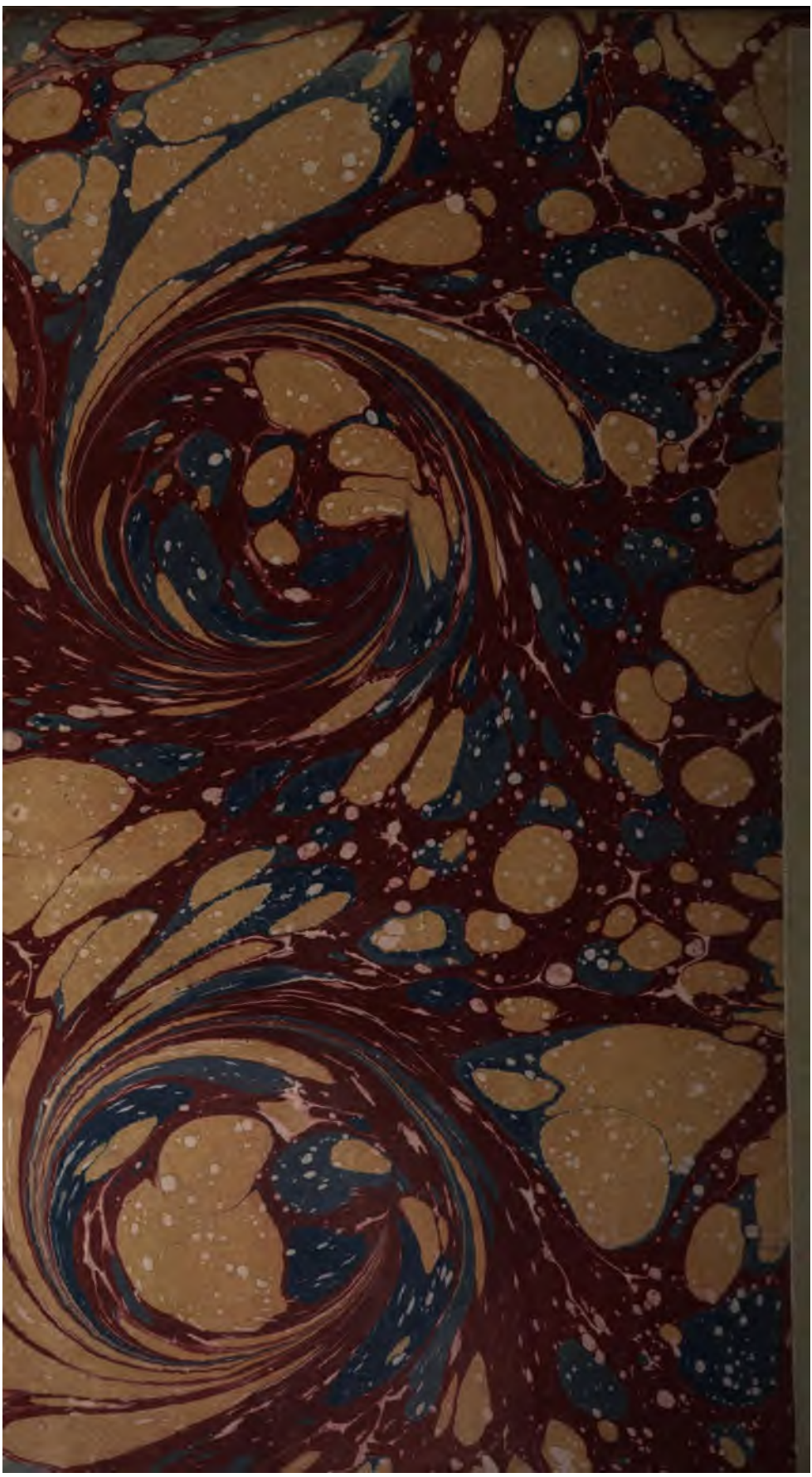

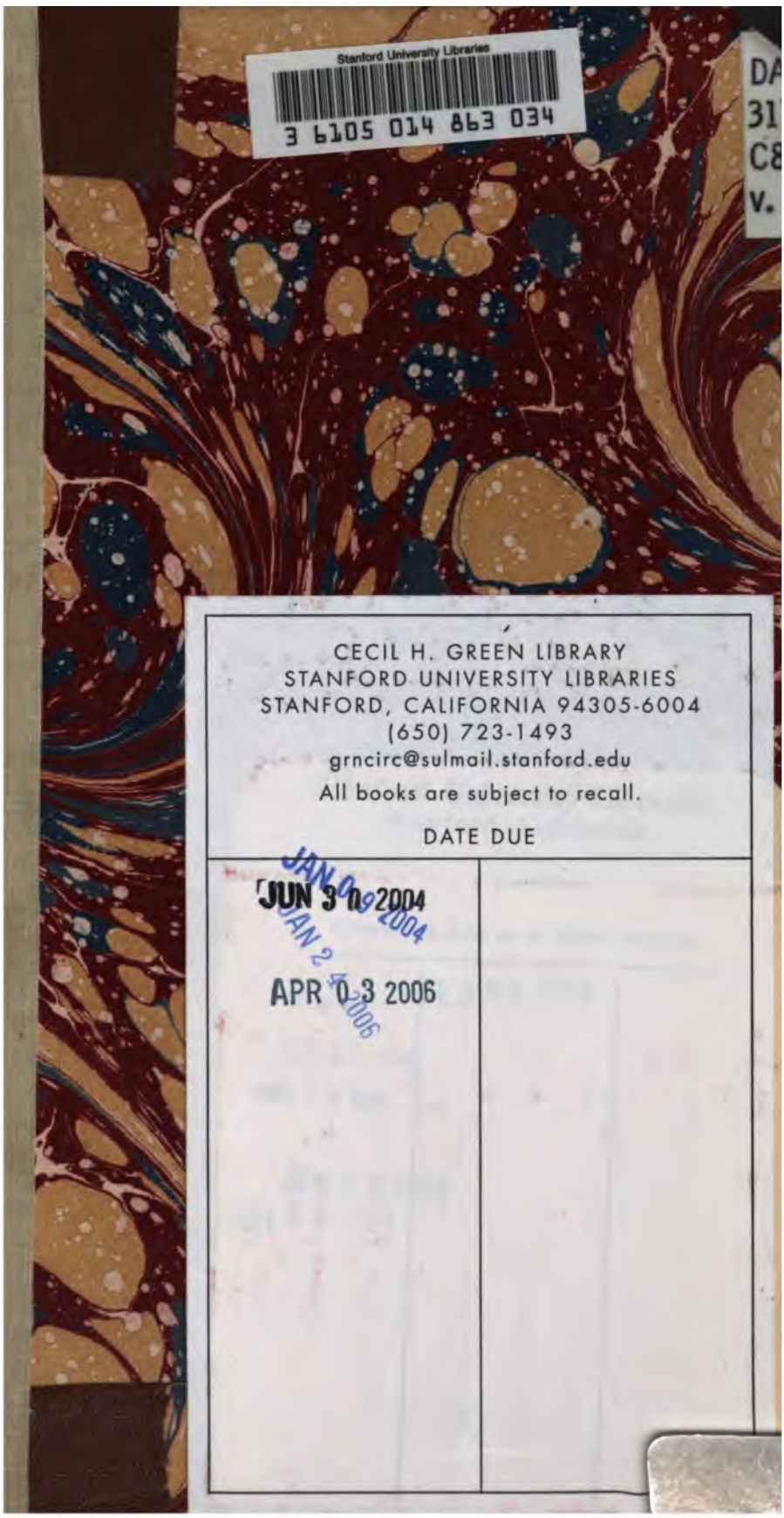
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JAN 0 9 2004
JAN 2 4 2006
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